

crest feelings. It is a story of the love of a musician for a girl who from the first kiss remains unshakably faithful through all vicissitudes of misfortune and disgrace, while the musician cannot find happiness in all his worldly success and wishes to return to the girl whom he first loved, when it was already too late. A suicide is the final chord of the story.

The description of the country-side, the beautiful Anatolia, with all the fragrance of its Spring and colour of its Autumn, the deep and sincere emotion of the heroine, the passions and hatred, the sorrowful wandering of men through life, is so dramatically, realistically and yet tenderly described that it cannot fail to impress the reader. It certainly would make a fine subject for a cinema picture. Recently *Branded (Damgha)* appeared from Nûri's pen, the story of which has a sad teaching : that appearances in our social life are mightier than the truth, and the hero who has sacrificed everything, even his honour, for the beloved is forsaken by everybody and finally by his beloved too. The novel is set in the time of the revolution and throws a side-light on the Young Turkish movement, its aspirations and its failure. Some of its chapters reflect the dreary times of war.

A real war-novel is Edhem 'Izzet's "*The Mad Woman*" (*Childiran Qadin*), a realistic description of the agonies of war in Turkey, its unspeakable misery and follies. A Turkish general fights gallantly at the Dardanelles while his wife deceives him with his aide-de-camp. The Pasha commits suicide, the woman throws herself into the mad-denying orgies which convulsed post-war Constantinople, and finally after many adventures and loves sinks to the lowest level and becomes mad. Its style is the easy style of newspaper novels, its sentences short, which is characteristic of Reshâd Nûri's novels also. It will remain a historical source for the life of Constantinople during the armistice. Edhem 'Izzet has some charming short stories in which the easy-going frivolity of present life in Turkey is truthfully depicted.

The literary life and authors are characteristically portrayed in Rushen Eshref's "*People Say*" (*Deyorlar kîh*) talks with and about writers and their works, a veritable portrait-gallery written in a somewhat artificial style. Erjemend Ekrem, the son of the great Ustad Ekrem, has given us some realistic, readable novels, full of patriotic emotions and good characterisation. His "*Blood and Faith*" (*Qun ve Iman*) tells us of the self-sacrificing spirit

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THE

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Edited by

MARMADUKE PICKTHALL

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of Turkish women who were worthy companions to their heroic husbands, fighting under Mustafa Kemâl. His "When the Sun is low" (*Gun Batarken*) is a social novel in which the demoralising effect of Greek life and conduct on the honesty and uprightness of Muslims and their heart-rending tragedy is written in a masterly way. It has a moral teaching too, the Muslim hero, impoverished, debased, and faithless, finally recovers, returns to the time-honoured ideals of patriotism, returns to his abandoned wife and starts a new, pure life. His descriptions of the life of Constantinople during the war, the extravagance of the profiteers, the starving children lying in the streets, the sunken faces of the wounded soldiers, is so vivid that it will serve as a historical document. It is surely a better novel than *Blood and Faith*. His *Evliya-i-Jedid* is a parody of Evliya Chelebi's book of travel, transferred to modern Constantinople, in which he ridicules the new inventions and the new modes of living.

The new period has its new poets. We must mention Riza Tevfik first, who, as philosopher, historian, politician, and highly cultured man, has won his most lasting laurels in poetry. He was considered one of the most learned men in Turkey and, as a lecturer, he was unequalled. His deep acquaintance with European languages and literatures fitted him for a scholarly career which the political changes broke in two. He discovered the beauties of the Bektashi songs, and wrote in their manner a number of *Bezm-i-Jem* (Bacchantic songs) in which his lyric tone found its proper objects.

Religious feeling was most appropriately expressed in verse by *Mehemed Akif*, poet, ecclesiastic, orator and writer on sociology. He entered the coffee-house of the street and talked to the loiterers. He listened to the stories of the tramps, and his sensitive mind was startled by the pain and misery of the low-born and poor, and chiselled their cry into lines full of rhythm and vigour. He wanted to better Turkish society, to awaken its consciousness to its defects and backwardness. What Huseyn Rahmi did in his novels, Ahmed Rasim in his articles and a bold publisher Ibrahim Hilmi in his books, Akif did in poetry. He wrote with a deep religious emotion in the purest national Turkish form against the anti-pan-Islamic national movement. He boldly sang and shouted that all the calamity that has befallen the Turks was caused by the neglect of religious duties and deviation from true

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ious sentiment. His arguments fell on deaf ears, but his poetry won the hearts of his readers.

Orkhan Seyfi, like the other modernists, discarded the old prosody and counted syllables like Mehemed Emin; but he elevated and perfected his instrument from a simple monochord into a many-stringed harp. Old feelings in new words in an exquisite form, his "Voices from the Heart" (*Guneldan Sesler*) has become the model of modern Turkish poetry.

Yûsuf Zia, a prolific poet of great merit, wrote war poems which bear the imprint of the time "From Storm to Storm" (*Aqindan Aqina*). The "Prayer of the Poet" (*Sha'irin Du'asi*) contains patriotic verses. He also wrote rhymed dramas. His language is compact yet lucid, the lyric element often prevails in it. The throbbing rhythm of the Turkish language is sharply expressed in the poems of Enîs Behij. The effect of the *Horsemen* (*Suvarilar*) recited by the author in the Turkish Hearth still rings in my memory; it is full of fire, vigour and rhythm; there is no vestige of sentimentality in the lyre of Enîs Behij.

'Ali Jânib wandered from Ghazal literature to the Parisian fashion; Halid Fahri is the pessimistic poet of Turkey, and Faruq Nafiz excels in syllable-counting and the French prosody, which he uses according to the tune and sentiment of peace. Nazim Hikmet fled to Russia, became a Bolshevik and sends some poems under a pen-name to Turkish reviews. These poems have an extravagantly short metre and their lines often consist of one word only, but there is art even in this ejaculatory form.

The poetic literature, whatever its new metre, form and subject may be, is still in many ways a continuation of the Past compared with dramatic literature, which is a new appearance in Muslim countries. The Turkish popular literature produced the *Orta Oynu* which sprang up out of the Greek *mimos* and the *Karagyuz* which probably originated in the Chinese shadow-plays. The public of these plays consisted of men only, and their language was often very coarse, but pure Turkish, as they were intended for the unlettered mass. The modern Turkish play is not an outgrowth of these old popular dramas but an adaptation of European theatrical performances. It is therefore alien to its soil and the impossibility of Turkish women taking part in the performance as actresses has

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debarred it from becoming national. The dramas of Kemâl and of 'Abdul Haqq Hâmid are not apt for stage performance. The shortest way was the adaptation of French plays in Turkish surroundings, and this paved the way for original Turkish plays. The Turkish stage is destined to be the mightiest factor of regenerating Turkish society, as no branch of literature reacts so collectively and directly on the public ; but in order to produce literary values it needs a past for developing actors and managers and to create a stage technique. All this Turkish drama lacks. In the reign of 'Abdul Hamîd no theatrical performances were allowed, and consequently no writer thought of working for the stage. With the advent of the new era the Turkish drama began its life and, although adaptations still hold the field, some original pieces are also performed, but with no remarkable success as yet.

Nearst the dramatic art is the art of eloquence. In Turkish history as in Muslim history eloquence and oratory were generally the outcome of religion. Since the fundamental *Khutbah* of the Prophet at 'Arafat, each Friday saw in so many thousands of mosques a congregation listening to oratory. This oratory, which in the first centuries of Islam brought forward a number of fiery convincing arguments in æsthetic form, petrified later on and lost its individuality. In Turkey some sultans and leaders harangued the army and seditious Janissaries, and dervishes delivered speeches which savoured of our modern demagogy ; but real oratory came to the East with parliamentary government and the revolutionary times offered ample opportunity to street-orators. The quick temperament of the Turks soon adapted itself to this new form of literature and some great orators like Omer Naji, Hamdullah Subhi and last but not least the victorious President, Mustafa Kemâl Pasha, with his five-days-long speech, in which he gave the whole history of the revolution and subsequent military success, made a remarkable record in oratory.

A new and very quickly developing literary form is presented by the Turkish witty papers and humorous pamphlets, which ridicule the eccentricities of present life. Much hope can be vested in this literature, for which the Turkish mind seems to be essentially fitted.

The profoundest progress is to be found, however, in Turkish learning. I can safely say that some fifty years

ago there hardly was any Turkish learning worth mentioning. No Turkish historiography, no literary history, no ecclesiastical history or biography was attempted in a scientific spirit. The historical books were mere compilations and no serious research was made. With the foundation of the Historical Society the situation changed. Scholars like Nejîb Asim trained in European philology, undertook to unveil the ancient times of the Turks, and the results show mighty progress, while the period of Ottoman sovereignty is best represented by the documentary research-work of *Ahmed Refiq* who has published a series of monographs on Turkish history, and started the real scientific publication of deeds and documents relating to the history of culture.

The history of literature was inaugurated by a thin little volume of 'Abdul Halîm dealing with the subject, besides anthologies for the reading public. The innovations of the writers provoked sharp criticism, and a number of books on literature appeared. They were very different from the old *Tezkerahs* which contained only a few explanatory lines on the poets and their works. The Turks who studied in France came home with enthusiasm and applied æsthetic criticism to Turkish books. The ensuing controversy and strife bore a rich harvest. 'Alî Kemâl in his "Real Literature" (*Edebiyat-i-haqiqiyah*) deals with the necessary commingling of reality with imagination in a literary work. Literature must depict human life in all its aspects. He blames Turkish writers for being slaves of their fancy, while their aim was to copy recognised models. He passes a scathing judgment on Turkish literature which, according to him, is a heap of empty jingling words.

Raif Nejdî's "Sentiments and Thoughts" (*Hisler ve Fikirler*) and "Literary Life" (*Hayat-i-Edebiye*) contain a series of articles in which the author fights for the European school and claims social tendencies for literature, which cannot remain an art for itself as it was in the Past. He is a great admirer of Rousseau and Tolstoy and considers literature a great school for the people; and consequently the writer must pursue moral aims. His view of the lyric poetry of Turkey is a flat denial of its merits.

A staunch fighter in the cause of the new European school is Hûseyn Jâhid who collected his critical articles under the title "My Struggles" (*Gaugalarım*). He proved every able, sometimes pungent, critic; and unveiled the

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adaptations of 'Ali Kemâl and others which he exposed to ridicule. He fights against Arabic influence and denies the vitality of Arabic and Persian culture in the present days. He advocated the cause of the new Turkish so-called decadent writers, and Ahmed Midhat the novelist, and Sâmî the linguist sided with him. He discussed the problem of Turkish spelling and emphasised the necessity of reform in the spirit of phonetic writing with Arabic characters. He did not go so far as Enver Pasha, who elaborated a curious way of writing with the disjointed letters only.

These articles and books show what deep interest the public has in literary criticism, and in spite of the great number of light-witted, frivolous novels and stories which fill the shelves of book-shops there is a growing interest in art and literary science.

The finest step towards a scientific study of literature was taken by Brûsalî Mehemed Tâhir, who in his "Ottoman Authors" (*Osmanlı Mu'ellifleri*) reveals an encyclopedic knowledge of the old writers. A scholar of great ability, he soon established a school of literary criticism and did remarkable research work. Kopruluzade Mehemed Fuad, scion of a noble family, has published a number of valuable books like "Literature of Today" (*Bugunku Edebiyat*) in which he sides with the progressives. He discovered the old vestiges of Turkish Sufism which he made accessible in a deeply learned book, "The First Sufis in Turkish Literature" (*Türk Edebiyatında ilk Mutesavvifler*) besides editing Turkish classics with valuable commentaries.

Ismail Habib's great book "The Turkish Renaissance" (*Türk Tejeddud Edebiyat Tarikhi*) is the first systematic critical Turkish history of the literature of the last century with full examples and notes. I am indebted to his masterly exposition and arrangement of materials. Theology, since the change of madrasa teaching into university-discipline, has had ample scope to develop, while the history of art, represented by Jelal Esad's *Türk Sanatı* has taken a new start and a very promising turn.

With the introduction of new reforms in political and social life, jurisprudence, economics and political science have taken a laudable development. And Turkish literature possesses a library in which one finds every modern science well represented by indigenous authors.

The world has been astonished by the reform of the Turkish alphabet, exchanging the Arabic letters for the Latin.

This innovation is in keeping with the general tendency of present-day Turkey and, though astonishing at first, it seems to work without hindrance. Even though it debars from a thorough knowledge of the old literature, the niceties of which will become alien and incomprehensible to the next generation, it cannot form an obstacle to the growth of a new literature provided that great writers continue to arise. It is certain that this reform signifies a new epoch in the history of culture in Turkey.

I cannot end this summary without this remark: Writers alone cannot make literature, it is the public which reads it and reads it in many different ways. Without the congenial acceptance of the reader the writer's genius will be fruitless. Let us hope and wish that out of the traditions of the great Turkish writers a noble spirit will arise and fortify the future of a national Turkish culture.

JULIUS GERMANUS.

(To be Continued.)

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IN THE KAABA

Here in Thy house I stand. Thou mak'st me one
 With all within the depths and on the height.
 Thy Universe encircling star and sun,
 Boundless domain o'erspreading day and night,
 Surrounds me ; yet not *this* my heritage.
 'Tis some dim spark where clouds of darkness roll,
 Some unknown symbol on an unseen page—
 A glimpse of Thee faith-flashed upon my soul !

From nothing I, from darkness came my light,
 Thy breath gave life—which is eternity !
 So I, a being ever in Thy sight,
 Once having been shall never cease to be.
 Say, am I but a dream in endless sleep ?
 Dispel the dream, or let its veil be riven.
 Show me within myself Hell's deepest deep,
 And in myself the highest height of Heaven !

Thou art above them all, and my return
 From earth and hell and heaven is to Thee.
 Wrapt in Thine own, my being still doth yearn
 To find in Thine its immortality,
 Of Thee, from Thee, and unto Thee I move
 In endless motion born of endless might.
 Thy best is for me —Mercy, Grace and Love ;
 The fire of Hell shall burn with Heaven's own light.

NIZAMAT JUNG.



An Old Man with a Lamp.

SD. 4660. Hydar's Col.
Prince of Wales. Mus.
B. 1000. India. B.

THE RELIGIOUS POLITY OF ISLAM

IN studying the religious polity of Islam we may follow three possible methods, each of which would involve us in a longer and more detailed discussion than is possible in a short paper.

One method would be the historical method. Where it can be followed in detail and through its ramifications, it would be the most effective. But its use would imply a survey of the whole of Islamic history in its political aspects as well as the history of Islamic thought and speculation. In order to reduce the field of our vision to more manageable proportions we might follow the second method and merely confine ourselves to the writings of the great Mujtahids and Faqîhs, but the picture which we should then get would be altogether out of perspective and indeed so detached from its setting that it would be untrue. A third method would be to take conceptions of Society, Kingship or Sovereignty, Rights and Duties, and seek to deduce conclusions about them. This would be misleading unless we let the light of history play upon them. These conceptions have had historical development and have borne a close relation to the facts of Islamic history. I propose to take some of these leading conceptions, to view them very briefly in historical perspective, and to discuss theories and facts as explaining each other.

The political history of the Islamic State would begin from the Prophet's first organisation of his little band of devoted followers linked together in Medina as Exiles (Muhâjirs) and Helpers (Ansâr) under his own guidance through peace and war, followed by the contact with other nations in the wonderful expansion of the first two centuries of the Hijra. It would proceed to deal with the organisation, progress, and decay of the Abbaside Empire, the dissident movements connected with it, such as the Buwaihids and Seljuqs, the Shi'as and Bâtinis and the contemporary movements elsewhere, such as the Muslim Empire in Spain, the Fâtimids in North Africa, and the Ghaznavids in Central Asia. Then would come on the

scene the Mongols, who produced a series of revolutions in Asia and under Islamic influences produced such great codes as the Institutes of Timûr. Timûr, in spite of all his rough ways, had a vein of idealism. He took for his guidance his own practical experience and the advice of his spiritual teacher (Pîr), and found no difficulty in reconciling them. On the western scene of the Islamic world came the Osmanli Turks, whose continuous contact with Europe in peace and war through seven centuries has produced new developments in the practical working of politics, and whose re-birth as a new national State promises still more wonderful transformations for the future. Side by side we should have to take account of the Safavid Empire in Persia, the Qâjâr Dynasty which lasted a good deal over a century (1794-1825), and the new Pehlevi constitutional dynasty, which is working on modern lines. Nor must we omit India and Egypt. In India the great Mughal Empire wove itself into the political life of the people, and bequeathed many institutions and problems of living force to the British Indian Empire which has succeeded it. In Egypt the Dynasty of Muhammad 'Ali has had many ups and downs: the modernisation of the country and its new relations in the international field introduce new threads into the fabric of Islamic politics. And 'Irâq, released from the Mandate, and Central Arabia and the Hijâz united under Nejd sovereignty under a Wahhâbi Puritan regime, are working out new and fruitful institutions in the polity of Islam.

The history of Islamic political thought and speculation would be almost as long and chequered as the history of Islamic politics in actual working. We should begin with the glimpses which we get in the Hadîth literature, referring to the times of the Prophet and the four pious Khalîfas. We should then go on to the speculations of the great jurists,—the founders of the four Orthodox systems of Sunni Jurisprudence, as well as the various branches of Shi'a and other schools of thought. The four Orthodox systems, which mutually recognise and tolerate each other, grew up in the first two centuries of Islam. The Shi'a schools were systematised later, and much less is known to the outer world about their views on the fundamental questions of human society, the relation of sovereignty to religious leadership, and the conflict of *de facto* law and administration with what they conceive to be the real orders of the Sacred Law or the legitimate sovereign.

Nor must we forget extinct systems like the Mo'tazila or the Bâtiniya, which once played an important part in the controversies of the Islamic world.

Then would come great writers like Mâwardi (d. 450/1058) and Nizâm-ul-Mulk (d. 485/1092). The former made a complete exposition of the Shâfe'i doctrine of the State and society, the nature of sovereignty, its right and duties, the Executive and the Judiciary and their functions, and the various relations in which the individual comes under the State. Nizâm-ul-Mulk was a great practical statesman. He was the celebrated Wazîr of Malik Shah the powerful Saljûq Sultan, and of the Sultan's father before him. He did much to check the rivalries of the Sultanate and the historic Khalifate on the one hand, and the incursions of the many semi-political, semi-religious sects which were shaking the foundations of the Islamic world, at the same time that the religious revival in Western Europe, the influence of Cluny, and the ambitions of the Papacy were consolidating the spirit which led to the eastern incursions of Europe known as the Crusades. We find in his book, the *Siyâsat-nâma*, the faithful advice of a Minister to his Sovereign, backed by many anecdotes and historical references. Both minister and sovereign had a tragic end, and political disintegration proceeded apace.

The centuries that followed saw political anarchy and ruin, and the political thinkers turned to the moral basis of the State and Society. Khwâja Nasîr-ud-din Tûsi (d. 672/1274), the great astronomer, mathematician and philosopher, in his famous work, the *Akhlâq-i-Nâsîri* sought to base the foundations of the State on ethical doctrine, somewhat after Aristotle, but his exposition is original, and based on Islamic doctrine. Two centuries later, Jalâl-ud-din Dawâni (d. 908/1502) improved upon this in his universally esteemed *Akhlâq-i-Jalâli*. Both the *Akhlâq* books, which were written in Persian, owe their origin to an earlier Arabic work of the fourth century of the Hijra the *Kitab-i-Taharat*, written under the sway of the Buwaihîd dynasty. The *Nasîri* incorporated some of Bû 'Alî Sîna's encyclopædic philosophy. The Jalâli period is the wonderful period of cultural brilliance but political decay. It saw Persia contending against the Turkomans and the Osmanlis and finally establishing the national Safavi dynasty in 1499. In literature it boasted of the immortal poet Jâmi, the great historian Mir-Khond, and the Prince of Persian Painters Bihzâd. Meanwhile

in the West, Ibn Khaldûn (d. 808/1406) had already discussed the science of politics on the basis of the philosophy of history. He was a versatile genius and had diplomatic and judicial experience in many lands,—in Morocco and Algiers, in Tunis, in Spain, in Damascus after having been a prisoner of Timûr, and in Cairo, where he died.

After the establishment of the Mughal Empire in India in 1526 there was a great deal of activity in the production of Persian literature in India. The most famous of the writers on political subjects was 'Allâma Abu'l-Fazl, the right hand of Akbar, who has, in his *Akbar-nâma* and his *'Ain-i-Akbari*, developed a theory of Kingship verging on the Divine Right of Kings. To him Akbar was the Perfect Man—the *Insân-i-Kâmil*. He and Akbar would have reduced the Muslim State to an Erastian model. This activity in the exploration of political ideas died down in the later Mughal Empire. But it has revived in our own days. For a century the Turks have been dealing with constitutional questions. After the War, since the abolition of the Sultanate and the *Khilâfat*, Turkish thought has taken a radically new orientation. The late Count Ostrorog connected the Angora movement with the literary ferment caused by the glorification of the Turanian race by the French writer Leon Cahun. The modern Turkish literary-political movement is led by Halide Hanum, the Turkish lady whose life itself has been one great adventure and romance. In Persia too, there has been groping for reform for a generation. At length the abolition of the *Qâjâr* dynasty in 1925 and the election of Reza Khan Pehlevi as Shah has changed the whole political atmosphere of the country. But the greatest modern activity in political thinking on Islamic lines has been shown in the Arabic Press, mainly in Egypt. Ibn Qu-taiba's book, *'Uyûn-ul-Akhhbâr*, published in Cairo in (1343/1925), deals with Kingship and government. About the same time the Thesis on *Khilâfat* produced by 'Ali Abd ul-Râziq produced a storm of controversy about the original basis of the Islamic State, a controversy which is not yet stilled. The two Islamic world-conferences (*Mu'tamars*) of 1926, (viz : that held in Cairo in May and that held in Mecca in June), as well as the third held in Jerusalem in December 1931, are evidence of the present groping of Islamic thought towards a wider conception of international politics.

I have mapped out in this sketch the material for the study of the historical development of Muslim politics and

political thought, in order to show how rich and extensive the territory is, and how it marks growth, adaptation, and a gradual unfolding of ethnical, religious, and moral movements and the continuous interaction between Muslim and world political thought. I hope this sketch will also make it clear how closely Islamic theories have been based on the facts with which they had to deal. An Arabist of great eminence* has complained that "much of Muhammadan Law is purely theoretic in character, and lays down many principles that have hardly ever been put into practice." With profound respect I dissent from this view. Muslim Law in its living state has been the most practical of all laws, and every one of its ideals was meant to be realised in life. In the anomalous position where non-Muslim authorities in power petrify law there may be many cases in which Muslim law may appear to be out of relation with the life with which it deals. But that is a passing phase and does not detract from the profoundly practical aims and methods of Muslim jurisprudence and Muslim politics. Even in the brief outline which I have drawn, it will be noticed that the names which stand out as landmarks are those of men of practical experience in many varied walks of life.

The first radical conception which we have to examine with regard to the Muslim State is that of Theocracy. It is often asserted that that is the pattern of Islamic religious polity. Let us see how far that is true. What is a Theocracy? In the Christian-Jewish conception the organisation of the Jews from the time of Moses to the time of the Kings was a Theocracy. God spoke face to face to Moses. The God of Theocracy was a national god going about in a veil from place to place, as there might be a national king. The ceremonial law enunciated in the Pentateuch governed all relations in the minutest detail and was the only public and political law recognised. God spoke to Joshua as he had spoken to Moses, and frequently intervened with miracles even after Moses. For example, the Jordan was divided; the sun and moon stood still; great stones were cast down on Israel's enemies by the Lord, so that more of the enemies died from the stones than those slain by the sword of Israel; and so on. And most important of all, there was an "everlasting Priesthood" instituted, hereditary, consecrated, and clothed with privileges, costly garments and symbols of authority. None of these things was tolerated in Islam. The Prophet

(*) Sir Thomas Arnold : *The Caliphate*, p. 25.

was a messenger, a leader, a teacher, a warner, as we are taught to believe other Prophets were before him. The ceremonial law of Islam mostly governs private life, and aims mainly at personal cleanliness and purity. The public law was developed out of the eternal principles of justice and righteousness which Islam claims to be the heritage of mankind in all ages but which were clearly enunciated again by Muhammad. The rights of Zimmis, or non-Muslims under Muslim protection (or trusteeship) were worked out in a whole body of jurisprudence evolved out of the needs of the first centuries of Islam. And new needs and new conditions have constantly brought into recognition new methods, and will continue to do so as long as Islam is a living reality. None of the successors of the Prophet—not even the first four Khalifas—claimed in any sense to fill the prophetic office, but merely to carry on the work of Muhammad's earthly ministry. The office of priesthood itself, whether hereditary or consecrated, was rejected in Islam altogether. If we must have a name to describe the primitive Muslim State, we may adopt Kremer's formula: The Patriarchal State. Or we may call the system, with Prof. Gibb,* "Theocratic": that would be a better word than "Theocratic."

Nor is a vision of a New Jerusalem of psalm-singing Saints in consonance with the ideals of the polity of Islam. He who preached Islam believed and taught that the whole course of human affairs and history is under the direct government of God. His own inspiration in the darkest moments of sorrow and tribulation and in moments of spiritual triumph when righteousness visibly prevailed, was to him a type of the crowning mercy of God which operates at all times and in all places. In matters of civil government and military discipline Cromwell's "Saints" may be compared in some measure with the early heroes of Islam. But the ideal of Islam, in politics and in other things, was to take human beings as they actually are, make them capable of acting together in each other's service and the service of God, and by consultation and consent to build up institutions which would encourage right conduct and justice and repress wrong.

Muslim speculations as to the origin of civil society are of a piece with this attitude of making every-day life as beautiful and just as possible by means of constant human striving. The bond of human society is assumed to rest on

* "Whither Islam?" p. 26.

implied contract or consent, without which no one has any right to exercise authority or regulate the actions of others. But how does this consent arise, and can it ever be withdrawn? For comparison and contrast let us take the later speculations of, say, Hobbes and Rousseau, and then consider the ideas of Muslim speculation on the subject, which in some respects anticipate Spinoza. Hobbes postulated a primitive society in which every individual was against every other. They were constantly in conflict, and they found that it was to their mutual advantage to make a pact, elect a king, and invest him with authority. That pact became perpetual and bound future generations. It could only be dissolved with the dissolution of society. The legitimate king could not by ordinary process of law be displaced.—Rousseau's idea of the origin of society was the opposite of Hobbes's. He postulated a primitive society in which man was free and innocent. Civilisation and kingship put chains on him. The "general will" (*Volonte generale*) should be restored by the overthrow of Kingship and can only be maintained in a republican form of government. Though philosophy like his was a contributory cause to the great political cataclysm of the French Revolution, his country has not yet, a century and a half after his death, discovered the "general will" or how to make it effective in human affairs.

Māwardi's (d. 1058) exposition is somewhat as follows. If we base ourselves on pure reason and not on canonical authority, we may suppose that the intelligent man will abstain from wrong to his neighbour, avoid conflict with him, and in a loyal and friendly spirit, do positive acts of justice to him. But all men are not reasonable. Who is to curb the ignorant, the selfish, and the unjust? There must be a chief, a leader, an Imam, absolutely just, absolutely unselfish, absolutely wise and understanding. Such a one was the Prophet under God's inspiration. He was exceptional. But at all times there must be such an Imam, or there would be chaos. Referring to the Prophet, such an Imam is a Khalifa. But according to the Orthodox schools he is elected by the Community (the *Millat*), and where the Community is unanimous, they will be guided by God always to the right. This is the doctrine of *Ijma'* in its simplest form, although it has been narrowed down very considerably by the *Faqihs*. It is the Muslim form of the adage "Vox populi, vox Dei," but without the cynical flavour attaching to the western adage. But

supposing the Community is not unanimous, what is to be done? The Orthodox have therefore limited the *Ijmâ'* to the highest in the ranks of the 'Ulamâ. They are competent to judge, and in matters where the Law gives them plain guidance, they assume that there must always be unanimity after discussion among reasonable men with no axe to grind. That assumption is at the root of the provision which requires unanimity among Juries in western jurisprudence. In the election of the Imam, however, and where the election is theoretically by the whole *Millat*, differences do honestly arise, and passions and prejudices—and sometimes subterfuges—intervene. Historically that occurred quite early, and no legal solution was provided. The Shi'as reject the Orthodox elective theory for the Imam altogether, and believe in a sinless Imâm sent by the decree of God—in a legitimist line which cannot fail. If it *seems* to fail, it is because the Imâm is veiled at certain periods when the world is not ready to receive him. Behind the veil he always works, judges, and directs.

The western world has evolved the doctrine of election by majority, and by means of representative institutions, has made it possible in practice to extend the area of election to the whole nation. This is a question of machinery. With certain qualifications it has been found fairly effective. Muslim nations are adopting it more and more. In principle it flows directly from the fundamental views of Islam. Certain failures of Democracy are safeguarded against by other provisions. Mâwardi mentions, among qualifications for electors, spotless integrity and capacity of judgment. He rightly refuses to give the people of the capital any greater voice in elections than others. No Muslim writer suggests property qualifications. The qualifications of integrity and capacity are too vague to be incorporated in an electoral law. But they can be given effect to in a negative or indirect form if the principle is conceded, for example, by enacting disqualifications for convicts or undischarged bankrupts, or by having educational qualifications. Another check on wrong kinds of elections would be the Law: not only a strict electoral law, but a provision that certain kinds of fundamental laws would be beyond the reach of popular gusts of passion, as we shall see later.

In the *Akhîlâq-i-Jalâli* (1477), civilisation is traced to the necessity for human co-operation and division of labour. A government is required to make each individual

content with what is his own. Government is therefore coeval with society, and did not arise after society was constituted. This agrees with Mâwardi's position, and is more in consonance with reason and historical truth than either Hobbes's picture of a chaotic society or Rousseau's picture of an innocent free society, in which government comes as a later institution. In Mâwardi's view a righteous government not only protects the citizens' worldly interests, but enables every one to arrive at the perfection proper to his nature. Note that there is no straining after *absolute* perfection—no vision of "Saints" after one pattern—but an earnest attempt at *realisable* opportunities for every one. For Islam believes in attainable ideals, which go higher with every step in spiritual progress. Unless a government fulfils this function, it is a defective (*naqis*) government, merely held on force. Elsewhere it is called an Unrighteous Government.

But what holds society together? How does the feeling of contractual relationship arise, and how is it maintained? What shows that it is a real binding force, and not a mere theory. It is not simply blood relationship, or a common language, or common territory, although all these are factors contributing to it. The family is the pattern and unit of the State. But the idea is enlarged and ennobled in the State. For the Imâm should be the Father of his People, and love them, know them, and punish them where necessary. And his People should be dutiful and obedient (subject to limitations to be mentioned later). Their obedience must be willing and not merely forced, or where is the contract and consent? The Imâm as head of the State transcends family, tribal, or racial partialities. On this point the Prophet's teaching and example stand out pre-eminently, and are unmistakable. A common language may be a bond of union, but diversity of language makes no difference to the righteous Imâm. As regards territory, the *Akhlaq-i-Nasiri* can even contemplate a Ruler without any territory. In ordinary cases a State has its territory, and common territory is a great convenience in binding people together. But how far shall we draw the frontiers of a common territory? And even in the smallest tract we see differences of outlook in groups of people. There is no inherent magic in a particular geographical area, and free nations may expand and contract according to the particular bond of internal union which we are seeking to define.

Such a bond we may seek for in a universal ideal of Religion and Ethics, and this ideal is never absent from the minds of Muslim thinkers. But Ibn Khaldûn (d. 1406), as a practical statesman, is right in defining it with reference to actual facts in a different way. He uses the word '*Asabiyat*', which originally meant zeal for a Party, sufficiently strong to induce one to fight and die for it. In this connection we may call it National Discipline or *Esprit de Corps*, as his French translator De Slane calls it. It is this subjective feeling that knits a strong and effective State together. There is the famous appeal to it in the Scottish patriotic song, "Scots wha hae' wi' Wallace bled!" It is this sentiment, and not race, or language, or territory, which keeps a nation together as an effective and beneficent force. The enlargement of the area of this sentiment is the highest statesmanship. Its contraction leads to disruption and disaster. Where it actually exists between two groups and some artificial barrier prevents the *Anschluss*, we may have outbreaks of Hitlerism or revolution.

Mâwardi guards himself against the objection to the contractual theory of society by a refinement which fits the historical facts even better and leads to a fruitful discussion about how far obedience is justified to a *de facto* sovereign with a defective title or to a duly elected sovereign who disregards the law or tramples on the people's rights, or in some other way loses his qualifications for leadership. A contract is good only between people of competent legal status, acting freely. Where force or fraud comes in, it is void. Where one of the parties is a lunatic, or a defective, or a minor, the contract may be initially void, or if the incapacity occurred at a date subsequent to the contract, or in certain special cases, a quasi-contract will be presumed in law. Then the relationship will be one of Guardian and Ward. The duties will be enforced all the more strictly against the Guardian, and the law will be interpreted all the more favourably in defence of the Ward. The relationship of the Ruler to his subjects is that of contractual or quasi-contractual Guardianship (*Walâyat*). It is on account of that Guardianship that the Ruler gets any right to regulate his subjects' conduct at all or to interfere in their affairs. And this Guardianship idea extends in varying degrees to the Ruler's ministers and officers as the Guardian's Delegates. They have thus a double responsibility :

to their Principal (the Ruler who appointed them) and to the Wards (the Citizens), in whose interests the Guardian himself is acting.

Now a guardian must have legal competence to act as guardian, and must fulfil the conditions on which he is appointed to act. The guardian's capacity is defined by the Law, and so are the conditions on which his acts are valid in the eyes of the law. Similarly the Law lays down conditions and qualifications for the supreme guardian, the Ruler. If those qualifications cease or those conditions are broken, the guardianship ceases in the same way that contractual rights and obligations are affected by a breach of the terms of the contract. In the language of politics, the consent of the *Millat* is withdrawn, the *Millat* is released from its allegiance, and new arrangements may lawfully be made for filling the supreme post. But all this must be done collectively by due process of law, and not merely by the whim of a discontented individual or clique. On the other hand, supposing the power falls into the hands of a Ruler not rightfully elected, his conduct and qualifications, and his acceptance by the *Millat* may create a quasi-contract or contract, and what was irregular may be regularised. If a person who professes to act as guardian acts in the real interests of his ward, his act may be recognised and certain obligations will be created on his part, which the Law will expect him to fulfil. Such is the position of a *de facto* ruler, and there have been many such in Islamic history.

The supremacy of the Law is one of the fundamental tenets of Islamic politics. It is supreme not only over the subjects but over the Rulers. The term "subjects" is an alien term : the word *Ri'aya* or *Ra'iyat*, rather means a particular class of the *Millat*, the cultivators of the soil, who are considered the backbone of the State rather than the whole *Millat*. It is used in contradistinction to the hierarchy of officials, '*Ulama* and professional men. This supreme law has its source in divine ordinance. I am speaking of the great fundamental Concepts which are grounded on universal reason and revelation, and which are recognised by all, and immutable. John Locke would call them Natural Law. The machinery for the enforcement of this supreme and sovereign law, and the ancillary provisions for applying it to particular conditions and circumstances and giving its abstract soul, as it were, a body and form, are a matter for the Ruler to devise, with

due consultations and deliberations. And the practice of the Law must be in good faith and pursued in sincerity as a sacred calling; otherwise the science of law becomes vain. The Ruler cannot legally say, like the Roman Emperor: "Sic volo, sic jubeo:" "Thus I will, thus I command." On the contrary he must call to his assistance and consultation the judgment of the best counsellors, so that the laws made have, by the theory of delegation, the assent of the people.

This distinction between the sacred and eternal law, which derives from reason and revelation, and the transitory laws and regulations made by the rulers with their legislative authorities is analogous to the distinction in western jurisprudence between *mala per se* and *mala prohibita*. This distinction is often overlooked by Muslim jurists, and more often still by their critics who allege that there can be no legislation in Islam, and Muslim Law is so fixed and inflexible that it petrifies society. In its best days Muslim Law was the most flexible legal system in the world, and adapted itself to growing and changing needs in a spirit of conservative common-sense. Its acceptance of this substratum of Religion and Ethics saved it from the legal rigidity and unreasonableness which marred certain stages of Roman Law and certain stages of pre-Benthamite English Law. In Muslim law, as in all Law, certainty and clearness are required as essentials. The certainty—the search after precision and precedents—can degenerate into rigid absurdity. If we would curb this tendency in human legislation by an appeal to the higher Law, which, though it may seem vague, is more embedded in general principles, we are less likely to bring law into sharp opposition to justice. The appeal to the higher law also helps to curb the selfishness of the legislative or sovereign authority. In public and constitutional law, it is the boast of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence that unwritten conventions achieve more by their fluidity than rigid formulæ. In Muslim jurisprudence the result is attained by the fluidity of the higher Law. Nothing is more dangerous than precise enactments which are disregarded. Nothing is more conducive to progress and right living than a limitation of transitory legislation and an appeal to first principles in the light of a collective conscience.

What are the boundaries between the immutable principles, and the human provisions that must always be altered and adapted in a living community, has often been

disputed. The debateable ground itself may be widened or narrowed according to the feeling of the Community, when the doctrine of *ijma'* in the larger sense for which I am contending is brought into play. For example, a Muslim community may decide, as it has actually decided in some instances, to adopt the Swiss Code or the Code Napoleon, as a matter of convenience. No doubt some people may call it impious or anti-Islamic. To me it is a matter of convenience whether a Community makes a new original Code or adopts one from the experience of other Communities. It is setting too narrow bounds to Islam to identify it with any particular set of concrete customs or institutions, however wise and reasonable they may have been in origin, or to exclude others which the growing sense of the Community may desire to adopt. On the other hand, if we accept the eternal verities and the eternal equities as set above the reach of despotism, whether of Monarchs, Presidents, Oligarchies, or Democracies, or of Cliques or Majorities, we have a valuable check on behalf of the inalienable liberties of mankind, which are dear to the progressive human spirit.

This principle of Liberty, *Hurriyat*, is insisted upon with great force by Mâwardi. Indeed, in his time, it was necessary to insist upon it, whereas at other times other writers have taken it for granted. God's servants are all equal in the eyes of the law. No man can divest himself of this liberty. The liberty consists in the liberty of person and in the free use of all things lawful. Private property is lawful, and encroachments on it are encroachments on liberty. Injustice and oppression consist in preventing the free use of life and limbs, property, and lawful things. What then can be the justification of any authority at all, or of the Ruler taking any taxes, or his decreeing rewards and punishments? It is a matter of Contract or quasi-Contract (Guardianship). Where both parties are free, the resulting constraint is also by consent free, and as in Guardianship, in the interests of the Ward. It is this relation which creates the duty of obedience to the Ruler. It is this relation which entitles him to take taxes, only for the benefit of the *Millat*, and nothing for himself, except as a guardian or agent might take properly prescribed fees or remuneration for his services. Rewards and punishments would be meaningless, if the acts were not of free choice. But the contract or quasi-contract relates back to the offer and acceptance by free will or by due

operation of law. Thus there are clear duties and obligations on both sides.

On this principle of Liberty and Personal Responsibility, espionage becomes unlawful. Readers of Tacitus know what a bane espionage became in the Roman Empire. Non-Islamic books, in the East, on Politics, lay great stress on espionage as one of the means by which authority can detect and punish crimes. In practice espionage has flourished in all countries, in the East and the West, in various forms and under various euphemisms. Islamic jurisprudence recognises the office of a Censor (Muhtasib), who must watch over public morals and insist on correct weights and measures and fair dealing generally. But he must act openly and punish crimes and offences committed or proved publicly. As to hidden private doings one of the Prophet's sayings left it to the judgment of God. But supposing, says Mâwardi, there are strong reasons and manifest signs for believing that a crime is going to be committed in public, can spies be employed to discover the facts and *prevent* the commission? Yes, is his answer, only if the crime is a very grave one affecting others, and can be so prevented; for example, a murder. In that case even a private person can and should take the same steps for prevention. In other cases, it is not lawful even for authority to employ spies. An anecdote is told of Hazrat 'Umar the Khalifa in this connection. He found a brilliantly illuminated tavern, which he entered. He found there a wine party. "Have I not forbidden" he said indignantly, "the illumination of taverns and the holding of wine parties?" "Commander of the Faithful" was the reply, "God has forbidden espionage; God has forbidden entry into houses without permission; and yet you do both." Hazrat 'Umar withdrew, saying: "Your double reproach prevails over mine!"

Austin's analysis of sovereignty as linked with force—of Law as meaningless unless backed with the sanction of force—is unacceptable to Islam. Later political thought in Europe since the days of Austin and Maine, and still more strikingly, later international developments—have strongly called it in question. Our conception of Law postulates something archetypal and eternal at the base, with ever-adapting superstructures constructed according to the needs, opportunities, tastes, temperaments, and intelligence of the various sections of people concerned, and constructed by the wisest of the people with the tacit

consent of all in whose interests they are constructed. It is the base which gives it vigour and vitality, and links it with religion and ethics,—not priest-ridden religion and conventional ethics, but universal religion and archetypal ethics, whose aim is to bring into conformity the will of man with the will of God. Willing obedience is necessary to the efficacy of Law, and force is no instrument for moulding the will, although it is an important factor in life and nature and essential for preventing evil from suppressing good. The State itself, as a human institution, is not above the archetypal Law, although the structure of every-day law may be and must be its creature. While, therefore, we should attach the greatest spiritual value to the Righteous State, the Unrighteous State should be curbed and limited as much as possible, in the interests of the freedom of man. Values are so much inverted in the Unrighteous State that too much liberty, as the Akhlâq-i-Nâsiri points out, may degenerate into chaos, and is not only dangerous to the State, but may be positively harmful to the interests of the community itself.

In the apparent conflict between the will to Life and Power on the one hand, and the worship of the Good, the Beautiful, and the True on the other, Islam takes a middle course. In ultimate analysis there is no real conflict. In the world as it is actually constituted, the conflict appears in various forms—flabby immorality masquerading as Art, mealy-mouthed hypocrisy or invertebrate laziness as unselfishness, and a blind, arrogant, one-sided view of material phenomena as science. In such a case the spirit of Islam would be inclined to see much in the protest of Nietzsche, though Nietzsche's language is needlessly vehement. But on the other hand it would unhesitatingly reject the claims of self-constituted Supermen and irresponsible militarist monster-states, such as Treitschke glorified. Machiavelli's non-moral, all-powerful Prince is in our view a glorification of selfishness and lust of power, the very things which the art of Politics must seek to check.

The religious polity of Islam is not committed to any particular form of sovereignty, such as Kingship, Aristocracy, or Democracy. It defines certain great principles, and lays down certain conditions for a Righteous State. Historically there have been various interesting developments. The cradle of Islam was in Arabia, and Arabian ethnical ideas were apt to come to the surface in the process

of historical churning. Before Islam the tribal system was ingrained in the social life of Arabia. Though the Prophet, by his example and teaching, suppressed sectionalism and pointed the way to a non-tribal, non-racial, non-sacerdotal, non-autocratic State, the tribal revolt after his death showed that the tribal feeling was not extinct. It also showed that Arab obedience in the Prophet's life was purely personal to him. The Arab mind, in its tribal organisation, gives the maximum of freedom to the individual. This is often difficult to reconcile with collective action in a large State. Tribal jealousies were the bane of Muslim politics for many centuries, in Arabia, Syria, North Africa, Spain, and elsewhere. This extreme impatience of restraint by authority amounted almost to antinomianism, and is remarked upon by Ibn Khaldûn, himself an Arab. In the fortunes of the Islamic peoples in later times and in other countries, when the supremacy passed to other races, such as Persians and Turks, it remained as a reproach to the Arabs that, in spite of their intellectual keenness, they had less sense of discipline and cohesive action. It is to be hoped that that reproach will be removed in the immediate future, when more than one Arab kingdom will play its part in the family of nations.

With the Umayyad rulers, Byzantine ideas of luxury and despotism were added to tribal exclusiveness. Kingship, which was altogether alien to the Arab mind, was introduced into Islam by them. Ibn Khaldûn's dictum is that Kingship may be disapproved but not condemned. And yet the name of King was never very acceptable, and the older nomenclature of Imam or Khalifa or Commander of the Faithful (*Amir-ul-Muminin*) continued to be employed. When the Turks came to play a prominent rôle in the politics of Islam, the neutral title of *Sultan*, which simply means "authority" in the abstract, began to be used. At first it implied subordinate rank, *i.e.*, subordinate to that of the Khalifa. It is said that it was first used by the Buwaihid Amir Mu'izz-ud-daula (334/945). But he did not use it on his coins, nor did Mahmud of Ghazna, though the title is commonly used with his name. The title was first used in public prayers by the Saljûq Tughril Bey, who acknowledged his own subordination both to the Khalifa and to the Buwaihid power under the Khalifa (447/1055). In the Persian mind the attributes of Kingship tended to be approximated to those of the old Persian monarchy, with much pomp and circumstance and something of the halo of divinity that surrounded the

Sāsānians. The Osmanli Sultan became a powerful Emperor, with the attributes and personal powers of the Great Khan of Turkish tradition. The Osmanli were soldiers, and their Empire became a military Autocracy. In India, the high-flown adulation of Abū'l-Fazl and others in Akbar's Court, and terms like the *Darshan* employed in Court ceremonies, recalled the sacred character of Hindu Kingship, and were distasteful to the Orthodox Muslims. When Egypt set up a separate semi-independent line under Muhammad Ali, the Ruler was called Khedive, not king. When Afghanistan became a separate kingdom, the ruler called himself Amir, and so did the rulers of Muslim kingdoms in Central Asia.

In our own day the repugnance to the title of Kingship has been overcome. We have now a king in Egypt, Iraq, Transjordan, Afghanistan, and even in the Wahhābi kingdom of Nejd and the Hejāz. In the last century there was the short-lived kingdom of Oudh in India. In Southern India, in the 18th century, Tipu remained content with the title of Sultan. Most of the present Muslim kings are on the Constitutional model. Though foreign influences are apparent, there is yet an attempt to link some of these constitutional limitations with the old Islamic formulæ, though the Islamic formulæ implied much stricter limitations. The present national Turkish State is a Republic, though the extraordinary personal position of the Ghazi Pasha makes him more than the President of a Republic elected for a definite term of years. In calling itself a lay State (*un état laïque*), with no established religion, it seems to make a breach with Islamic tradition, though it must be remembered that the breach is less violent than might at first sight appear, because in some aspects Islam is itself a lay religion, having no consecrated or privileged priesthood. In this connection I ought to refer to the work of Ali Abdul Raziq, a former Mufti in Egypt (Al-Islām-wa-usûl-ul-hukm), published in Cairo in 1925, in which he argues strongly in favour of the separation of Church and State in Islam. Similarly Maulvi Barkatullah, of India, in his book on the Khilāfat (1925), argues that the Khalifa must be a spiritual leader only, and sketches a scheme of spiritual organisation.

The duty of a Ruler to take advice and never to act without consultation is one of the cardinal principles of Islamic polity, and is referred to a Quranic injunction (Q. III 158). If, it is argued, the Prophet, who was wiser

than anyone else, was commanded and made it his practice to act after consultation, how much more necessary it is for ordinary rulers. Mâwardi (in his chapter on the subject in his *Kitab ud-Dunya wad-din*) discusses the subject with his usual acumen. Consultation increases social understanding and induces in people the habit of co-operation. Moreover the man who acts in concert makes other people sharers in his action, and has no cause in any event to hold his head down in shame. But the people consulted should have five qualifications. They should be (1) competent, (2) honest, (3) sincerely friendly, (4) independent and free from fear, and (5) disinterested. But it is interesting to read the shrewd remark of Nizam ul-Mulk in his *Siyasat-nama* that every one has more or less wisdom. From the need of consultation is derived the need of a Council, and if our earlier reasoning on representative institutions is valid, the need for legislative assemblies or parliaments. The qualifications specified for those whose counsel is worth having have to be translated from the abstract to the concrete. I do not know where any serious attempt is made to do so completely, but partial attempts are made in most constitutions or parliamentary conventions. For instance, it is reasonable that a man should not vote in any matter in which he is personally interested; that a person should be disqualified for treason to the State; that a vote influenced by corrupt motives or coercion should be discounted; that undischarged bankruptcy should disqualify, and so on. As councillors must reflect the *morale* of the electorate which they represent, it would be reasonable to prescribe similar but less strict qualifications for electors also. No electorate ought to be allowed to return members who are frankly out to destroy the State, though the tendencies in modern undiluted democracies is to chance everything on a stake of universal suffrage.

I must not leave the subject without referring to Muslim fundamental ideas on finance and taxation, though I cannot here enter into any details. What I want to emphasise is that in Muslim polity (as it should be in any polity) Finance is the corner-stone of the fabric. It is recognised that, taking as we do a high ideal of the spiritual and ethical value of the State, bad or selfish or inequitable taxation or expenditure may defeat the beneficent purposes of government as much as bad laws or a weak administration. In the early days of Islam an elaborate scheme of finance was worked out. Certain classes of

people were exempted on account of poverty, or infirmity, or particular economic conditions. There was no specially privileged class,—neither a hereditary aristocracy nor a privileged priesthood. The Jiziya was not a penal tax: it was in lieu of military service which was obligatory on every Muslim. The scheme of taxation on Zimmis was as fair as was consistent with the ideas of the time. There was always a temptation to raise more revenue by novel forms of taxation, but all virtuous rulers and their Wazirs disapproved of them and tried to conform to the *Shara'ī* scheme of taxation. As late as the middle of the 14th Christian century an Indian ruler, Firoz Tughluq, had qualms of conscience about the legitimacy of levying a water rate on the new canals which he had constructed. A great consultation was held, and after much debate it was decided that the water rate would be lawful even though the State was merely distributing the gifts of nature. The State's service was in the distribution. In the same way, various kinds of expenditure, and certainly all expenditure on the personal whims of the Ruler, were held to be unlawful. The Muslim State never acknowledged that finance was not a part of morals—whether it was a question of disproportionate demands, ill-distributed burdens, unreasonable lavishness in proportion to resources, undue partiality in the apportionment of benefits, selfish avarice, or unwise hoarding in the coffers of the State. A minister of Sultan Mahmūd is said to have given him this advice: "Treat gold as your enemy, that men may treat you as your friend."

Property and Capital, as well as the State's right to control all the resources of the Community, are fully recognised. But on the other hand all factors which make for the misuse or selfish abuse of economic power by individuals or corporations are severely regulated. Under this head come the laws against usury. They have been interpreted narrowly, and in my opinion wrongly, to bar commercial interest. The State's duty to provide for the well-being and suitable employment of its citizens is insisted on. As Professor Massignon remarks,¹ Islam has the merit of standing for a very equalitarian conception of the contribution of each citizen by the tithe to the resources of the community; it is hostile to unrestricted exchange, to banking capital,² to State loans, to indirect

(1) Whither Islam? p. 378.

(2) In my opinion only where its misuse becomes a danger to the Community.

taxes on objects of prime necessity, but it holds to the rights of the father and the husband, to private property, and to commercial capital. Here again it occupies an intermediate position between the doctrines of bourgeois capitalism and Bolshevik communism."

Muslim Polity is an imposing structure, not to be viewed through a narrow aperture. Many wise men have contributed their ideas and ideals to it. Many practical men have staked their reputation in applying them. Many States in history have foundered because they neglected them. Many modern institutions follow logically from them, even though they seem so new. Many races have contributed certain ethnical characteristics to them: the Arabs a passion for freedom; the Turks a habit of disciplined obedience; the Persians a genius for lofty imagination. I wonder if the Indians can contribute a power of synthetic co-ordination. What Professor De Santillana* says of Muslim Law may perhaps be applied to the Polity of Islam:

"There is no doubt that the high ethical standard of certain parts of Arab law acted favourably on the development of our modern concepts; and herein lies its enduring merit."

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A. YUSUF ALI.

ANNALS OF THE DELHI BADSHAHATE

TRANSLATED FROM AN OLD ASSAMESE CHRONICLE

PREFACE

THE old Assamese chronicle of the kings of Delhi, commonly known as *Padshah-Buranji*, was described at length in *Islamic Culture*, Vol. II, Nos. 3 and 4, and Vol. III, Nos. 1 and 3, under the title *New Lights on Mogul India from Assamese Sources*. Since the publication of the above articles I have received requests from many quarters, including a personage of no less eminence than Sir Muhammad Iqbal,* that the materials contained in the *Buranji* should be made available to students of Mogul history; and the present series represents a complete literal translation of the aforesaid *Padshah-Buranji*. In the meantime I have had access to two other manuscript chronicles dealing with the events of Delhi. The different versions have been closely and carefully compared and collated, and the contents rearranged on a chronological basis. I wish I could critically and elaborately annotate the text with the object of pointing out the agreements with or deviations from standard Persian chronicles of the Mogul court, and identifying the personages and places mentioned in the *P.B.* But owing to the paucity of reference books at Gauhati, I have to abandon the idea for sometime to come. This may be taken up by some enthusiast working under better circumstances; or if time and opportunity permit I may myself take it up some day.

To my brethren living at Secunderabad I will point out a coincidence of supreme interest. Secunderabad has now become the radiating centre of Indo-Islamic culture and civilisation; and it played a similar rôle two hundred and fifty years ago when war and conquest were the only

* Sir Muhammad Iqbal expressed a desire to see the entire *Padshah-Buranji* in English when the present writer met him at the tea-party given to the delegates of the Fifth All-India Oriental Conference at Shahdara Gardens on November 20, 1928.

medium of cultural contact. The principal informant of the Assamese chronicler was a Secunderabadi Mogul named Muhammad Ali. He has been described as a scholar proficient in Arabic and Persian *loghats*. He was in charge of the education of the sons of Nawab Mansur Khan, Fauzadar at Gauhati, from March 1679 to September 1682, for which he was paid a remuneration of full one hundred rupees per month. He had with him the usual travelling archive and repertory of factolore, written and oral; and the historically-minded Assamese of those days made full use of what Muhammad Ali possessed and knew.

The circumstances which led to the presence of Nawab Mansur Khan and his protégé at Gauhati are of great importance, especially in view of the light which they throw on the *P.B.* chapters devoted to Nawab Mir Jumla, Raja Ram Singha and Sultan Azamtara. By the treaty of 1639 enacted between the Mogul commander Allah Yar Khan and the Ahom general Momai-tamuli Barbarua, Western Assam extending from Gauhati to the Manas river passed into the hands of the Moguls; and Mogul Fauzadars governed the newly conquered territory with their headquarters at Gauhati. During the illness of Emperor Shah Jahan and the War of Succession, Jayadhwaj Singha, King of Assam, reoccupied Western Assam and overran the whole country up to the neighbourhood of Dacca. Aurangzeb, after having consolidated his position on the throne of Delhi, despatched the veteran general and statesman Nawab Mir Jumla to re-establish Mogul prestige and reputation in Cooch Behar* and Assam. Accordingly Mir Jumla left Dacca in November 1661, marched through the entire length of the country without any effective resistance, and occupied Garagram or Gargaon the Ahom capital in March 1662. After several months of sporadic contests between the two camps which drove them both to unprecedented suffering and hardship a treaty was enacted in January 1663 which practically restored the terms of the treaty of 1639 as far as jurisdiction was concerned. Jayadhwaj Singha died in November 1663. His successor Chakradhwaj Singha under cover of friendship with the Moguls made elaborate preparations for the reoccupation of Gauhati, and in the

* From the time of Akbar, Cooch Behar was under Mogul vassalage. During the War of Succession it unfurled the flag of independence and stopped paying the stipulated tribute to the Moguls.

middle of the year 1667, Lacit Barphukan, son of Momai Tamuli Barbarua, was sent down at the head of a numerous force to oust the imperial invaders from Gauhati. In November 1667 the Ahom general succeeded in wresting back Gauhati from the Moguls, on which the Emperor despatched Raja Ram Singha of Amber against Assam, his deputation being meant as a punishment for the repeated delinquency which he had evinced in the discharge of his imperial duties, especially by his connivance at the escape of Shivaji Maharaja and the Sikh Guru Teg Bahadur. Ram Singha reached the neighbourhood of Gauhati in March 1668, and he immediately made overtures for peace and the restoration of the territorial limits fixed in 1639 and 1663. The Assamese remained adamant, and Ram Singha repeated the peace negotiations though without any success. Abortive fighting and peace proposals went on for three long years when things were brought to a head in the beginning of 1671. In the naval battle of Saraighat which took place in the neighbourhood of Gauhati in March 1671 the hopes of the imperialists were dashed to pieces. The forces of the Mogul general were completely defeated, and the Rajput Raja sought refuge in the imperial garrison of Rangamati situated at the frontier of Assam and Mogul India. Having failed to seize another opportunity to invade Assam, Ram Singha returned to Delhi and paid his respects to the Emperor on June 24, 1676. Lacit Barphukan died soon after his memorable victory at Saraighat, and was succeeded in the viceroyship of Gauhati by his brother Laluk Sola Barphukan.

The concentration of the ablest leaders of the country at Gauhati, for the purpose of thwarting any eventual renewed attack of the imperialists, left the Ahom capital in Upper Assam a prey to the machinations and intrigues of self-seeking nobles and ministers. Laluk Sola noticed with envy and suspicion the unbridled influence and dictatorship of the Prime Minister Atan Buragohain. Anxious to acquire for himself similar power and prestige, Laluk Sola negotiated with Sultan Azamtara, Governor of Bengal, for the evacuation of Gauhati, which he promised to effect on the appearance of a few war-boats on the Brahmaputra and a contingent of cavalry on land, led by a Mogul commander. The only condition which the Barphukan imposed was that the Prince with the concurrence of his imperial father should make him king of

Eastern Assam, and confer upon him a reward of four lakhs of rupees. This proposal had, in the eye of the Prince, a double advantage. He would secure a personal triumph which would consolidate him in the fluctuating affection of his exacting father ; and would at the same time raise the rank and dignity of his Assamese consort Rahmat Banu Begum to whom he was married on May 2, 1668, and who happened to be the niece of Laluk Sola Barphukan. The Prince readily acquiesced in the proposal, and despatched Nawab Mansur Khan, Fauzadar of Rangamati, to take delivery of the place. Laluk Sola acted up to his promise, and the Mogul general entered unopposed the fort of Gauhati on March 1, 1679. The elated Barphukan, who surrendered his charge for "a handful of silver" while his father and brother had fought for it at the imminent risk of their lives, now proceeded up to the Ahom metropolis to play the rôle of a king-maker. This bloodless occupation of Gauhati was magnified at Delhi as a great victory ; and Shahrukh, the messenger of Azamtara, who brought the news to the Emperor, was given a reward of Rs. 1,000, a necklace of 19 pearls, and a *turrah* studded with jewels.

The first act of Laluk Sola was the deposition of King Sudaipha, who had been placed on the throne by the Prime Minister, and the installation of a stripling of fourteen years as Sudaipha's successor. The Premier, now a fugitive, was next arrested, imprisoned and killed ; and Laluk Sola then turned his attention to the task of disabling all possible claimants to the throne by maiming or mutilating their bodies. Gadapani, the most powerful of the rival princes, deserted his home and wandered from place to place, avoiding the vigilance of Laluk Sola's emissaries. His wife, Princess Jaimati, having refused to give any clue to her husband's whereabouts, was tortured to death under the orders of the puppet monarch which were obviously inspired by Laluk Sola Barphukan. The martyrdom of the Princess roused the nobles to consciousness of the grave danger to which their country was subjected. Laluk Sola was killed in his own residence in November 1680 ; and the nobles placed Gadapani on the throne with the belief that he alone would be competent to oust the imperialists from Gauhati and free the major part of his kingdom from the yoke of foreign domination. This took place in August 1681, and after a year of preparation the new monarch succeeded in re-capturing Gauhati from the hands of the Moguls after a decisive

encounter at Itakhuli in the neighbourhood of the viceregal headquarters of Assam. Mansur Khan fled with his forces to Rangamati leaving behind a vast amount of provisions and war-materials. The King appointed the Gargayan Sandikai Phukan as his Viceroy at Gauhati; and the Ahoms continued to remain in undisturbed possession of Western Assam until the termination of their rule in February 1826.

After the cessation of hostilities Muhammad Ali remained at Gauhati enjoying that immunity from suspicion to which a detached scholar was entitled according to the traditions of the Indians. He found in the new Governor of Gauhati a patron who was as generous and appreciative as his previous master. The Ahom Viceroy seized this opportunity of utilizing the scholarship and learning of the Mogul of Secunderabad by arranging for the recording of the narratives of Delhi and other materials which were in his possession; and an old chronicle specifically mentions this fact in connection with the list of the kings of Delhi which was compiled from Muhammad Ali's papers. It is a delightful irony of fate that the gift of a Secunderabadi made to the Assamese at Gauhati two hundred and fifty years ago is now returned to the Secunderabadis by an Assamese from the very same place.

S. K. BHUYAN,
Gauhati.

CHAPTER I

MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST OF DELHI

1. *The Birth of Rungaddin.*

Mazitpur is a city in the province of Nâko. There ruled a Padshah named Muhammad Shah of Alâmanja.* He had no son. Once he feasted some *faqirs* and *pirs* with great cordiality and earnestness, and prayed to them as follows, "I have three hundred wives, but still I have not been blessed with a son. Please consult the scriptures and tell me what I am to do."

* *Thana Panjar* in another text.

The faqirs and pirs replied,—“What means shall we suggest? There is one pir named Marda Sher Khan Ali¹ who wanders about in disguise from city to city on an Irâqi horse. If you can recognise him when he comes to your city, you should pray to him for a son, and he will fulfil your wish.”

As luck would have it Sher Khan Ali halted at the city and the Padshah honoured him and offered the saint large quantities of food articles. The pir asked the Padshah, “I hope you are perfectly happy?”

Padshah: “I have everything complete, but I am unhappy having no son. I have three hundred wives, but still no son has been born to me.”

Pir: “In your previous life you had stolen the son of another man, and sold him to a degenerate infidel who must have killed and devoured the child. For this sin you have not been blessed with a son. Now, if you, desirous of a son, offer one lakh of golden pieces to Mecca you will surely have one.”

The Padshah did accordingly and got a son, who was named Rangaddin.²

2. *Nako, a land of wonders.*

The beasts, birds, fish, men and serpents of that country are of huge dimension and stature. The Padshahs rest under the shade offered by the wings of the bird *Hurma* which lives on rhinoceros and elephants. The bird has a horn on its back. Sometime before its death the bird goes about with an elephant pierced through the horn. The elephant dies afterwards, and maggots breed on its carcase which enter the entrails of the bird and eat them up. The bird dies in consequence. *Sarol* is another bird of that place. The grandees make hubble-bubbles of the eggs of these birds. The price of each egg comes up to rupees one hundred or two hundred. *Shah-Morog* is another species of bird found in that country. Before its death it flaps its wings on the ground in quick succession; the friction produces fire in which the bird is consumed to death. There is another bird named *Sereng* which assumes a white colour in the morning, crimson in the afternoon and black at night; and they are kept by the grandees for their amusement. There is another bird

(1) *Muhammad Ali* in another text.

(2) *Rukundin* in another text.

named *Murtaskhor*. It swallows live charcoal of burnt fuel, wood and bamboos, without scalding its mouth. The rats and mice of that place are very sweet-scented. The nobles of the land use coats and garments made of their skins which they sew and convert into dresses. Their pillows are also made of the same stuff, and they become cool in summer and warm in winter. Their price ranges from one hundred to two hundred rupees. Diamonds are also found in that country.

3. *The munificence of Rungaddin Padshah.*

After some time Alâmanji Muhammad Shah Padshah died, and he was succeeded by his son Rungaddin. With regard to his own kingdom he enquired: "How long have we been Padshahs of Nâko?" He could trace the date of origin to the wars between the Kauravas and the Pândavas and not further than that. Nobody could say how long they were wielding the sovereign power. The Padshah ordered the articles in the royal store to be counted, but the counting could not be finished.

Rungaddin Padshah said to his Wazîr, Farteijang Khân, and his Kârzi, Sul Mardâ-dâdullâ, "I investigated into the antiquity of our dynasty of Padshahs. The records testify to its existence at the time of the war between the Kûrus and the Pândavas. No date could be traced earlier than that armageddon. The articles of the royal treasury were also computed, but the counting could not be finished. So I ask you both to give me such advice as will conduce to my well-being in the life to come as well as in the present life, so that my soul may be blessed."

The two ministers said to the Padshah, "Make more liberal presents to Mecca and to other holy places with due discrimination. Bestow gold, silver and clothes on faqirs, pirs, beggars and the poor. If this is accomplished you will earn blessings in the after-life. Arrange and reconstruct the city in the proper order. Keep more soldiers, so that you may subjugate the frontier Rajas and Padshahs and exact tribute from them. Find out a kingdom greater than Nâko: invade and occupy it, and become its Padshah. If this can be done, you will earn fame and glory in this world."

Accordingly, the Padshah made more liberal presents to religious places, exercising proper judgment and discretion; gifts of gold and silver and apparel were made on

a more extensive scale to faqirs, beggars and the indigent. The wives of mendicants wore bracelets and anklets of gold and silver. The city walls, the fort and the forum were constructed with marble stones.

4. *Rungaddin's war-equipments.*

The Padshah then commanded Farteijang Khân to recruit and maintain officers and servants, which was done accordingly. There were 30,500 officers consisting of Wazirs, Dewans, Nawabs, Bukshis and Mansabdars; a cavalry of 700,000 soldiers using Iraki, Arbi, Sujarnis* and Turki ponies, 3,500 elephants; 42,000 cannon; 84,000 muskets; 28,000 *chandravans*; 100,500 beldars, and innumerable merchants, shopkeepers as well as camels, bullocks and asses.

5. *Rungaddin's expedition of conquest.*

After subduing all the Padshahs and Rajas on the frontiers of his kingdom, Rungaddin marched against Sher Pingal, King of Rum. Before storming the intrenchments and garrisons of Sher Pingal Padshah, Rungaddin halted at a distance of three days journey and despatched messengers to the King of Rum with a letter to the following effect,—“ I am the Padshah of Nâko, and my name is Rungaddin. How dare you rest in peace after having heard my name? Have you not received reports of the invincibility and splendour of my soldiers and my arms and weapons? Even now there is time for you to come and make friends with me by offering due submission; otherwise be prepared for war. If you lack in war-materials, just ask of me, and I will send them to you. Anyhow I demand war.” The above message formed the subject-matter of the letter which was delivered to the Padshah by a courier.

6. *Sher Pingal's reply.*

Sher Pingal became furious on the receipt of the letter and said,—“ My name is Sher Pingal, which denotes a tiger. Why should an ordinary human being brag before a tiger? Why should I supplicate you for war-equipments? The splendour of your army has led you to utter

* *Sujarnis* is obviously a misnomer for *Sumarnis*, the name given to ponies imported from Smyrna; *Mujannas* occurs in *Ain-i-Akbari*; see Hobson-Jobson, under *Toorkey*.

these words of pride and disdain, which will be humbled at the sight of the magnificence of the forts of my kingdom. I have three fortresses, one of copper, another of iron and the third of stones ; if you can come after passing these three citadels I will then ask you for supplies of war. ”

To this the Ukil made the reply, — “ Have you not heard the name of Rungaddin Padshah ? He has humbled numerous Padshahs and Rajas. The three forts of which you have just spoken will not stand you in good stead. Man has constructed them, and man will demolish them. So, do not remain in peace by counting upon their impregnability. Go and offer your homage to him, everything will go well. If you oppose nothing will be saved. Your assertion that Sher Pingal means a tiger is inauspicious, as elephants, rhinoceros and tigers are all killed by men . ”

After having said so the Ukil was turned out of the Padshah's presence, and he reported the whole matter to Rungaddin Padshah, who presented the Ukil with a pony and ten thousand rupees, saying, “ Well done, Ukil. ”

7. *Crossing of the invincible forts.*

After this, the Padshah despatched Farteijang Khan, a senior Nawab and a commander of twelve thousand, at the head of twelve Nawabs and a large army. At the sight of the copper fort, the general placed in the van large sheets of iron to serve as walls for the soldiers who marched under the shelter thus afforded, unhurt by the showers of arrows and bullets. The cavalry riding on Iraki and Sujarnis ponies then reached the foot of the copper fort, when they crossed the fort and went over to the other side. The inmates of the fort perished or took to their heels. The copper fort was destroyed by Farteijang Khan. The invaders then attacked the fort of iron. Here also they posted the iron screens in front. The *poladars* served as screens for which they could not assail the fort. The *beldars* or sappers cut open a path with thin steel hoes through which the sepoys, the elephants and other men passed, and occupied the fort. After this the invaders stormed the stone fort. There was a Nawab who had once been wronged by Sher Pingal ; he now came and made friends with Farteijang Khan. The general gave him large presents and asked the methods of successfully attacking the iron fort. The Nawab replied— “ There is a

secret passage; and horses and elephants cannot pass through it as it is very narrow. A hundred or two men only can pass through the passage."

Some two hundred soldiers versed in magic were then requisitioned for service. They entered the royal apartments by a stratagem, and transported Sher Pingal Padshah bodily with his bed-stead, and handed him over to Farteijang Khan, who in turn despatched the captive monarch to the presence of Rungaddin Padshah.

8. *Sher Pingal offers submission.*

Rungaddin Padshah brought Sher Pingal to the Darbâr and said,—“ Well, Sher Pingal, you did not consult men proficient in the ways of the world, nor did you act as one should do when he is in danger and misfortune. Hence you are now facing all this misery.”

Sher Pingal replied, “ O Padshah, I bow to thee. What you have said is proper and reasonable. You have heard what sort of a man I, Sher Pingal, am. Even Jungam-Shâhân Padshah could not stem the tide of misfortunes;* what am I to say now? Do as you think proper.”

Rungaddin then said, “ Well, Sher Pingal, do not be afraid in the least. I shall leave this place after seeing that you are properly established.”

Having said so, Sher Pingal was allowed to dine at the royal banquet, and to attend the assembly of the Wazîr and the Dewan. The elephants, horses and other spoils seized by Farteijang Khan after destroying the three forts were taken with him. He left two Nawabs in charge of the place and proceeded to the presence of the Padshah. Sher Pingal took his oath in accordance with the injunctions of the Musalmans, and Rum became bound to pay an annual tribute of five crores of rupees. Sher Pingal was presented with a *sirpao* or robe of honour, after which he was allowed leave to go. The son of Farteijang Khan was appointed *Subha* or governor of the place.

Rungaddin Padshah said to Sher Pingal, “ I assure you there is no cause for alarm. Pay the stipulated sum of money annually to the Subha.” To this Sher Pingal replied, “ Padshah, *seemat*, you have bestowed a second life upon a dead person. I will act as you have commanded me.”

* In another text,—“ During the conflict I could not recuperate myself, being a victim of dire misfortune.”

Farteijang Khan was rewarded with presents of elephants and horses, and a purse of one lakh of rupees ; the twelve other Nawabs were also rewarded according to their desert.

After the subjugation of Rum, Rungaddin Padshah encamped on the bank of the river Narmadâ, where Nasir Beg blew the nahbat.

9. *Pithor Raja of Delhi.*

Rungaddin's spies then went far and wide to survey the countries. A messenger returned from Delhi and reported to Rungaddin Padshah, " Pithor Raja rules at Delhi. He is a powerful chief, and his kingdom is a prosperous one. All the commodities wanted by the Padshah are available in his territories. In ancient times it was the kingdom of the Kurus and the Pândavas. It is inhabited by men of all castes, Brahmans, Kshattris, Vaisyas and Sudras, and other Hindusthanis. That place is fit for the establishment of your throne."

10. *Rungaddin marches against Delhi.*

Having heard this the Padshah asked the Wazir for his opinion. The Wazir replied, " I hear Delhi has insurmountable fortresses, great warriors and diplomats. Still, if you resolve, you can occupy the throne of Delhi. "

The Padshah then despatched Jambur Khan by the route through the Maru river at the head of one lakh of sepoys, while Harjubar Khan proceeded by the way through Rachanpur in command of an army of one hundred thousand soldiers consisting of Rohellâ-Pâthâns and others. The Padshah went in the middle. Bahlol Khan Nawab marched at the head of a large force of thirty thousand sepoys a journey of six *dandas* in advance, Rungaddin Padshah marching in the rear.

11. *The Rajputs prefer war to submission.*

The general of Rungaddin Padshah captured some forts within the jurisdiction of Pithor Raja's territories. The soldiers stationed at those forts reported to Pithor Raja, King of Delhi, " The powerful sovereign Rungaddin Padshah, son of Muhammad Shah of Alâmanja, King of Nâko, whose capital is Mazitpur, has come with a large

army, and is marching towards this direction after capturing our garrisons."

Then Pithor Raja conferred with the Rajas of Amber, Bandhab, Hâro, Rânâ Raja, Gar-chitor, Jharkhand and other powerful chieftains, when he said "Rungaddin Padshah is a very mighty prince. After subduing numerous potentates he is now coming to invade our kingdom. Please advise whether we should offer our homage to him."

The Rajas assembled replied in one voice—"We are Kshattriyas and Rajputs. We are not prepared to derogate our name for fear of our lives. Besides, the Raja of Delhi has never submitted nor paid his homage to any other prince. Death in battle is preferable to submission. So make preparations for war, and we shall fight."

12. *Exchange of embassies between Rungaddin and Pithor Raja.*

In the meantime Rungaddin Padshah's Ukil arrived at the court of Pithor Raja with a letter containing the following message, "I am the son of Muhammad Shah Padshah of Alâmanja, and my name is Rungaddin Padshah. Have you heard or not of the magnificence of my army and of my subjugation of the Rajas and the Padshahs of the territories through which I have passed? You should now come and establish friendly terms with me, and I will go back after having settled you in your territories, and you will live in peace by paying me presents and tribute. If you do not submit I will invade Delhi and take possession of the same, and you will be deprived of a great opportunity."

Pithor Raja, King of Delhi, sent the following report: "The Padshah is a great man to himself, what is that to me? He is the Padshah of a kingdom and I am also the Raja of mine own. He should not have written like this."

The Ukil then said: "What you have said and written betrays indiscretion. Everyone has heard of the prowess and strength of Rungaddin Padshah. Now that you have spoken so, you will have no loophole to escape."

13. *Clash between the Mohammadans and Rajputs.*

The Ukil reported the whole matter to Rungaddin Padshah. The Padshah marched to the battle, and so

did Pithor Raja. The Raja despatched the Rânâ-raja with a numerous army to meet the forces of Jambur Khan, while the Raja of Gar-chitor marched at the head of a large contingent of soldiers and chieftains against Harjubar Khan, Raja Pitholdas was sent with another detachment, six *dandas* in advance. Pithor Raja himself marched to the eastern front personally to conduct the battle against Rungaddin Padshah. Then the advance guards of the Raja and of the Padshah caught sight of each other. The emissaries of the two sovereigns sent report to their respective lords.

The battle commenced at a distance of seven days' journey from Delhi. There ensued a terrible encounter between Jambur Khan and the Rânâ-raja with heavy casualties on both sides. Jambur Khan and the Rânâ-raja were engaged in a duel on horse-back, and they both perished by their swords. This was followed by a furious contest between the Raja of Gar-chitor and Harjubar Khan. On one side were ranged Rajput sepoy who were of very hard metal they would never retreat even at the cost of their lives; on the other side were the Rohillâ-Pâthâns, riders of sujarnis horses; they would perish by the sword, but would never yield. There was terrible slaughter on both sides.

The Raja had a brother named Surat Singha. A Nawab was fighting from the back of an elephant. Surat Singha crept under the elephant and speared the Nawab to death. The remnant of the Nawab's army fled and joined the forces of Rungaddin. After slaying Hurjabar Khan, Unmatta Singha joined the ranks of Pithor Raja.

14. *The death of Pithor Raja.*

Then ensued a terrific contest between Maharaja Pithor and Rungaddin Padshah. It commenced with the firing of muskets from both the hostile camps, which was followed by a battle with bows and arrows. Then came the battle of the elephants, and horses, which was followed by those of spears, swords, daggers and targets. Thus the struggle continued for one full year in which varieties of weapons were used. Then the Rohellâ and Pâthân cavalry of Rungaddin Padshah, riding upon Arabian and Sujarnis horses, destroyed the elephants and horses of the Hindu Raja, whose men were also killed by thousands. The Raja from an elephant's back hurled his own *chandravan*

(discus ?) which fell back on himself and killed him. After his death, the cries of his subjects crossed the barriers of heaven. The Raja's brother Rana Singha and his son Kumud Singha burnt the dead body of the Raja on a pyre made of aloe-wood. The queens of the Raja who numbered 120 accompanied their lord. Several hundred pitchers of ghee were poured upon their bodies, and the fire reached the summit of the sky. Ten crores of rupees in gold and silver and ten thousand cows, as well as clothes, were presented to Brahmans and Vaishnavas for the spiritual well-being of the deceased sovereign.

15. *Rungaddin's victorious entry into Delhi.*

Adam Fartu Khan, brother of Rungaddin Padshah, and Shah Adil Khan, his son, met the Raja's brother Rana Singha and his son Kumud Singha in a serious combat. All the four perished by their swords. Thus ended the war between the two armies. Rungaddin Padshah won the day, while Pithor Raja encountered a defeat. The remnant of the army of Pithor Raja surrendered to Rungaddin Padshah who inspired them with confidence and goodwill. The victorious Padshah then proceeded towards Delhi. On an auspicious day and moment he made his entry into the walls of Delhi. All the gold and silver and other articles that belonged to Pithor Raja were plundered and seized.

The prince who was left behind by Rungaddin Padshah in his native land was known as Sultan Muhammad Mâzum. The Padshah now sent to him presents of precious articles of Hindusthan, as well as a sceptre and umbrella with the command appointing him Padshah of Nâko. Rungaddin retained two lakhs of sepoys with him, and sent back the rest to his own kingdom of Nâko, after having presented them with gold, silver and clothes. With regard to the two lakhs of sepoys kept by him, he doubled the number of mansabs. Pithor Raja's crown, worth three lakhs of rupees was presented to Farteijang Khan. Others were also amply rewarded. The Rajas and chieftains of various ranks who fought on the side of Pithor Raja either perished in battle or survived. The brothers and sons of those who were killed were appointed Rajas. They were all given presents. Further they were assured of his support, and allowed to live in their old dignity and rank. He enquired into the respective status of his subjects, and allowed them to retain the same.

16. *Rungaddin's respect for Hindu traditions.*

Rungaddin Padshah invited Sârbabhaum-Chandra, the family priest of the late King Pithor Raja, and said : "This Delhi was ruled by Hindu sovereigns for a very long time. I was the Padshah of Nâko at a distance of six months' journey from Delhi. The Almighty God has now placed a Musalman Padshah to rule here in place of the Hindu Rajas. You should advise me in a manner which will lead to the continuity of our rule here."

Then said Sârbabhaum-Chandra : "O Padshah, what shall I say ? You are yourself acquainted with all laws and traditions. God has created the nations of the earth in separate groups, each different from the other ; and He has not provided uniform customs and religions for all. If the different castes and creeds are protected, God will protect you also, and you will be able to remain at Delhi without any trouble or fear."

Rungaddin Padshah then said : "Thanks very much, Pandit. You have given me wholesome and salutary counsel." The Padshah presented to the priest rewards and four thousand rupees, and made the following declaration : "The laws and traditions which existed before will remain unaltered."

17. *The organisation of Mansabs.*

After this Rungaddin Padshah ordered Farteijang Khan : "We have two lakhs of horse of our native kingdom, and four lakhs more recruited in this country, coming up to a cavalry of six lakhs strong. Now you should proceed to group them under Nawabs, Mansabdars and Fauzdars." Farteijang Khan accordingly created Nawabs with various grades of Mansabs, such as haft-hazari, chai-hazari, pânch-hazari, châri-hazari, tîn-hazari, dôi-hazari and ek-hazari. Mansabs were also created with eight hundred soldiers and five hundred guns, and fauzdars with three hundred, and one hundred and fifty respectively. The new system was recorded on paper and communicated to the Padshah. Farteijang Khan was further commanded to despatch soldiers to different localities, the number being proportionate to the exigency of the place, and to make gifts to all the people. Then all the inhabitants of this country were given a sufficient quantity of gold, silver and clothes irrespective of their castes and classes.

18. *Divisions of the palace.*

The Padshah then enclosed his compound with ramparts built of stone, and commenced the construction of his quarters. First came the *Mardana-mahal* where the Padshah sits and reclines or confers with the males, so it is called *Mardana-mahal*; then came the *Zanana-mahal*, where the Padshah sleeps and amuses himself with the begums, where males have no access; then came the *Dewan-khana* where the Dewân holds his court, superintends his affairs and communicates to the Padshah when necessary; so it is called *Dewân-khânâ*; then came the hall of the *Khan-saman* on the north, where is situated the store for the articles of the Padshah, hence it is called *Khân-sâmâ*; on the west is the *Roz-dewan* where the Padshah receives reports of affairs of countries far and near, and issues his orders and decisions with regard to places as occasion demands. In front of the hall, there is a place enclosed by gold railings, with two pillars of gold, near which the two Wazirs take their seat; the Dewan sits within the enclosure. After this we have the silver enclosure with twelve pillars of silver against which lean the commanders of seven thousand and six thousand. Then comes the copper enclosure meant for the panch-hazaris and chari-hazaris; then the brass enclosure intended for the tin-hazaris and dûi-hazaris; and last the iron enclosure for the ek-hazari Nawabs. On the south is situated the *Roz-âdâwat* where the Padshah enquires into the petitions of complaints.

19. *The Padshah's weekly routine.*

The Padshah proceeds to the durbar when ten *dandas* have elapsed, and rises when there are two *dandas* for the commencement of the second *prahar*. On Mondays and Saturdays he conducts affairs of the State sitting at the *Roz-dewan*; on Sundays and Wednesdays he decides the applications of complainants; on Tuesday he enquires into the income and expenditure of the royal treasury; on Thursday he holds his court at the Hall of State called *Khirnawat* where he investigates matters relating to the sacred shrines of Musalmans and Hindus; on Fridays he visits the hall of Prayer to take the name of God.

20. *Conclusion.*

Hinduwan or Hindu sovereignty ended at Delhi with Pithor, and Musalman usages commenced from the time of Rungaddin, who became Padshah in the era of Sakaditya 848. Here ends the narrative of the country of Nâko.¹

CHAPTER II

TIMURLANE BECOMES EMPEROR OF DELHI.

21. *Timurlane's early life as a shepherd.*

After the death of the Daigati Nawab, his grandson Timurlanga became afflicted with extreme poverty. His mother earned her bread by spinning cotton yarn for others, and Timur tended the goats of a local blacksmith ; thus did the mother and her son live somehow on what they earned by their own labour. Timur took the goats to the field every day ; at noon his mother gave him in the field his breakfast consisting of one-quarter seer of bread, the same amount of *bhang*² and the same amount of water.

22. *Timur blessed by a prophetic faqir.*

One day a faqir of the Lohalanger (iron-chained ?) order went on shouting at the place where Timur's goats were grazing to the following effect : " The person who will give me bread, *bhang* and water, each measuring one-quarter of a seer, will be appointed by me Padshah of Delhi." Timur's mother was then proceeding to give her

(1) The name Rungaddin or Rukundin is found in the list of the rulers of Delhi from Judhisthir to Aurangzeb inserted in many Assamese chronicles. According to one list Rungaddin vanquished the Rajput Raja Udaymalla ; according to another he defeated Pithor Raja. The period of his reign, viz., 23 years, 9 months and 8 days, is uniform in all buranjis ; though the starting date varies, 1st Ashar, 787 *saka*, in one ; and 11th Ashar, 764 *saka*, in another. This, I believe, is a scribal mistake as 764 *plus* 23 makes 787. The Kali era when he commenced his rule at Delhi is given as 8944. Rukundin's successors in Delhi according to these lists are Bahauddin, 25 years ; Samruddin, 29 years ; Kutubuddin, 27 years, Shahabuddin, 21 years ; Bibi Rabiya, 7 years 8 months, 10 days from 891 *saka*. The list will be published later on. The text of Chapter I, has been collated carefully from three manuscripts.

(2) *Bhang* has been described by Manucci, Irvine vol. II page 7, as a " beverage made of the leaves of dried hemp ground down, which intoxicates as soon as taken. Aurangzeb wanted to suppress this disorder."

son his noontide repast. Timur, on hearing the cries of the faqir, went to give him the bread, *bhang* and water. The mother dissuaded her son from doing so, saying : " You will suffer from hunger. Do not part with your bread to the faqir." Timur disobeyed his mother's bidding and gave his breakfast to the faqir, who ate it and became extremely pleased.

The faqir then said to Timur : " Lie flat on the ground with your face downward." Timur obeyed, and the faqir inflicted seven strokes on Timur's body with the iron chain that girdled his person, saying, " I confer on you the Padshahship of Delhi for seven generations." Saying this, the faqir vanished. Timur became afflicted with pain from the strokes of the iron chain that he received from the faqir, and his mother said : " I forbade you, and you disobeyed my words. Now, you are throbbing with pain from the blows of the mad faqir ." Then the mother and son went home.

23. *Timur's master dreams the site of hidden treasures.*

Some time after, Timur's master the blacksmith said one day to Timur : " I have no man to-day to heat the furnace. So you should work with me in the forge to-day." The furnace was heated and the smith, after hammering iron for some hours, became exhausted with fatigue and fell asleep peacefully with his mouth wide open. Then an insect as big as a black bee with the colours of gold, silver and diamond, issued out of the smith's mouth and flew into the house. Timur saw the insect and chased it. The insect, after flying over to the ruins of the fort of Khattam Shâh Padshah, entered again into the mouth of the smith. Timur returned to the smithy and began to blow the bellows. The smith awoke from his sleep and said : " I have dreamt a dream. I wandered over the rampart of Khattam Shah Padshah and saw gold coins strewn all over the fort." Timur then said, " You have seen something in your extreme fatigue. Besides, a day-dream is always false, and never true."

24. *A miracle at Timurabad.*

At night Timur with his mother excavated a part of the old fort and came upon piles of gold mohurs strewn all over the place. The mother and son extracted a basket of coins and deposited them in their house.

Timur saw a dream that very night in which a faqir said to him : " Exhibit the gold mohurs to the people and you will be Emperor of Delhi." Then Timur during the self-same night took with him baskets of mohurs and scattered them in the thoroughfares of the town. The next morning the people became astonished at the sight of the gold mohurs strewn all over the bazars. A wâqâyânavis in the service of the Padshah of Delhi lived at Timurâbâd, and he reported the matter to Jâlâl Hussain, Emperor of Delhi, in the following words : " There have been elephant-like piles of gold mohurs at Timurâbâd last night." On receiving this news the Padshah became astonished.

25. *Timur occupies the throne of Delhi.*

Timur then maintained a large number of elephants, horses, cannon and sepoy and became the proprietor of the fort of Khattam Shah Padshah. The Padshah of Delhi heard this news and despatched a Nawab to capture Timur and take him to Delhi. The Nawab proceeded to Timurâbâd, fought with Timur, but being repulsed he returned to Delhi. Timur pursued him as far as Delhi with 80,000 soldiers and camp-followers.

Then the Lohalanger faqir, who had partaken of the bread, *bhang* and water from the hands of Timur went to Delhi. There was a man named Sharif Muhammad, and he was the preceptor of the Delhi Padshah. The Lohalanger faqir said to him :—" You say you are the preceptor of the Padshah. I will play a practical joke upon the Padshah, save him if you can." The preceptor of the Padshah said : " Wherein lies your power ? Better save your own life and remain silent." Then the Lohalanger faqir struck three blows on the earth with his iron chain, and instantaneously the Padshah with the Raja of Peshowâ flew up into the air, and dropped down again on the earth. Then the imperial preceptor paid his homage and reverence to the Lohalanger faqir and departed from the place. The Lohalanger faqir went to unknown quarters after placing Timur on the throne of Delhi.

Timur thus became the Emperor of Delhi. After his death he was succeeded by his son (descendant) Shâh Bâbar who was succeeded by his son Shah Humayun who was succeeded by his son Shah Akbar, who was succeeded by his son Shah Jahangir.

CHAPTER III

HUMAYUN'S FLIGHT AND RESTORATION.

26. *The boast of Humayun Padshah.*

Salutation to Sree-Krishna. Humayun Padshah of Delhi used to say frequently while sitting at the Durbar : " I do not know of any man likely to thwart my sword " Dariâ Dâdullâ Kâzi could not stand this repeated bragging of the Emperor, and he said : " Why do you vaunt in a manner irritating to the Almighty Khodâ ? Now you say there is no man to thwart your sword ; such a man will come out whose strength you will not be able to oppose, and for whom you will have to flee leaving the throne of Delhi. He will become the Padshah of Delhi. Thus it has been enrolled in the scriptures. " The Kâzi said as above.

27. *The future rival of the Emperor.*

The Padshah was seized with apprehension and he said to the Kâzi : " Would you be able to show me the Nawab's slave who, you say, will measure my strength in future ? " The Kâzi replied : " I cannot undertake to show him in the ordinary fashion, saying, " Here is the man. " I shall be able to show him after having identified him with the marks specified in the scriptures. "

The Padshah said : " I am prepared to act as you recommend : please state your suggestions. " The Kâzi replied — " Please arrange the necessary provisions for holding a banquet and I will show you the man there. "

At the instance of the Kâzi the Padshah collected food provisions and invited his nobles. He made the Kâzi sit near him, and ordered the guests to partake of the cheer which consisted of bread and vegetables.

One Sher Khan, a trustworthy sepoy serving under a pânch-hazari Nawab, brought out a knife with which he cut his bread and ate. The Kazi pointed him out, saying,—

" O Padshah-Hazarat, this is the man who will baffle the prowess of your sword. " The Padshah beckoned his confidants near him and said, " Now, mark this attendant of the Nawab : you shall have to recognise him hereafter. "

28. *Attempts to capture Sher Khan.*

Four days after this feast the Padshah despatched a messenger to the Nawab asking the latter to see His Majesty the following morning, in the company of his sepoy Sher Khan. Having received this command of the Padshah the Nawab summoned the sepoy to his presence and said—"The other day you cut and ate your bread before the Padshah; for this I have been commanded to take you with me. You are a servant in our family for the last three generations; how can I inflict upon me the sin of causing your death by making you over to the Emperor? Do as you think proper. For your sake, I am prepared to face whatever the Padshah may be inclined to do." Having said so he caused the flight of the sepoy.

The Nawab proceeded to the presence of the Padshah on the next day. The Padshah asked the Nawab whether he had brought with him the sepoy, Sher Khan, to which the Nawab replied, "O Padshah-Hazarat, I have despatched him to the interior and I have sent for him yesterday on the receipt of the Padshah's command. I will present him before His Majesty when he comes back."

The Padshah then said: "I have not summoned him with any evil intention. It is for his good that I want him in my presence. So please bring him quickly." The Nawab acceded to the request, saying that in obedience to the command of the Padshah he would deliver his servant within eight or ten days. The Nawab has himself imparted secret counsel to the slave and caused his flight; will he now capture and deliver him to the Padshah? The Nawab simply made a false statement before the Emperor, and tried to gain time so that the slave might flee further still. On the expiry of ten or twelve days, the Padshah asked the Nawab: "How is this that you have not yet brought Sher Khan sepoy to me?" To this the Nawab replied: "I sent messengers to the perganah to which he had gone. He could not be found there, and I searched for him in other places too. There is none who can give any clue regarding his whereabouts. He might have heard of the Padshah's summons, and have consequently fled to some unknown place."

The Padshah then said to the Nawab: "If Sher Khan cannot be procured, you will be looked upon as Sher Khan, and you will not be spared. Despatch a larger force to

the place whither he has gone, and find him out. Get accurate information about his movements and report the same to me. In case Sher Khan is not found, remember that your days are numbered." The Nawab deputed men to search for Sher Khan at the instance of the Padshah.

29. *Sher Khan, a fugitive in Sewa.*

After some time, the messengers sent in quest of Sher Khan came back and reported to the Nawab that the sepoy had taken shelter in Sewâ* and avowed that the information was correct. The Nawab reported to the Padshah : "The men who went to search for Sher Khan Sepoy have returned, and they have informed me that they have positively known that he has sought refuge in Sewâ." The Padshah said to the Nawab : "All this is your trickery." The Nawab was dismissed and imprisoned.

The Padshah summoned to his presence his Kazi, Dariâ Dâdullâ and said,—“ Sher Khan Sepoy, of whom you once said that he would oppose me in strength, has now been living in Sewâ ; I have received authentic report of this fact.” The Kâzi replied : “ I have said : I found in the Scriptures. That is all I have to say. What shall I say more ?”

30. *Sher Khan defeated by the Padshah.*

The Padshah despatched a panch-hazari Nawab with forces to seize the person of Sher Khan and bring him to the Emperor's presence. On the arrival of the Nawab, Sher Khan, with the help of an army, encountered the imperial troops. A terrible battle ensued between the two armies. Sher Khan won, and the imperial commander of five thousand perished in the battle. Half the soldiers were also killed, and the other half somehow preserved their lives. Sher Khan marshalled his forces and marched against Delhi with the object of invading it. On receiving the intelligence, the Padshah came forward to oppose the invaders. The advance troops of the Emperor fought with the troops of Sher Khan, who, being unable to hold his stand, returned once more to his place of refuge. He again collected his forces and marched against Delhi where he encountered the imperial army in a deadly

* Sewa was most likely Bijapur, Sabai or Savai being the surname of the first Adil Shahi Sultan, Abdul Muzaffar Yusuf. See *Hobson-Jobson* under *Sabaio*, and also *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol. I., pp. 586, 600.

battle. A large number of men were killed on both sides. Sher Khan, being unable to resist, retreated from the battlefield.

31. *Sher Khan instructed in correct methods of warfare.*

Sher Khan deserted his comrades and fled alone. Losing all hope of victory, he took shelter in the house of an old woman of the city. Sher Khan said to the old woman : " Here is the money, go to the bazar and buy for me a dish of rice of a quality which is generally taken by well-to-do people." The old woman did not know that her guest was no other than Sher Khan. She went to the bazar with the money and purchased a platter of rice which was placed before Sher Khan. Sher Khan was extremely hungry ; and why should we blame him if he lifted the morsel from the middle of the pile of rice ? The old woman said, " Sher Khan falls upon the centre of the troops of the Delhi Emperor ; and being unable to stand, he finally retreats from the field. If he rounds up his enemies commencing from one side only, the Padshah of Delhi will be surely defeated. If rice is eaten from one side, the quantity gradually diminishes and one's hunger is also appeased." Sher Khan remembered this timely hint of his hostess, and commenced his operations by rounding up the enemy from the confines, and halted at his camp facing the Narmadâ.*

32. *Sher Khan's victory over the imperial troops.*

The Padshah marched with an army against the rebel, and there were numerous engagements between the two forces. For full one year there was no decisive victory or defeat on either side. A band of jugglers used to display their feats in the camp of Humayun Padshah as well as in that of Sher Khan. Sher Khan said to the jugglers : " I will reward you a huge sum of money if you can find out and inform me at what particular moment, out of the eight divisions or *prahars* of day and night, the army of Humayun Padshah remain in an unguarded condition." At the instance of Sher Khan, the jugglers went to the camp of Humayun Padshah and inquired into the camp-life of the soldiers and came to know that they remain watchful throughout the eight *prahars* and that at

*The story of acquiring the correct method of military operations from the analogy of a dishful of rice is attributed to Timurlane, with precisely the same details, in Manucci, Irvine, Vol. I. pp. 99-100.

the fourth *danda* of the early morning, nearly ten-sixteenth of the men remain unguarded ; only one-sixteenth remains vigilant. This fact was communicated to Sher Khan by the jugglers.

Sher Khan took with him a hundred and forty soldiers selected from the pick of his army ; and having crossed the Narmadâ at night fell upon the Emperor's troops in the early part of the morning. The soldiers of the Padshah, being unguarded at the moment, dispersed in whatever direction they could. The fugitives were killed wherever they could be met.

Humayun took refuge with the Padshah of Rum, and Sher Khan sat on the throne of Delhi with the name Sher Shah. The Nawabs and Omráos of the older regime were neither dismissed nor killed, but they were retained in their former offices. Humayun Padshah fled alone, leaving his wife, son and dependants at Delhi.

33. *Sher Shah retains the rank of Humayun's consort.*

Sher Shah once said to the Begum and Prince Akbar, " You should consider Humayun to be the real ruler of Delhi, Humayun is my father and you are my mother, and Akbar is my brother. You should eat and dress as you used to do before, and I shall not reduce your supplies." A water-jug was lying somewhere there, and Sher Shah said to Humayun's consort, " Please pass on the jug this side, as I want to drink water." The Begum handed over the pot and Sher Shah drank water therefrom.

34. *Sher Shah's magnanimity.*

While sitting at court Sher Shah said to his Uzir and his Dewan, " By the grace of God I have become the Padshah of Delhi : nothing can be higher in the destiny of a mortal, and for me there is nothing else to be achieved. I drank water from the pot given to me by the Begum of Humayun Padshah : I have made the exalted consort of the Emperor of Delhi do service to me, and that I regard as the meridian of my good fortune." The Uzir, the Dewan and the assemblage at the durbâr praised Sher Shah, saying : " God has blessed you with good fortune on account of this noble intelligence of yours. Your preservation of the family of Humayun in their former dignity and style will perpetuate your fame as long as Delhi exists."

35. *Humayun's indignities at the Persian Court.*

Humayun Padshah stood at the gate of the Sultan of Rum and sent the following message : " Humayun, the Padshah of Delhi, is waiting at your door."

The Padshah of Rum said : "Why should the Padshah of Delhi come to me ? It must be false. Let him say positively who he is."

Humayun replied : " I am really the Humayun of Delhi. The reason for which I have deserted my country and taken shelter here will be communicated to you in detail."

The King of Rum did not first admit Humayun to his Durbar, but allowed him separate quarters and supplied provisions for food with the remark, " Let him stay there for this day. He will be given audience at the court some time after." Humayun refused to take the food supplied to him by the Rum Padshah as it was unworthy of the ex-Emperor : this was partaken of by his retainers. Humayun said to the noble deputed by the Sultan to attend on him : " Bring me the food taken by the Padshah, and I will pay what it may cost," and handed over a gold mohur to the latter. The food was brought accordingly.

The courtyard facing the audience-hall of the Padshah of Rum was covered with mud, and Humayun saw the mud when he was conducted to the court through that way. A servant ran up and rubbed Humayun's feet with oil. The Padshah of Rum observed that after Humayun had crossed the courtyard the servant wiped off the mud from the Emperor's feet.

Humayun stood in front of the Padshah of Rum ; and seeing that no seat was offered to his lord, a servant laid a shield on the floor and covered it with a cloth and Humayun Padshah took the seat thus prepared for him.*

36. *The Sultan of Persia denounces Humayun.*

After some time the Padshah of Rum addressed Humayun : " O Humayun, Padshah of Delhi, how many attendants like this had you at Delhi"

* This story is repeated in Manucci, I, page 114, though the proviso seat was made " by cutting open the covering of his quiver and spreading it in front of the royal seat. On this cloth Humayun at once sat down."

Humayun said : " By your blessings, I had a large number of followers like this."

The Padshah of Rum then said : " Why did you flee from Delhi, fortunate as you were in the enjoyment of the services of faithful servants like this one ?* You have been the rulers of Delhi for three generations, you had such blessings and opportunities, still you would not hold your stand, and had to flee for life. At least a hundred thousand men would be found who would have willingly sacrificed their lives for you if you had only asked them to do so. During your Padshahate you must have regarded the gratification of your desires and pleasures as of supreme importance, without investigating into the weal and woe of your subjects. The minds of the people therefore became disaffected towards you on the slightest provocation. This disgrace of yours will last as long as Delhi exists, and your name will be an object of ridicule among the Musalmans. You are a man to be severely condemned. You are lifeless, what is the harm if severe strictures are passed upon you ?"

Humayun Padshah made the following reply : " Of all the hated persons in the world, I am the one who merits the severest reprobation. My disgrace has spread over the the whole earth. By coming to the deliverance of this reprehensible one you will earn eternal fame to last as long as Delhi exists. With what words shall I contrive to please you? Whatever you say of yourself fully maintaining your prestige and fame will be effected."

37. *Humayun invades Delhi with Persian troops.*

The Padshah of Rum offered Humayun a seat worth one lakh of rupees. The Padshah handed over from his throne a martial robe, and all the necessary articles of food, as well as a good place for residence, with the following words : " That you have taken refuge with me in solicitation of my help, you have nothing to say, everything rests with me now." He gave to Humayun Sawars and Nawabs to the extent of three lakhs, making up a total of seven lakhs of soldiers with musketeers, shieldsmen and others, saying : " Go now and occupy Delhi."

Humayun returned with this army and attacked Delhi.

* It is curious and surprising that this statement of the chronicler writing in an obscure corner in Eastern India, is an exact repetition of what we find in Manucci, I, pp, 114-5. " The Persian King asked King Humayun how he could lose his kingdom when he had such attentive and well-affected servants."

38. *Humayun again defeated by Sher Lhah.*

Being unable to oppose Sher Shah in strength, Humayun fled a second time to Rum. The Padshah of Rum said to Humayun : " Formerly you said that you would be able to reoccupy Delhi with an army of three lakhs of soldiers only, now, you have not been able to retake it even with seven lakhs of soldiers." Having said so to Humayun, the Padshah inflicted appropriate punishments upon his Mansabdars, Nawabs and soldiers who were found delinquent.

The Padshah supplied to Humayun a fresh army of twelve lakhs strong, including six lakhs of horse, manned this time by veteran Nawabs. With this vast army Humayun was sent back to Delhi. The Padshah addressed, his men as follows, " If that ordinary individual, a fit object of our compassion and favour, wins victory over two Padshahs, the discredit will ring through ages. Knowing this, act in a manner which will enable you to occupy Delhi." With these words he granted leave to all with appropriate presents and gifts.

This army in full force attacked Delhi. A series of battles were waged with Sher Shah. First came the battle with big guns, then the battle with ponies and riders and then of the shieldsmen ; but Sher Shah could not be vanquished in any way. Sher Shah conferred with his men and said,— " All right, I will deal in a manner which will prevent the soldiers of the Rum Padshah from coming here again." Saying so, he selected seven hundred horsemen with him, and with swords in both hands he made a sudden attack upon the enemy in the early part of the morning, and massacred a large number of horses and men. The rest of the imperial army took to their heels and fled to Rum. Instead of going to Rum, Humayun Padshah retired to the interior on this occasion.

39. *Humayun's restoration to the throne.*

Sher Shah sent a man with a letter containing the following message to Humayun : " You need not wander about from place to place, leaving your wife and son, and afflicting your body with pain. You are my father, and I am your son. I would invite you to come back to Delhi, and I will retire to Agra. The empire will be divided into two parts, one of which will go to you and the other to me.

I will make a solemn vow in accordance with the injunctions laid down in the scriptures. If you agree to this proposal, you should come immediately to Delhi.”

On receiving this invitation Humayun came to Delhi. Sher Shah entered into a sacred covenant by which he divided the empire into two parts, and Humayun ruled at Delhi and Sher Shah at Agra. This is how the Padshahship of Delhi was partitioned into two portions. Sher Shah and his descendants ruled at Delhi for three generations, covering a period of 20 years, 6 months and 10 days. Here ends the story.

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(To be continued.)

THE FOUNDATIONS OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN RELIGION

HERE we enter on the realms of magic ; it was conceived by the early imagination that to make a representation of an object was to cause it to come into being, the representation symbolized the thing and in some mysterious way produced it, hence if the funerary pots were painted with eatable animals, it was believed that the dead man would be actually supplied with meat. In this the Egyptian was again the heir of palæolithic man, for in the Aurignacian period paintings of animals of the chase were ritually made on the walls and ceilings of the dark deep caves which were his holy places, the hunter believing that by this means he could increase the head of game and bring it into his power. Besides the animals, weapons, such as harpoons with their coiled ropes, were sometimes painted on the Egyptian pots, surrogates of the real ones usually deposited in the graves, also the boats which conveyed the hunters to their chosen grounds, often marshes which then spread over much of the Nile valley and were themselves symbolized by reeds depicted on the pots : these additions were doubtless intended to fortify the magic virtues of the pots by their more emphatic circumstantiality and constitute, in fact, the first steps towards the greater elaboration of the later tomb-scenes ; they have their parallel in the more developed paintings of later palæolithic times when the animals were exhibited on the cave walls as if transfixed by javelins, while in the intermediate period between the Old and the New Stone Ages, the Epipalæolithic, hunting scenes were common and often included men shooting with bows and arrows. The Epipalæolithic figures of Europe do not stand alone but have parallels in ancient figures, probably contemporary, scratched on rocks in many parts of North Africa and in Egypt itself ; the latter bear likeness both to the Epipalæolithic designs and to those painted on the early Predynastic pots of Egypt and form a link between the two. These likenesses are natural since it is now fairly established

that a very great racial element in the Egyptians was Libyan, part of the wide whole named by Sergi the "Mediterranean Race," for he found it round the shores of that sea, especially the southern, by Myres "Eurafrican," because it occupied large tracts of Europe also, and by Elliot Smith "The Brown Race," from its prevailing colour and because he traces it far beyond the limits of the Mediterranean, including in it the early inhabitants of Arabia and India. (In Africa it is often termed "Hamitic.")

The later predynastic period brought in a new technique for the pots and a change in their designs : the latter still include animals of the chase, but in a subordinate manner ; boats become a special feature, not the hunter's canoe but large vessels with cabins and many oars, for travelling traders, mostly, as we know from their ensigns, from the Harpoon district in the north-west of the Delta where the port lay whence oversea communications were held with the lands of the eastern Mediterranean —Crete, Syria, Palestine. The purpose of the boats seems to have been to provide a magical conveyance for the dead traveller to his native place when he had died in a distant land for it has ever been the keen desire of the Egyptian, ancient or modern, to be buried where he was born ; if the body could not reach its dear home physically, yet magically it might, on these boats. The districts for which the boats were bound were indicated by ensigns hoisted on poles over the cabins ; aloe trees are pictured often, probably symbols of enduring life, as they are in modern Egypt, being commonly planted by graves and sometimes hung up over the entrance-door to houses ; few jars are without the symbol of water, the indispensable need of the dead as of the living, and many exhibit flamingoes, characteristic marsh-birds now confined to the Delta but probably common then in the marshes of Upper Egypt also.

Coming now to the end of this period or the beginning of the next, the Proto-dynastic, when history commences with the introduction of writing, we find a tomb at Hierakonpolis, as yet unique, on the walls of which are painted scenes of much the same character as those on the jars of the preceding age, but naturally more extensive ; beasts of the chase are shown attacked by men with clubs, lassoes or arrows and caught in traps. There are, however, two

new and significant additions, the first is the group of a man with a lion rampant on each side of him, heraldically opposed, while the other consists of sets of combatants : the former group, in the manner of Gilgamesh, the hero of Babylonia, shows evident connection with that country ; it figures also in the famous knife-handle carved from a hippopotamus tusk, found at Gebel el-Araq and now in the Louvre museum, and adds to the considerable body of evidence pointing to that connection. The groups of combatants are in keeping with other contemporary monuments and from this time onwards it is one of the king's first duties religiously to fight and conquer enemies.

In these additions we see a still further extension in the scope of magical designs, a process which already noted in the Early Predynastic age, goes on henceforth with ever increasing rapidity till it leads to the vast and complicated schemes of decoration which have made famous the tombs of Memphis and Thebes. Its course is clearly marked in the following period, the Proto-dynastic, which may be roughly dated from 3300 to 2900, B.C. : in this age no wall-painting in tombs has yet come to light though, as a later tomb will show, it must have been practised, but progress in funerary matters is sufficiently attested by the construction of the graves themselves and the greater wealth of objects placed in them. Early predynastic graves were shallow pits sunk in the surface sand or in the soft rock underlying it, usually circular in shape but later becoming rectangular ; the body, wrapped in linen, was protected from the earth with skins or reed-mats and round it were placed the funerary pots and implements. Later, as the latter increased in number, a shelf or niche was provided for them which itself increased in size, with the multiplication of the deposits, till it encroached so much on the available space that a recess had to be made for the body, an arrangement that eventually led to the making of separate chambers in graves. Early graves were lined with sticks, forming a wall, and sometimes provided with roofs, to keep the earth clear of the body ; the sticks gave way to mud-bricks, or wooden planks ; about this time, too, wooden planks were set up round the body, a lid was added and thus the coffin was evolved, rough at first but destined later to become a magnificent receptacle—often carved out of the hardest stone—covered with pictures and inscriptions of magico-religious content. They were, at one stage of their progress planned like houses, showing

the prevalent idea of the grave as the habitation of the dead, an idea expressed also in the funerary urns of early Italian races and of the first Chinese Buddhists, shaped like huts, and in the chapels of the royal tombs of the Third Dynasty of Ur, recently discovered, which were planned like private houses. In predynastic Egypt the graves increased so much in size that it became necessary to build staircases for access to them, and so much did the idea of the house gain on the builders that in a tomb of the Second Dynasty a room was put aside for the very terrestrial function of a privy. At this time deep shafts began to be sunk in the rock in which to place the body for its safe preservation, and for the same purpose the practice of mummification began, perhaps a little earlier than the shaft-tombs : of these practices more will be said hereafter, as also of the royal tombs of the period, which stand in a class alone.

No grave of this period has been found with its deposits untouched, but it is clear from the richness of some of the fragments that have come down to us and from the evidence of the graves of the succeeding age that the deposits increased greatly in number as in quality and variety, objects of furniture being now added. This development was the natural result of the growing wealth of the country due mainly to the strong central control to which it had been subjected since its unification and which ensured that indispensable element of welfare, the just and steady distribution of irrigation water coming from one source, the Nile. It was effected through a wonderfully capable system of administration, made possible by the newly developed art of letters, and it produced a position of stability hitherto unknown and an enormous growth in wealth and civilization ; barbarism yielded to social ease and that gave rise to luxury, of which we have good evidence in the remains of the First Dynasty—but it was confined to the king and his court, the common people being, as for long after, mere serfs.

The next decorated tomb that comes to view after that at Hierakonpolis belongs to the Third Dynasty, some centuries later ; it is that of Hesi-rê who was buried at Saqqârah, the cemetery of Memphis. Its stateliness and the nature of its decoration bear full witness to the great advance in civilization made by Egypt in the intervening centuries. The decorations are no longer those appropriate to a community of hunters but to a great magnate in an

agricultural community well advanced in luxury; on the walls are depicted vast quantities of food and clothes, and chests and vessels containing them, and also of various utensils useful to the tenant of the tomb in his after-life, all of finest quality and suitable to a man of wealth and power. But, with all his riches, his successors would have shrunk from so heavy a burden of the dead hand as the actual provision of this great mass of objects would have entailed, nor perhaps would Hesi-rê's estate have easily borne that burden and since, for his comfort in the after-life, representations would be as profitable as the actual objects, he had large resort to them for procuring it. These representations had the further advantage of not being liable to theft, and a reason for multiplying them so liberally was perhaps to ensure that, in case of destruction, some at least would survive and life in the Underworld be still secure.

A large area of wall-surface has perished in this tomb but some fragments have survived showing that it contained scenes of agricultural life such as are common in the tombs of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties; it is impossible to infer from the fragments the extent of these scenes, but doubtless they at least made clear Hesi-rê's position as an owner of broad lands and may possibly have served the same purpose as those of the succeeding dynasties which will be dealt with presently.

The nature of the paintings and carvings and the high degree of art which they display make it evident that this tomb had many predecessors, gradually working up through the ages to this consummation, but unfortunately they have not survived, or are not yet discovered.

Nearly contemporary with this tomb is that of Methen, now in the Berlin Museum, in which not only were the dead man's provisions depicted but also, for additional security, the servants bringing them to him; further, as he was Chief Huntsman to the king, his hounds were brought into the scene: these details furnish a link between the earlier period and that of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, some two hundred years later.

In these later tombs life on a large estate forms the main subject of the long series of painted low-reliefs that occupy the walls. The purpose is the same, the provision for the dead man of food and drink, but the method has changed; it was now considered prudent to add to the

former representations new ones depicting the whole of life on the man's domains, thereby ensuring that that life should be itself endowed with everlastingness, for ever functioning to procure the objects needful to the deceased. To make this result absolutely sure, the pictures must show the entire processes of production, complete in every detail. And complete they are : we see the sowing, watering, reaping and garnering of corn by the man's hands, its grinding and baking by his house-servants, the rearing of his cattle and their increase—their very begetting and birth are portrayed—their butchering and cooking for his food, the trapping of wild-fowl and his own fishing and hunting—though later tomb-inscriptions confess that sport was followed for enjoyment. Lastly the various farms of the domain, each duly named, are depicted in the graceful guise of a chain of girls bringing up their produce on their heads, and carrying their poultry on their arms. The domain, like many a pre-industrial estate in India, held also craftsmen and their workshops ; they are duly represented at their work, the joiner fashioning furniture and chests for his master's use below, the cobbler shaping his sandals—articles then of dignity—the potter the vessels for food, beer and oils ; shipwrights too are building boats to carry their dead master on his various travels, for that was the only comfortable vehicle of those days, the sole alternatives being the donkey, or a litter. For the things lacking in the domain the servants go chaffering in the market and the artist is frequently given his opportunity to display those vivacious scenes of common life which have brought the outer aspects of ancient Egypt so near to our comprehension. No doubt pride has much to do with the great elaboration of the scenes and with the added notes of luxury, the jewels in the goldsmiths' hands, the boat-jousts, the music and dancing—though this is now held by some to have a religious signification—the battling of bulls, comparable to the ram-fighting which till recently was a favourite sport among large land-holders in Egypt, and we may surely add to pride the artist's joy in his work, but, beneath the elaboration, the essential object, though perhaps somewhat obscured, is always the same, the assured supply of the necessary provisions. A concise testimony to this is the plaintive appeal commonly inscribed on tombs and addressed to passers-by—"All ye who are living above and hate death"—that they should recite "thousands of loaves, oxen, geese, clothes, incense and oil for the *ka* " of N." ; the Egyptian had learnt from experience

that tombs and their equipments decayed or were rifled and could not be trusted to ensure a lasting after-life of happiness, and so, with his ever practical nature, he devised this supplementary method, trusting to the mercy of the passers-by and the efficacy of their prayers to save him from dire discomfort in his after-life, or even from total extinction, as the result of lack of provisions.

An advance of thought, appearing, first, perhaps, in the tomb at Hierakonpolis, is observable in this representation on the tomb-walls of the activities of life: at first the principle of magic was applied to material objects alone, but later was extended to action and in this phase we shall find it the foundation, throughout ancient Egyptian history, of a very large proportion of all matters appertaining to their religion. A further development is seen in a tomb of the Middle Kingdom, when the feudal lord Khnumhotep at Bani Hassan had an inscription engraved on the wall of this tomb declaring that he set it up as an enduring monument to establish for ever his name and rank and that of all his staff and of all craftsmen according to their several occupations; he trusted thereby to secure everlastingness for the whole staff of the domain that was to supply his after-life provisions and thus to create one more guarantee for the preservation for ever of his own life and comfort in the Under world. A still further step in the same direction at this period was the establishment of endowments of land to maintain certain kinds of priests or attendants, whether dependents of their own domains or attached to local temples, whose duties were to supply the offerings and conduct the necessary services at fixed times of the year, especially when certain festivities were solemnized which it was the great desire of the deceased to attend and enjoy, even as he had done in life.

It is remarkable that no deities are pictured in these tombs, not even in their innermost chambers, their very shrines, which are covered with representations of servants bringing to the dead man provisions from his estates and of purificatory rites with incense and ablution-water and the recital of liturgies—a very significant indication of what were considered his most pressing needs. The gods were of course not wholly neglected, for they could always help to preserve their follower in the after-life and their aid is invoked in many a wall-inscription: all were national gods, in many cases identified with local districts—"Horus" of such and such "a town" "Khnum, Lord of X" or

“Hathor, Lady of Y ;” to others, such as Osiris, Anubis or Ptah-Sukur, these qualifications are not applied : but nowhere do we find the scenes of adoration which were so common in later times.

And yet this was a period of advanced civilization ; the language and literature were completely formed, strong and supple, and this, for scholars, is the true Classical Age. The art too had reached the same perfection ; the magnificent severity of the best works of the old kingdom is still manifest but the conventionality in portraiture has been relaxed to allow the expression of essential psychological truth as well as of solemn majesty, with the result that the portrait-statues may justly be described as the highest manifestation of art in that direction to which man has attained. But, with all this civilization, the savage ideas of an after-life, with the weight behind them of a thousand generations, still prevailed.

The tombs with which we have been dealing were great and costly and, with the carving and painting of their many scenes and inscriptions, entailed a huge expense beyond the means of any but the most wealthy. For the less fortunate a cheaper means was devised of attaining eternal life : the painted scenes were replaced by wooden models, painted to be life-like, small and usually roughly made ; they represented the bread, beef and fowls provided for the dead man, the herdsmen, butchers, cooks, brewers and other servants of the domain, with their implements, each at his own job—nor should we overlook the looms, with maids weaving, for the supply of cloth. Such figures appeared occasionally in the Old Kingdom, carved even in stone, but they flourished mostly in the eleventh and twelfth Dynasties ; they greatly reduced the cost of furnished burials, requiring little housing space and dispensing with the large amount of labour needed by the wealthier tombs, for both construction and decoration ; they were, in fact, inexpensive substitutes, readily bought from an undertaker and of all qualities and prices ; by this means persons far inferior in standing to the great lords could gain the after-life advantages once the prerogative of the latter—an enlargement of privileges that occurs in the history of all settled peoples and an early sign of the birth of democracy, as yet far distant and undreamt of ; yet it must be remembered that pure aristocracy suffered a severe shock at the end of the sixth Dynasty, with its violent upheavals, ending in a more even distribution of wealth

and, doubtless, of opportunities. A sign of the changes then wrought is to be seen also in the boastful epitaphs of the barons of the Middle Kingdom who usurped to themselves, especially in the earlier part of the period, many kingly attributes, such as 'giving life' to the people of their districts, and even dating events from their own accession to power and not the king's.

Another form of the cheapening process is seen in the coffins of this period, representing houses and thus taking the place of the tombs; they were painted inside with images of the food, utensils and furniture needed by the deceased and by this means made magically available for him, and were furnished besides with two other compendious substitutes for features in the great tombs which have not so far been mentioned. The first of these is the painting on the exterior of the coffin-side, at the part adjacent to the occupant's head, of a pair of eyes which, through the magic power bestowed on them, would enable him to look out on the food brought to him and the periodical performance of the rites destined to preserve him in the after-life. The eyes were substitutes for the false doors of the tomb-chambers from which the dead man was supposed to emerge, spiritually, with like purpose, and for the effigies representing him as if thus coming out—in order, of course, to ensure that he should do so. The other feature in the coffins is the inscription inside of long texts of spells giving protection against the ghostly perils of the Afterworld: these had their origin in the texts inscribed in the royal pyramid-tombs of the fifth and sixth Dynasties; they are necessarily much shorter and have also undergone much modification. Similar texts were written on papyrus-rolls which accompanied the dead man to his grave; they became long and complicated, suffering changes with the passage of time; in this condition they are known to us as "*The Book of the Dead*," an inadequate title in view of their real contents. The gods are by no means neglected in these books for amid the spells are inserted hymns of praise to various deities: the spells themselves are often of a very material nature, such as the many against snakes, for they are in fact copies of charms used habitually among the living and transferred to the dead in accordance with the mental confusion between spiritual and corporeal that is so marked in the ancient Egyptians.

In many tombs of the Middle Kingdom models of ships were placed, usually complete with masts and sails, oars,

rudder and crew, sometimes with cabins in which occasionally the master may be seen with all his trappings, even to his portmanteaux. Some of the models doubtless refer to ordinary travelling, but a large number were intended to take the dead man, in virtue of their magic quality, to visit the reputed tomb of Osiris at Abydos, proceeding under sail upstream with the prevailing north-west wind and returning down-stream with the oars, sails furled and mast unstepped: this was a pious pilgrimage, much desired by all Egyptians, to which we will return later.

The tombs of this period are smaller than the earlier ones and their pictures of everyday life proportionately abridged; it was probably thought no longer necessary to represent such a profusion of detail, but on the other hand the lords seem to have taken pleasure in the representation of any of the special activities of their life on earth, notably their sport, the hunting and the wrestling matches, the latter illustrated so fully that practically no known grip or throw has been omitted; this was evidently a highly cherished sport of the time and served most probably as a training for the troops, for we find later, in the low-reliefs of the royal mortuary temple at Medinet Habu, that the braggart wrestlers who performed before the king were soldiers. Even such details are delineated as trading with Beduins from the Eastern desert for myrrh and a precious form of eye-paint, perhaps stibium from Asia Minor—a small picture, but valuable for the modern historian or ethnologist.

After the Middle Kingdom another period of obscurity intervenes and when we emerge from it we shall find alterations in the general disposition of tombs, due to the greater importance now given to other elements of religion, not yet dealt with, to which we shall shortly pass.

We have now traced the growth of the tomb and its appurtenances from the simple shallow grave, with a few pots and weapons, through ever increasing elaboration, to the monumental structures of the latter part of the Old Kingdom and of the Middle Kingdom. These structures stand forth as gigantic monuments to an overmastering fear of total extinction; their occupant has added to them many further devices for his preservation—spells, endowments, prayers—but we find no clear statement of the sons' duties in the matter and might well suppose that the pre-occupation was confined to the owner of the tomb and that

ancestor-cult was never practised in Egypt. This would be true if we looked for anything resembling the rites followed, for example, in China, but it is nevertheless certain that the duty of performing the funerary rites fell primarily on the sons, especially the eldest, because all the scenes depicting the banquet show them as the chief officiants, and this, as we have seen, was the very core of the rites. Further indications of duties towards ancestor are recorded in various documents concerned with persons of different ranks, beginning with the king : for example, King Senu-sert, of the twelfth Dynasty, is praised, in a hymn addressed to him, for the good that he has done for his ancestors (F. Ll. Griffith ; "The Kahun Papyri," 2nd stanza, 1.3) ; in the great inscription in the tomb of Khnumhotep, a baron of the twelfth Dynasty, we read "Behold a good son," making to flourish the name of "his ancestors" (Newberry ; "Beni Hassan," vol. I, p. 64, 11.161.8, especially 166-8) ; on the other side, protection given by ancestors is recorded in the tomb of Amenemhêt, an official of the eighteenth Dynasty, in the prayer : "Mayest thou be a protection for thy children for ever and aye" (Davies-Gardiner ; "The Tomb of Amenemhêt," p. 102).

The most striking documents in this matter refer to the belief, like that of the Chinese, that the dead had direct power to aid or hurt their descendants, whose interest was therefore strongly engaged to maintain their forebears contented in the After-life, even without the fear of the hunting ghost, which was in itself a powerful incentive. The documents in question have been published by Drs. Gardiner and Sethe in "Egyptian Letters to the Dead" ; from them we learn that an Egyptian, unable to obtain redress on earth for an injury, wrote a letter to his parents, or one of them, with reproaches for neglecting his interests, even threatening them with prosecution in the court of the Great God—apparently of the dead, namely Osiris. The letters were sometimes written on pots, sometimes on linen, and placed in the parents' grave. Here we have a strong point of resemblance with Chinese ideas and practices, but Egyptian filial piety in general fell far short of the Chinese and the father, finding that sons could not be relied on to maintain the necessary rites, took the other means, described above, for his preservation in the After-life : it is also possible that the fact that descent in ancient Egypt was matrilinear prevented a full development of ancestor-cult. Nevertheless Egyptian literature from the earliest, is full of indications of the veneration in which

ancestors were held, for example in the "Pyramid Texts," paras. 298 and 304, and in the Liturgies for the dead (see Budge's "Egyptian Heaven and Hell," vol. III, pp. 65-71), and it seems possible that in the earliest times a true ancestor-cult was practised but faded away, leaving only the traces abovementioned. In any case the principle underlying the vast fabric of the funerary practices is the same as that on which ancestor-cult was founded and constitutes the oldest and strongest of the foundations of ancient Egyptian religion.

NOTES

Funerary offerings. The generic word for these is *hotep*, which is denoted by the hieroglyph of a loaf set on a mat, making clear its primitive meaning of 'food,' intended, in this connection, to keep the dead safe from the fear of starvation in the After-world; the mat, presumably, kept the food pure by preserving it from contamination with the earth. A more abstract meaning is 'contentment' or 'peace' which would naturally come to the deceased when happy with his after-life provisions. (The Hebrew word *shelem* may be compared with *hotep*, for it contains the sense of 'safety' and 'peace' and also of a sacred 'offering' which is translated in the Bible (A.V.) as "peace-offering"; it seems justifiable to suggest the derivation of Jewish practice in this matter from the ancient Egyptian). The food offered was defined in historical times as bread, beef and poultry, to which were added incense, oil and clothing, the first for its reputed magic power of 'giving life' and the last, we may suppose, because it had become a necessity for the ruling classes of the country (See the prayer for the dead quoted on p. 55. It is clear that whatever meaning was developed with time for the word *hotep*, its original sense was 'food' and the contentment of the properly fed: food was in fact all important in Egyptian ritual, whether for the dead, gods, or kings; it was the basis of the sacred communion between the living and the dead. Its mystic qualities are not confined to Egypt, they will be found in the folklore and myths of many countries in which it forms a strong tie between participants, especially in connection with the dead; it is, for example, a widespread idea that anyone wishing to visit the realms of the dead and to return again must on no account partake of any food offered him there.

The word *hotep* is applied to all kinds of ritual offerings, but when restricted to those given to the dead is qualified by the phrase *per-t-kheru*, of which the literal meaning is 'going forth of the voice,' referring to the words of power which from the pictures of things should produce the things themselves. (See Dr. Alan Gardiner's "Grammar," p. 172).

Funerary banquet. Dr. Gardiner thinks that the representation of banquets may be divided into two classes, one with the object already stated and the other representing simply a feast on earth such as the deceased would enjoy in after-life; but he adds that in nearly every case there is an indication, sure if slight, of the ritual

nature of the scene (" Tomb of Amcnemhêt," pp. 38-40) ; if the banquets seem in fact of a very earthly and festive nature—some of the pictures represent actual and very unseemly drunkenness—it is because the deceased hoped to enjoy those gaieties in his after-life as on earth, to ensure which a priest is always delineated at the banquet, reciting the ritual for funerary offerings. In the case of unmarried youths the banquet was provided by the father, as, for example, for two sons of Rameses III, and sometimes by the brother, the father being, probably, dead.

Domain. Written in hieroglyphs as *per-zhet*, a phrase often interpreted as " the house of eternity, " like the Latin *domus æternus*, for a tomb ; but Gardiner has shown that this is incorrect and that the meaning must be the domain which was to supply the food and other needs of the deceased in the tomb ; the phrase embraces also the serfs, servants and craftsmen employed on the domain.

Tomb endowments. Detailed contracts for the regular solemnization of rites at the tomb have been preserved in that of Hepzefa, a lord of the Middle Kingdom, and are described in picturesque detail by Professor Breasted in " The Development of Thought and Religion in Ancient Egypt," pp. 259, ff.

Ka. This much discussed entity is now generally held to have been originally of the nature of a tutelary spirit, similar to the Roman *genius* or the *fravashi* of pre-Islamic Persia : I have given reasons elsewhere, (" Ancient Egypt," Dec., 1929, pp. 104, ff.), for concluding that it was an ancestral spirit coming from the world of deceased forefathers to join a person at birth and connected with the placenta, the latter thesis being first posited by Miss M. A. Murray and Professor Seligman. The original sense was probably obscured, if not totally lost, quite early in history ; in the Middle Kingdom and onwards the *ka* often means scarcely more than personality, as in some degree the *genius* of the Romans (compare the usual Egyptian phrase " an offering for the *ka* of "N." with the Roman soldiers' toast " to the *genius* of the Emperor "). A convincing exposition of its tutelary character is given by Breasted, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-55.

Per-t-kher. (See note on *Funerary offerings*). In the eighteenth Dynasty and later this phrase was often given a different form, *per-t-r-kheru*, that is, " coming out at the voice, " (where, as Gardiner remarks, it is not clear what comes out—probably the occupant of the tomb, to take his provisions). But, further than this, it was ever the desire of the deceased to come forth at his will from the grave, that dread region " deep and dark, " as an inscription has it, " without door or window, without light, . . . in which the sun rises not and they live the whole time in darkness ; " then would he, as a kindly spirit, revisit his old haunts on earth, breathing the sweet air from the north, that *nesim* so prized by the Egyptian through all the ages and giving its name, " the Breathing in of the Zephyr, " to the great Spring festival kept till now by all inhabitants of the country, of every race and creed.

In the so-called " Book of the Dead " are many references to this desire, and spells to ensure its fulfilment ; in fact its true title is " Utterances of coming forth by day ; " a most significant spell was as follows : " O So-and-So, mayest thou wander as thou listest on the margin of thy garden-pond ; may thy heart have pleasure in thy plantations, " mayest thou have refreshment under thy trees, may thy desire be appeased with water from within thy well which thou didst make, for " ever and ever. "

A vignette was sometimes painted at the head of a chapter with an illustration of the deceased thus taking his pleasure, sometimes accompanied by his wife (see Budge's translation, vol. I, p. 202).

General. Most of the Hindu practices referred to, such as the *śraddha*, will be found described in Hastings' "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," also those of the primitive peoples, Australians, Africans, etc. It is perhaps desirable to explain that no people of to-day can in strict correctness be termed primitive; the name is here applied to those whose culture is still in the stage of food-gathering as opposed to food-producing, that is hunting, fishing or collecting roots and berries as against the higher stage of organized agriculture and domestication of animals, though of course some of the former may have advanced a little on the road of the latter.

Ancestors. The words thus translated by Budge, Speleers and others are given a wider meaning in the great Berlin Dictionary; *abtu* is translated as "household," though in the texts it precedes parents, relations and friends and after them comes the usual phrase for "household," so that Budge's interpretation seems the better. The other word, *pautiu*, so common in Egyptian literature, means "those of the ancient times," that is, as some scholars very naturally judge, "ancestors," but in the Berlin Dictionary is interpreted as "gods"—a point which will be dealt with later.

G. D. HORNBLOWER.

(To be continued.)

‘IJAZU’L-QUR’AN

1. ORIGIN OF THE CLAIM.

قُلْ لَّيْنِ اجْتَمَعَتِ الْإِنْسُ وَالْجِنُّ عَلَىٰ أَنْ يَأْتُوا بِمِثْلِ هَذَا الْقُرْآنِ
لَا يَأْتُونَ بِمِثْلِهِ وَلَوْ كَانَ بَعْضُهُمْ لِبَعْضٍ ظَهِيراً (١٠-١٢)

The Qur’ân says in unmistakable terms that its composition is beyond the powers not only of Man but also of the Jinn who were thought to possess more capacities than Man. Our business here is to find out how and why this extraordinary claim arose and how it grew to become a very important dogma in Islam. Before we proceed further it would be in the fitness of things to examine the surroundings in which the Qur’ân appeared, to find out the different literary forms that existed at the time, and to determine, as far as we can, the nature of the first reception accorded to the words spoken by the Prophet Muhammad.

The first thing that strikes every student of the pre-Islamic literature of the Arabs is that the art of writing was almost non-existent amongst them.* This had a very far-reaching effect on the form that their literary activities were to take. It is almost self-evident that the expression of the literary genius of a people depends very much on the method of expression available at the time. The Arabs did not know how to write, so all their ideas had to be expressed by word of mouth. This in its turn had a great effect on the development of the Arabic language itself, and that is why we find that the language before the appearance of Islam was a simple but forceful language, rich in synonyms and terms of exhortation, strong for the expression of one’s passions, weak and, so to say, incapable of expressing a systematic train of thought, incoherent at times, but always picturesque and pure like the air of the desert in which it was born. It lies beyond our province to trace the whole development

* For the discussion of this point see : Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* I. p. 110 Sqq.

of the Arabic language. What interests us here are the different forms existing at the time when the Qur'ân appeared.

The most important of all the forms, undoubtedly, was Shi'r or poetry. This was highly developed to such an extent that up to modern times the pre-Islamic period is thought to be the golden age of Arabic poetry. The poet in pre-Islamic times was a man who was universally honoured and whose pleasure was as much sought as his wrath was avoided. It was the highest honour for a person or a tribe to be praised by a well-known poet; and on the other hand a satire by a famous poet was enough to tarnish the name for ever. Every tribe wished to have its own poet, and that day was a day of great rejoicing on which a poet appeared in a tribe. The chief form that poetry took at this time was the Qasîdah, which varied very much in its length but remained almost constant in its nature. The ten most famous Qasâ'id have reached us in more or less their original form.*

The Arabs before the time of Muhammad had hardly any prose. This is not difficult to explain. Prose is the outcome of the art of writing. But what at this time took the place of prose were *Khutab* or the Speeches that the Arabs used to deliver on the slightest provocation before their own tribe or a gathering of more tribes than one. The language of these *Khutab* used to be rhymed in a way which is called in Arabic *Saj'*. The chief

(*) For details see :

1. Abû'l-Farag al-Isfahâni—*K. ul-Aghani* Bûlâq 1285 A.H.
2. Ibn Qutaibah—*K.-ush. Shi'r wash-Shu'ara* Leiden 1902, Cairo 1914.
3. Abdu'l-Qâdir al-Baghdâdî—*Khizanat ul-Adab*. Bûlâq 1299 A.H.
4. C. J. Lyall, *Translations of ancient Arabian Poetry* (Introduction) London 1885, 2nd Ed. 193 .
5. C. J. Lyall, *A Commentary on ten ancient Arabian Poems*, Calcutta 1894.
6. C. J. Lyall, *Introduction to the Mufaddaliyat*. Oxford 1918.
7. Th. Nöldeke—*Beitrage zur Kenntnis der poesie der alten Araber*. Hanover 1864.
8. R. A. Nicholson—*A Literary History of the Arabs* (Introd. and Chap. III) 3rd Ed.
9. Rescher—*Abriss der arabischen Literatur-geschichte* Bd. I Stuttgart 1925, S. 12-95.
10. C. Brockelmann—*Gesch. d.arabischen Literatur* Bd. I Weimar 1898, S. 12-32.

difference between Saj' and Shi'r is that the former has got no fixed metre and that the rhyming is not so strict as in the latter. Not many of the pre-Islamic *Khutab* have reached us but those that have are sufficient to give us an idea of their form and contents.¹

Another form in which Saj' played the leading part were the sayings of the Kahin. By his very nature he was bound to use ambiguous language and Saj' provided him with a handy material. Small compact sentences sounding very grandiose but devoid of any sense, or capable of being interpreted in innumerable ways, form the bulk of these sayings which are, to a very small extent, still preserved.²

These, in short, were the two forms to which the literary activities of the pre-Islamic Arabs were confined. The Arabs had no fixed life. Mostly they were nomads who were obliged to wander in search of pasture for their cattle and loot for their family. That is why most of the pre-Islamic literature is lost to us. Only a few communities lived a stable life; the most important of them lived in and near Mecca, the holy city of Arabia, which was situated on the great highway for caravans coming from the south-east and going to the north-west and *vice versa*. Here came the Arabs from all parts of the country every year to perform their pilgrimage and to buy and sell. Here at 'Ukaz used to be held an annual fair where thousands of people gathered, and the old tradition tells us that in this fair the famous poets used to recite their poems and the great orators used to deliver their *Khutab*. This was the place where literary standards were formed, and thither young aspirants after fame flocked together to compete. And it was in Mecca that the Qur'ân appeared.

The Qur'ân was something new, something unprecedented. It resembled in its outward form sometimes the *Khutab* and sometimes the sayings of the Kahin. It was Saj' more often than not. But in spite of all this it was

(1) See :—

1. Al-Jâhiz—*Al-Bayan wa't-Tabyîn*. Cairo 1313 A. H.
2. Al-Mubarrad—*Al-Kamil*. Leipzig 1864, Cairo 1308 A.H.
3. Ibn Abd Rabbih—*Al-'Iqdû'l-Farid*. Cairo.
4. Rescher. Bd. I s. 95.
5. Brockelman, Bd. I s. 31.
6. Goldziher. *Der Chatib bei den Arabern* W. Z. K. M. VI 97-102.

(2) See *Encyclopædia of Islam*, article *Kahin*

in its very nature something diametrically opposed to all the literature existing at the time. It was the expression of the religious experience of the prophet Muhammad. The people of Mecca and the other Arabs who heard him were taken by surprise. Here was a man who opposed their deep-rooted traditions, who spoke strongly against their deities, who preached that their lives were lives of sin, who said that there was only one God and that he, the man who was in no way different from them, was His messenger. They examined his words. These were forceful and strong. Were they Shi'r (poetry)? Yes, perhaps; but they were not sure. Was he a Kâhin? Very likely; but a peculiar one who did not speak in ambiguous terms but in a language so clear. They were quite at a loss. How could they believe those words to be the words of God which they heard uttered by an ordinary man? In their perplexity they accused him of fabrication,¹ they denounced him as a madman² or a poet run amok,³ or a mere story-teller³ or at best a magician⁴ wanting to deprive them of their gods.⁵ Some thought they could also speak like him.⁶

The Prophet heard all this. This was the reception that was accorded to the words of God which were revealed to him. The Voice that used to speak to him, the angel that brought to him the message, spoke the following words which he recited openly: "They say he has forged it, the truth is they do not believe; then let them bring something like it if they are right"⁷ and again, "They say, he has fabricated it; tell them: bring ten sūrahs fabricated the like thereof and call to your help everyone you can except Allah, if you are right."⁸ Yet again: "They say, he has fabricated it; tell them: bring (even) one piece like unto it and call to your help any one you can except Allah, if you are right."⁹ Then the Voice addresses them directly through the Prophet, "If you are in doubt about what We have sent down to Our servant, then bring a sūrah like it and call all

(1) Qur. XXXVIII, 6.

(2) Qur. XXXVII, 35.

(3) Qur. VII, 31

(4) Qur. LXXIV, 24

(5) Qur. XXXIV, 42

(6) Qur. VIII, 31

(7) Qur. LII, 34

(8) Qur. XI, 16

(9) Qur. X, 39

your helpers, other than Allah, if you are right. But if ye bring it not, and ye cannot bring, then try to save yourself from the fire whose fuel is men and stones which is prepared for those who deny.”¹ This was the challenge to all those who doubted, or thought the Qur’ân was the word of man. Either they tried to imitate the Qur’ân and failed or they did not even try because they thought it beyond their power; and how could they bring anything like it unless they had had the same religious experience as the Prophet? Then spoke the Voice, “Tell them, if human kind and the Jinn come together to produce the like of this Qur’ân, they cannot produce it, even if one help the other.”² The last word was said and this forms the basis of the dogma in Islam that the Qur’ân is supernatural. The claim is clear and unmistakable.³

In the Qur’ân itself there is no direct evidence of the fact that anybody accepted the challenge and tried to bring forward anything like it. On the other hand we can deduce from the way in which the language of the challenge became more and more pointed that no serious attempt was made. At first there is a general challenge to bring something like it (*bi hadithin mithlih* بحديث مثله) then it is limited to ten pieces only and lastly even to one, and with the last challenge there is also a strong conviction that they cannot bring anything like it (*wa lan taf’alu* ولن تفعلوا). Had any important attempt been made, it was bound to be mentioned in the Qur’ân, just as all their doubts and criticisms are clearly mentioned. But it is also quite possible that some people tried to produce something like it and failed, and because they did not make a public claim, no notice of it was taken in the Qur’ân. Tradition also does not enlighten us on this point. The consensus of opinion seems to be that the people did not trust themselves to take up the challenge and this forms one of the chief arguments in favour of the contention, as we are going to see later on. Many stories on the other hand have reached us about the magical effect of the Qur’ân on the sceptics or the disbelievers when it was recited by the Prophet.⁴

(1) II, 21, 22.

(2) XVII, 90.

(3) The Chronology of the verses mentioned here depends on their content. It is not based on any tradition.

(4) See Abû Nu’aim—*Dala’ilu ‘n-Nubuwwah* pp. 74-80. (d. 430 A.H.) Haiderabad 1320 A.H.

2. GROWTH OF THE DOGMA.

It takes quite a long time for a simple idea to become a dogma and it is very interesting to try to trace its growth and to find out the circumstances which have helped to give it a definite colour. But it is an extremely difficult task. Such growth is almost always invisible and, because the people living at the time are quite unconscious of it, no first-hand impressions are available. The only possible way is to follow the history of the time in the light of the particular question and to see whether one can distinguish some landmarks.

Just after the death of the Prophet the task of gathering together the different pieces of the Qur'ân was taken in hand, and a collection was made. But it was only under the reign of the third Khalîfah, 'Uthmân, that the work could be properly completed. At the same time began the period of disturbance which lasted with a few short intervals of peace till the year 85 A.H., when Abdulmalik b. Marwân succeeded in suppressing every kind of opposition and made the path easy for his son Walid. But these disturbances had served one purpose. They gave to the people plenty of food for thought. The battles between Mu'awîya and 'Alî, the rise of the Khawârij, the battle of Karbalâ, the struggle between 'Abdullâh b. Zubair and Abdulmalik b. Marwân, all these were not merely struggles for supremacy or power. They were more a conflict of principles, a conscientious struggle, at least on one side. The thoughtful people turned again and again to the Qur'ân to seek a light which could guide them in those dark days. This gave a fillip to the study of the Qur'ân, which was naturally the chief occupation of religious-minded people. But as yet the time for a systematic *Tafsir* (commentary) had not come, nor for seeking out the different problems in the Qur'ân and dealing with them at length.

At the same time, young Islam was coming in contact, on one side with the complicated dogmas of the oriental Christian churches in Syria,* which was the seat of the Omayyad Khalîfahs, on the other, with the Zoroastrian and Manichæan ideas in the newly founded Islamic towns of Kûfah and Basrah. The Muslims were beginning to have free discussions with the non-Muslims, who questioned the very basis of Islam, the prophethood of

*See Becker, *Islamstudien* I, pp. 432-449.

Muhammad. They had to give proofs of the truth of their religion and their beliefs. Then by the middle of the second century A.H. began to be translated into Arabic works on natural sciences and philosophy from Greek, Syriac and middle Persian. The natural result was a current of free thought in Islam. People like Ibnu'l-Muqaffa', Bashshâr b. Burd, Sâlih b. 'Abdi'l-Quddûs and 'Abdu'l-Hamîd-al-Kâtib were bound to appear and to be called *Zindiq*.^{*} Orthodox Islam had to struggle not only with the non-Muslims but also with the agnostics. This was again a reason for turning towards the Qur'ân, the fountain-head of religion, the sole determiner of beliefs, the guide of all the Muslims. In the meantime the Khilâfat had changed hands. The Omayyads had passed out and the 'Abbâsids had appeared on the stage which had been transferred from Syria to 'Irâq.

The time had come now for the systematic exposition of dogma and the foundation of different schools. The Mu'tazila appear and with them also appears the first notice that we have received about the question of I'jâzu'l-Qur'ân. It must have been discussed for the first time about the middle of the second century.

There must have been at least three ways which led to the discussion of this question. Firstly, the direct way of a systematic *Tafsir*. As we have already seen, the claim stands clearly in the Qur'ân more than once, and those writing a commentary on it were bound to tackle this problem. Just at the beginning of the second Sûrah is the challenge thrown to the disbelievers in the divine origin of the Qur'ân, and it is always at this point that the commentators discuss the question of I'jâz.

The other two ways branch off from the highway of *Kalam*. One of them which must have been a by-path, was trodden by those veterans, who traversed the ever-circling and never-ending road which had, as its milestone, the problem of Khalqu'l-Qur'ân. Those discussing the question whether the Qur'ân was eternal or created were bound to touch this problem, and there is plenty of evidence that they did so.

^{*}For the word *Zindiq* see :—

Schæder :—*Iranische Beiträge* I 1930 pp. 274 ff.

A Siddiqi—"The Letter (ق) and its importance in Persian Loan words in Arabic. Proceedings of the Fourth Indian Oriental Conference pp. 229-281.

The third way, which seems to be a thoroughfare, and which led to this question most of those with whom we have to deal here, is the most important one. In the structure of *Kalam* there are two big wings which attract the eyes of every observer. One is *Ilâhîyât* (Metaphysica) and the other is *Nubûwât* (Prophetica). In the first, only a very small corner is dedicated to our question; but the whole of the second is not only occupied by, but without any exaggeration, also founded on this question.

After discussing the essence and attributes of God under *Ilâhîyât* the *Mutakallim* turns towards the question of prophethood. He deals at first with the need of a prophet for mankind, with the possibility of a prophet being commissioned by God, with the tests of the truthfulness of a prophet, and then with individual prophets. Here he begins with Moses and Christ and ends with Muhammad. He has already decided that the test of the truthfulness of a person who claims to be the messenger of God is that he performs miracles. Now when he begins to prove that Muhammad was a true prophet, he goes out seeking for his miracles. He turns first to the *Qur'ân* and finds himself amply rewarded for his search. The *Qur'ân* itself claims that its composition is beyond the powers of all the creatures of God because it is the word of God himself. What other miracle can be greater? Then he finds a *Hadîth* of the Prophet also :—"There is no prophet but he was given a sign which made the people believe in him, and what I have been given is nothing other than the words revealed to me and I hope to have the greatest following on the Day of Resurrection."* The matter is now settled. The *Qur'ân* is the miracle of Muhammad and an everlasting miracle to boot.

We have seen how these different roads have led different people to this one question, but we ought not to lose sight of the fact that these paths are not parallel. They constantly cross one another as we shall see later on. Perhaps it is also true to say that in this case the straightest path seems to have proved the longest. Those who travelled by the way of *Tafsîr* seem to have reached this point later than those who took the path of *Kalam*. As we have mentioned above, the first to reach there were the *Mu'tazila*. It is one of the saddest facts for those working in the field of the religious history of Islam that almost nothing is to be had to-day of the vast literature

* Bukhari : *Babu'l-I'tisam*. This seems to be a mere amplification of *Qur'ân* XXIX, 5.

left by these wonderful people. Even the meagre and scanty notices that we have received about their ideas and beliefs have come through authors who are their admitted opponents in the realm of dogma like Ash'ari,¹ Baghdâdi,² Ibn Hazm³ and Sahristânî.⁴

The notices of the views of the Mu'tazila on this question in particular are very short and we are quite in the dark about their arguments. The names mentioned in this connection are Nazzâm,⁵ Hishâm,⁶ 'Abbâd⁷ and Muzdar,⁸ as taking a somewhat different view from the others who were in agreement with the general opinion.⁹ From among the Mu'tazila only Jâhiz is reported to have written a book very likely on this subject, which was called Nazmu'l-Qur'ân.¹⁰

At this point we ought to take account of a very important work which has been rightly called a semi-official defence of Islam. 'Alî b. Rabban at-Tabarî who was a client (Maulâ) of the 'Abbâsid Khalîfah Ja'far al-Mutawakkil (232-247 A.H.) is the author, and the name of the book is Kitâbu'l-Dîn wa'd-Daulah fî ithbâtî'n-Nubûwah.¹¹ The Khalîfah himself helped in the compilation of this book, as the author has mentioned in his preface. The subject-matter of the book, as appears from the name, is the proofs of the prophethood of Muhammad. The sixth chapter is devoted to the argument that the Qur'ân is a sign and a proof of the truthfulness of the Prophet. The style in which the author writes and the arguments that he brings show clearly that this problem

(1) *Maqalat u'l-Islamiyyin*, Istanbûl 1930 A.D.

(2) *Al-Farq beyn al-Firaq*, Cairo 1328 A.H.

(3) *K. ul-Fisal fi'l-Milal, wa'l-Ahwal wa'n-Nihal* Cairo 1899-1930 A.D.

(4) *K. ul-Milal wa'n-Nihal*, London 1846.

(5) Ibrâhîm b. Sayyâr d. 845 A.D.

(6) Al-Fuwati d. 840 A.D.

(7) b. Suleymân ad-Damîrî d. 840 or 860 A.D.

(8) 'Isa b. Sâbih, d. 850 or 870 A.D.

(9) See *Maqalat I* p. 225-26 and *Milal* p. 48.

(10) See *Fihrist* p. 38.

(11) Ed. Mingana, Cairo 1923 A.D. For his life and works see :—
Z. D. M. G. (*neu. Folge*) Bd. 10, Heft ½ p. 38-68.

For a discussion about the authenticity of the book see :—

(1) Mingana : *Remarks on Tabari's semi-official defence of Islam* reprinted from *The Bulletin of John Ryland Library* Vol. 9, No. 1, 1925.

(2) D. S. Margolionth : "*On the Book of Religion and Empire*" reprinted from the Proceedings of the British Academy Vol. XVI. London 1930.

(3) Bouyges, in *MFOB*, X, 242 ff.

did not, as yet, form a part of the big system of Kalâm, nor had discussion of it, as yet, become a convention, as it later became. This was a time when problems which were destined to become a synthetic whole were being discussed individually, sometimes together but often apart. And our question was one of them.

Of the books on Tafsîr written in the second or third century we have received, unfortunately, nothing but their names. The only representative of that time and perhaps the best of all times is Ibn Jarîr at-Tabarî (d. 310 A.H.) whose voluminous commentary, comprising thirty big volumes, has been to our exceeding good fortune completely preserved.¹ It is all the more valuable because it is almost an encyclopædia of the information about the Qur'ân available at the time, and has been a prototype for all the later commentators. He discusses this question when writing the commentary on Sûrah II, 21, 22 in a very simple manner and does not seem to be encumbered with the technicalities of Kalâm as later commentators obviously are. He does not bring arguments other than those mentioned in the Qur'ân itself and contents himself with explaining and amplifying the verses.

The next among the early commentators whose work still exists is Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Qummî an-Nisâbûrî (d. 378 A.H.).² He also discusses this question at the same place but it is interesting to see what a difference the three-quarters of a century have made. Al-Qummî follows the way rather of the Mutakallimîn than of the Mufasssîrîn and uses all the technical terms of the former. He goes beyond his province and brings arguments from other fields of thought. The later commentators have more often followed the example of Qummî than that of Tabarî. It seems like planting in one's own garden a tree grown in a foreign soil. But this is only the beginning of a long process. As time went by, the whole field of Tafsîr was invaded by the Mutakallimîn, and the simple art of explanation was superseded by complicated and puzzling discussions on matters of dogma. Every party tried to prove its thesis by the help of the Qur'ân. They read into the simple unsophisticated language of the Qur'ân all sorts of preconceived meanings. They tried even to reconcile the conceptions of Hellenistic philosophy with the verses of the Qur'ân.

(1) Cairo, 1821, A.H.

(2) Published on the margin of Tabarî's *Tafsîr*.

The few words written above may have given an idea of how the dogma grew. Now we must examine the literature existing on the subject and, when we have done that, we may be able to survey the problem systematically. The whole of the literature can be divided into two parts. There are a number of special books on this subject but mostly this question has been discussed as part of one system or another. First in order comes the system of Ma'ânî and Bayân. The books falling under this category can also be classified as special books on the subject, as their names invariably indicate. But it is better to deal with them separately for very important reasons, as we are going to see later on. The other two systems are those of Tafsîr and Kalâm, whose growth we have already followed.

3. SPECIAL BOOKS ON THE SUBJECT.

The following are the names of those authors who wrote a book or a treatise with the title 'Ijâzu'l-Qur'ân'. Ibn Nadîm who completed his *Fihrist* in 377 A.H. mentions only the first two names. This may be safely taken as an evidence that no other book with this name was known at the time :—

1. Muhammad b. Zaid (Yazîd ?) al Wâsitî¹ (d. 306 A.H.).
2. 'Alî b. 'Isa ar-Rummânî (d. 384 A.H.).²
3. Hamd b. Muhammad al Khattâbî (d. 388 A.H.).³
4. 'Abû Bakr Muhammad al-Baqqillânî (d. 403 A.H.).⁴
5. Muhammad b. Yahya ibn Surâqah (d. 410 A.H.).⁵
6. As-Sayyid ash-Sharîf al-Murtada (d. 436 A.H.).⁶
7. Abdu'l-Wâhid b. Ismâ'il ar Ruyânî (d. 502 A.H.).⁷
8. Ibn Babjuk al-Baqqâlî (d. 562 or 576 A.H.).⁸

(1) *Fihrist* p. 38. No trace of the book.

(2) *Fihrist* p. 64 and 172. A copy exists in the Library of Wehbî Effendi in Istânbûl. I have acquired a photographed copy and propose to publish it very soon.

(3) Exists in Leiden MDCLIV (Cod. 655 Warn) see Catalogue, Vol. IV, p 17. I have got a copy of this also and hope to be able to publish it before long.

(4) Printed many times. Latest edition, Cairo, 1930.

(5-7) See H. Khalifah under *I'jaz*. No trace to be found.

(8) See Cat. Arab. MSS. Berlin Vol. I pp. 288-89. MS. Berlin Spr. 819.

9. Qâsim b. Firroh¹ ash-Shâtibî (d. 590 A.H.).²
10. Nasir b. 'Abdu's-Sayyid al-Muttarazi (d. 610 A.H.).³
11. Ibn Kamâl Pasha (d. 940 A.H.).⁴
12. Ibrâhim b. Ahmad al Jazarî (d. ?).⁵
13. Muhsin b. Husan an-Nîsâbûrî al-Khuzâi (d. ?).⁶

Bâqillânî's book is reported to be the best ever written on this subject. The author, who is better known as Al-Qâdi'l-Bâqillânî was a famous dogmatic theologian and a staunch follower of the Ash'ari school. He was a disciple of Abû'l-'Abbâs ibn Mujâhid at-Tâ'i who in his turn was a disciple of the great Imâm. Of his innumerable writings this is the only one which has reached us, but it is quite enough to give us an idea of his immense learning and his command of dialectics.⁷

In the preface to his book Bâqillânî gives the reasons which impelled him to write on this subject in the following words ; " One of the most important things, the examination of which is incumbent on the people who follow the religion of God, and the discussion of which is the most needed, is that which forms the basis of their religion and the groundwork of their theology, and which is a proof of the truthfulness of their Prophet and an evidence and an argument in favour of his miracles (He means the Qur'ân) especially at the time when ignorance has pitched its tent and has a very brisk market and has got mastery over all the world, and knowledge is on the way to obliteration and effacement and is in hiding and remote, and the learned are under the yoke of the black times, suffering from the roughness of time what one suffers when he encounters a ferocious lion, so much so that what they have to undergo has deprived them of the requirements of learning namely walking on its path and taking to its ways. So the people now are divided into two groups, one walking away from the truth and being

(1) The pronunciation of this name is problematic. In *Ma'arif* it is (فيرة) which might be a misprint. In *Irshad* vol. VI, p. 184 it is (فيرة) and Brockelmann reads it Firroh, Vol. I, p. 409. He mentions that this is probably an old Spanish name.

(2 and 3) See *Ma'arif*, vol. 18, No. 5 Nov. 1926 p. 831. Both exist in a library in Medina.

(4, 5) See Cat. Arab. MSS, Berlin Vol. I pp. 288-89. Only No. 4 exists. MS. Berlin Spr. 819.

(6) See, *Kashfu'l-Hujub 'an asma'il-Kutub*, Calcutta 1912 p. 52. No trace.

(7) For his life see the latest edition of the book (1930) and Ibn Khallikan.

diverted from righteousness, and the other prevented from helping and harassed in their own business. This has led the heterodox to engage themselves with the fundamentals of religion and to make the weak doubt their every belief. The helpers of religion have become few, its allies have been distracted from it and its own people have given it up, so that it is now a target for everyone who wants to aim at it. The position is again the same as it was quite in the beginning when people used to talk about the Qur'ân and some said it was magic, others that it was poetry, still others that it was the tales of the past, and all of them thought they could also produce something like it if they wanted, and there are so many other things which God the Almighty has quoted as being what they said about it. It has been related to me about one of the ignorant amongst them (he means his own contemporaries) that he has begun to compare it (the Qur'ân) with some verses of poetry and to weight it with other categories of speech and is not content with that alone but holds them to excel it in merit. This is not new to the heterodox of this age; their friends, the disbelievers the Quraish and others, had said most of all this before them. The only difference is that most of those who calumniated it (the Qur'ân) in the beginning saw clearly the right path, later repented and turned back, they recognised the truth, not because their tongues were tied but only through the guidance of their Lord and His succour. Ignorance in these days is more wide-spread and the heterodox are farther from the truth and quicker to abandon the needful. It would have been more proper for those of the linguists, who have written useful books on the meanings of the Qur'ân, or for the dogmatists to have explained in detail the reasons why it is supernatural and to have assigned it its right place. This was more worthy of being done than most of what they have written on atoms and more important than their subtle discussions about the accidents and most of the fine points of grammatical analysis or syntax; because the need of it is more pressing and the tackling of it is more imperative. Some of them have neglected it so much that it has led a group of people to adopt the view of the Brahmins in this matter.* These people thought that by the inability of their friends to defend this miracle it follows that it need not be defended at all and that it is without foundation. All the more when they observe, on the one hand, the excellence of these authors in what they have invented, and the limit they have reached in

*The allusion is, most probably, to Ibn ur-Rawandî.

what they have innovated and they see, on the other hand, that what has been written on the subject is incomplete in itself and unconvincing in argument, confused in its treatment and faulty in its arrangement.....In view of these facts somebody asked us to deal with this matter fully in a way which might do away with the doubts that occur to those who are ignorant and might strike a blow once for all at all the criticisms aimed at this miracle. We have complied with the demand, hoping in this way to gain the nearness of God and relying on His help and His succour."

By reading this preface it is possible to form an idea of the state in which this problem was at the end of the fourth century A.H. Even after allowing very much for the exaggerated style which is the hall-mark of the dogmatists of every age, at least this fact comes out clearly, that the question of I'jaz-ul Qur'ân was being neglected at the time. The books that were written on the subject till then were not satisfactory and there was a demand that it should be dealt with in full. We may safely opine that this gap was admirably filled by Bâqillânî himself. This book has formed the basis for all those who wrote on the subject later. Before proceeding further, it will be proper to give a short sketch of the book.

Bâqillânî, like all other Mutakallimîn, begins by putting forward the thesis that the miracle of the prophethood of Muhammad is the Qur'ân. This forms the first chapter. Then in the second chapter he proceeds to prove that the Qur'ân is really a miracle. He continues the discussion in the third chapter and enumerates in detail all the proofs in favour of this thesis. One of the arguments is that the style of the Qur'ân is such that no human being could have composed it. Here he finds it necessary to show that the Qur'ân is neither Shi'r nor Saj'. These form the next two chapters. Then he puts forward the question whether it is possible to find out the miracle of the Qur'ân by examining its eloquence or rhetoric (Badî'). Here he mentions in detail the different forms existing and compares them with those passages of the Qur'ân which have taken the same form. After doing this at length, he comes to the conclusion that this is not the right way, and one cannot be sure in this way of the fact that the Qur'ân is supernatural.

Then, in the next chapter, he proceeds to describe how it is possible to come to the right conclusion. He says at the very outset that it is not possible for those whose language is not Arabic or even for those who only speak the language but have got no taste for its fine points to be certain of the fact. They must depend on the judgment of those whose business it is to distinguish between the ordinary and the extraordinary style. Then he quotes some of the speeches and letters delivered or dictated by the Prophet himself and asks us to compare them with the Qur'ân and see what a difference there is in the style and composition of both. The idea is that the Prophet himself could not compose in the same style and there is no way open but to believe that the Qur'ân is revealed and is the composition of God Himself. After that he brings in the same way the *Khutab* or *Rasa'il* of the Companions of the Prophet and those of other earlier and later prominent men and comes to the same conclusion regarding them also. Here he gives an example of the words uttered by the two claimants of prophethood just after the death of Muhammad, viz., Museylimah, the man, and Sajah the woman, and ridicules them outright. Now he takes the poets. He prefaces his examination by enunciating a general principle that poetry cannot go the same length in the excellence of style as prose, because the former is handicapped by the requirements of rhyme and metre. So it is no use comparing poetry with the Qur'ân for its very nature gives it a secondary position. But, as some people who had no understanding used to compare the two, he is bound to expose them. He selects as a representative poet the best of them Imrau'l-Qais and begins to examine at length the beauties and the faults in his verses. After finishing this, he describes some of the indescribable charms of the style of the Qur'ân and asks all those who have got any taste to form their own judgment. He does not finish here but goes on to examine the poets of his own time, for there might be people who have doubts on this score, though it is very unlikely that any one could excel Imrau'l-Qais, and so, when his verses cannot be compared favourably with the Qur'ân, it is quite out of the question for any one else to reach that level. This is by far the longest chapter and comprises almost half of the whole book.

In the following pages he discusses some of the small points, viz., (1) Is the supernaturalism of the Qur'ân

self-evident ? (2). What is the amount of the supernatural in the Qur'ân ? (3). In what does it lie ? (4). The question of the challenge (Tahaddî). (5). The real connotation of the word Mu'jiz, and lastly (6) Why it is not right to say that the Qur'ân was composed by Muhammad, and some other matters related with I'jâz. There is also a separate chapter, which ought to have been rightly a part of the principal one described above, on the description of the different figures of speech and their examples from the Qur'ân. Then he closes the book with a very eloquent discourse on the difficulties in the path of a person discussing such a vast subject. He is of the opinion that it is quite impossible for any one to fathom the depth of the Qur'ân or to describe all its beauties.

Typical of his attitude is an anecdote that he relates. A Bedawi had lost his way one dark night. Suddenly the moon came out and he found his way again. Then he addressed the moon in the following words, "What should I say to thee ? Should I say : God may raise thee high ! but He has already raised thee ; or, may He make thee bright, but He has already made thee bright ; or may He give thee beauty, but He hath already given thee beauty."

It is a pity that many of these books are lost. The loss of the book of Ash-Sharîfu'l-Murtada is all the more sad because he had taken a view very uncommon and, in early times, expressed only by Nazzâm. It would have been of great value to us to see how he proved his contention. Some of his arguments have been quoted by other authors and, fortunately, a fragment of his own on this subject also exists. He used to answer theological and religious questions forwarded to him by different people in course of their correspondence with him, and a collection of such letters is still extant (MS. Berlin Pet. 40). Two of the letters discuss this problem and give us an inkling of his views.*

4. AS A PART OF OTHER SYSTEMS.

(a) *In Ma'ani and Bayan.*

It is a well-recognised fact that Arabic Rhetoric is largely based on the Qur'ân. But it has not been perhaps as yet realised that the origin of the whole science lies in this dogma of the supernaturalism of the Qur'ân. There

* MS. Berlin Pet. 40. fol. 4 a-5b and 92 b.-94a.

were naturally other causes also, but without any doubt this was the chief cause. In the discussions about the miracle of the Qur'ân the chief problem was: in what does this miracle lie? We see that quite in the beginning there were two groups. One contended that it lay in the style and the composition of the Qur'ân while the other saw nothing extraordinary in its style and put forward other arguments. But only a few people belonged to the second group. Most of the learned men belonged to the first. So it was quite natural for people to begin asking the question: what, after all, was the standard of judgment? They began to collect specimens of literature existing at the time and to compare them with the Qur'ân. This also explains clearly why Jâhiz felt the necessity of writing a book which he called *Nazmu'l-Qur'ân*. It is really very unfortunate that this book does not exist, but its very name is a picture of its contents.

This fact also remains to be appreciated in full that Jâhiz was the person with whom Arabic Rhetoric came into existence. Anybody who peruses his work *Al-Bayan wa't-Tabyin* carefully, requires no other proof. It is a general belief that Abdu'l-Qâhir al-Jurjânî (d. 471 A.H.) was the originator of Arabic Rhetoric, but this should not be accepted without certain qualifications. There is no doubt that Jurjânî was the first person who systematized all the ideas existing about the subject and made it a science. But he cannot in any way be called the originator. His two books *Asraru'l-Balaghah*¹ and *Dalâ'ilu'l-I'jâz*² are the first books in which the problems of Ma'ânî and Beyân are discussed systematically. But most of the subject-matter existed before him in one form or other.

Now his book *Dalâ'ilu'l-I'jâz* is a living proof of our contention that this science originated because of the belief in the I'jâz of the Qur'ân. The name suggests that he is going to enumerate in this book all the arguments in favour of the dogma of I'jâz. But what does he actually do? From beginning to end he discusses problems of grammar and rhetoric. Why does he do such a thing which is obviously a paradox? The explanation which

(1) Cairo 1901, 2nd Ed. 1925.

(2) Cairo 1321 A.H.

he gives is very simple. One cannot come to the conclusion that the Qur'ân is supernatural unless he has the capacity to distinguish between the different forms of expression.¹ He repeats the same argument in an appendix written later and called *Al-Mudkhal fi Dala'il-l-I'jaz*.²

Jurjânî is also said to have written two commentaries on the book of Khattâbî already mentioned³.

One of them was bigger and was called *Al-Mu'tadad* and the other was smaller. It is quite possible that while writing the two commentaries he felt the need of a system of literary criticism and later compiled his two famous books above-mentioned. This also shows the development of his ideas. He first wrote a small commentary on one of the earliest books on the subject, but later on was dissatisfied with it and wrote a bigger one. Then this also became insufficient and he found himself unable to remain within the bounds of a commentary. So he wrote a separate book *Dala'il-l-I'jaz*. But the basis remains the same. Had the original book of Khattâbî and the two commentaries not been lost to us we might have been able to trace the development clearly and exactly.

These two books of Jurjânî have been abridged and rearranged by Fakhruddîn ar-Râzi (d. 606 A.H.) in his book *Nihayatu'l-I'jaz fi Dirayati'l-I'jaz*.⁴ He says it himself clearly in the preface to his book. He, moreover, puts the argument brought forward by Jurjânî in favour of this way of treatment more clearly. Râzi discusses this question in his other works also, namely his commentary on the Qur'ân and the two books on Kalâm, *Ma'alimu Usuli'd-Din* and *Muhassalu Afkari'l-Mutaq-addimin*.⁵ But in all this he brings almost nothing new himself.

The other authors who have followed the path pointed out by Jurjânî are (1). Ibnu Abî Isba'il-Qairawânî (d. 654 A.H.) who wrote a book called *Beyanu'l-Burhan*

(1) pp. 82-88 and 276 fol

(2) Attached to the printed book.

(3) H. Kh. under *I'jaz*.

(4) Cairo 1817 A.H.

(5) Both Cairo 1905.

fi *I'jazi'l-Qur'an*¹ and (2). 'Abdul-Wâhid az-Zamlakânî (d. 651 A.H.) whose book is named *Kitabu't-tibyan fi 'Ilmi'l-Beyan al-Mutli 'ala I'jazi'l-Qur'an*.²

The name of Hâzim b. Muhammad al-Qartajânî (d. 684 A.H.) is also mentioned in this connection. He is said to have dealt with the problem in his book *Minhaju'l-Bulagha*.³

At this point it would be interesting to note how, as the time passed on, the very word *I'jâz*⁴ went on losing its particular colour till it came to mean simply eloquence and by '*Ilmu'l-I'jaz*⁵ nothing more was meant than the science of rhetoric. We come across a book written by Ghiath-ud-Din Lutfullah (d. 1035 A.H.) called *Al-I'jaz fi 'Ilmi'l-I'jaz*⁶ and the author does not find it necessary even to explain the relation between the name and the subject-matter which is nothing other than notes on Ma'ânî and Beyân. What more proof is required for the connection between the dogma of *I'jâzu'l-Qur'ân* and Arabic Rhetoric than this fact, that the word which was coined to signify the one came to mean the other.

(1) Or. Pub. Lib. Patna Nr.

(2) Escorial, Nos. 228, 263. A book by the same author exists in a Library in Medinah, the title being *Al-Burhanu'l-Kashif 'an I'jazi'l-Qur'an*." See *Ma'arif* vol. 18, No 5. Nov. 1926 p. 330. Perhaps both books are the same with different titles.

(5) See Tashkopruzade : *Miftahu's, Sa'adah*. Hyderabad 1910 II p. 359 and *Itqan* II p. 119.

(6) MS. Leiden.

ABDUL ALEEM.

(To be continued.)

LITERARY RELATIONS BETWEEN ARABIA AND INDIA

(Continued from our last issue.)

II.

IN Ibn Nadîm's list (377 A.H.) an Arabic book translated from Sanskrit is mentioned as *Kitab Hudud Mantiq al-Hind* or the Book of the Boundaries of Indian Logic.¹ But Ya'qûbî who flourished a century before Ibn Nadîm (278 A.H.) has included it among books of Logic and Philosophy and has mentioned it as *Kitab Tufa'i'ilm Hudud el-Mantiq* or the Book of Topa on the Boundaries of Logic.² The question is whether by Logic is meant the science of Logic called Nayaya or the literal meaning 'speech.' If the latter meaning is accepted, the book might be a collection of tales or it might be a book of ethics. This might mean that the book prescribes the limits of speech—when and how to speak. Ibn Nadîm has mentioned this book under the heading : "The names of Sanskrit books which are tales or anecdotes." This shows that it was not a book of Logic.

Rhetoric.

Jâhid (255 A.H.) has written in his book (*Kitâbu'l-bayân wa't-tabeyyun*)³ "When Yahya bin Khâlid al-Barmakî invited many Hindu pandits Mu'ammir asked one of them, 'What is rhetoric in the opinion of Indians?' He said, 'I have a small pamphlet with me on this subject, but I cannot translate it. Nor do I know this subject.' Mu'ammir says that he gave this pamphlet to translators who got it into Arabic." Jâhid has given a summary of this pamphlet in one page in which rules for the guidance of orators are laid down.

Charms, Incantations and Magic.

This is a famous, age-old practice with the Indians.—More often than not, when the characteristics of India are

(1) Ibn Nadîm p. 305.

(2) Ya'qûbî p. 105.

(3) *Kitâbu'l-bayân wa't-tabeyyun* Vol. I. p. 40 (Egypt).

described in Arabic books, there is special mention of the magic and magicians of India. Ibn Nadīm says, "The people of India have much faith in magic and incantation." Again he says, "The Indians are experts in Ilmu't-Tawah-hum. They have written books on this subject, some of which have been translated into Arabic." Ilmu't-Tawah-hum perhaps stands for what to-day is conveyed by 'mesmerism.'¹ Ya'qûbî defines it as the miracle of will power.² He says that a Rajah named Kishan had invented it.

Ibn Nadīm has mentioned a Hindu author whose name has not been deciphered even by the editor, who is content with scrawling a few marks. It looks like (سیسی ہندی) (Sîsa-Hindi). He writes, "He is among the ancients. Magic and incantation are his pursuits. There is a book of his in which the ways of mesmerists are described."

In this connection many Indian books were translated into Arabic, two of which are comprised in Sindbad's story. There are two versions. One is a large one, the other smaller. Concerning this book some people opine that it is a Persian product but Ibn Nadīm lays down, "The fact is that it is an Indian product." It is possible that, like some other books, this book was first translated into Persian and then cast in an Arabic mould. That is why people suspected it to be of Persian origin.

In *Alf Leylah* (A thousand Nights) there are stories relating to Sindbad. In one story are recorded the strange adventures on sea of a merchant named Sindbad; and in another story are described the no less strange adventures on land of Sindbad the merchant. Some people guessed it to be the Indian story.³ But this view is not correct since the Indian story relates the adventures of Sindbad the Physician,⁴ while the *Alf Leylah* story relates the travels of Sindbad the Merchant. Secondly, the tales of Sindbad's travels in *Alf Leylah* are quite at variance with Hindu conditions, Hindu environment, and Hindu temperament.

Mas'ûdî⁵ has summed it up as the story of seven ministers, a guru (spiritual teacher), a boy and a queen. This description cannot apply to Sindbad in *Alf Leylah*.

(1) Ya'qûbî Vol. I, p. 97.

(2) Ibn Nadīm, p. 312.

(3) *Resa'ili-Shibli* p. 263 (First edition).

(4) *Fihrist* p. 805, (1, 2, 20 and Ya'qûbî Vol. I. p. 105).

(5) *Tarikh Murawwaqu'dh-dhabab* by Mâs'ûdî Vol. I. p. 162 (Leyden).

Besides, many other Indian stories were translated into Arabic. One of them is 'Dipak' which is the story of a man and a woman. Another is the story of the coming down of Adam on the world.¹ It is not known to what legendary story it refers. There is a story of a certain Raja in which there is an account of fighting and swimming. There is a story of two Indians, one of whom was large-hearted and the other close-fisted. There is a controversy between the two regarding the relative merits of munificence and miserliness, and also the decision of the Rajah on that point.²

A book of Triyacharitra (Wiles of Women) was translated. The name of the author is Raja Kosh.³

Traces have been discovered of a book 'Ilmu'l-Hind (Hikmu'l-Hind) It was first translated into Arabic prose and later on the poet Aban put it into verse.

Reference to different Indian stories and anecdotes is found in the journals of Ikhwânu's-Safâ.

Ethics.

It was customary with ancient scholars to teach morals through the medium of tales, anecdotes and parables. The tongues of dogs, mice, cats and crows interpreted morals to man. A particular book in Sanskrit which has earned imperishable fame from this point of view is *Kalilah wa Dimnah* whose Sanskrit name, according to Bîrûnî, was 'Panch Tantar.'

Before the dawn of Islam this book was translated from Sanskrit into Persian during the days of the Sasanian kings. Then in the middle of the second century A.H. 'Abdullâh bin Muqaffa' translated it into Arabic. This book became so famous in the Arabic language, and kings and Amîrs appreciated it to such an extent that it was variously transformed from Arabic into Persian and *vice versa*, from verse into prose and *vice versa*; and translators, poets, prose-writers employed upon it their utmost skill and intelligence and were profusely rewarded by Muslim kings. When, by the end of the second century A.H., the poet Aban put it into Arabic verse and

(1) *Fihrist*, Ibn Nadîm p. 805.

(2) *Tarikh*, Ya'qûbî Vol. I p. 105.

(3) Ibn-Nadîm p-119. Probably this book is *Kalilah wa Dimnah* which is mentioned subsequently.

presented it to Ja'far al-Barmakî, minister of Hârûn-ar-Rashîd, the latter gave him one hundred thousand dirhams as reward.¹

This book was translated from Arabic into many languages of the world. There is hardly a civilised language in Asia, Europe or Africa into which it was not translated. There is a regular history of the translations and transformations which this book has undergone. Doctor Syed Ali Bilgrami delivered a detailed, informing lecture on the subject in Urdu before the Muslim Educational Conference held at Aligarh in 1891 A.D. Another article on the subject, by the writer of these lines, was published in the Aligarh Monthly Magazine in 1905 or thereabouts.

The name of the author of this book is Pandit Bidpâ and the name of the Raja for whom it was written is Dâbshalim. All that a king should know is laid down in ten chapters and the teaching is instilled through the medium of stories of animals. It appears that the Raja mentioned as Dâbshalim was the king of Gujerât. An Arab traveller in the 4th century A.H. (10th century A.D.) named Ibn Hauqal mentions Raja Valabha Rai of Gujerât as 'the Raja of the Book of Parables.'² In Arabic 'Kalîlah wa Dimnah' is known as the Book of Parables.

Ya'qûbî has written that Pandit Bidpâ wrote this book in the reign of Raja Dâbshalim.³ In Firishta it is recorded that at the time of the invasion of Gujerât by Mahmûd of Ghazna the title of the dethroned Râja of Gujerât was Dâbshalim.

Professor Sachau's mistake.

In the introduction to 'India' Professor Sachau, quoting Ibn Nadîm, mentions the book known as *Kitabi Bidpa fi'l Hikmah* that is, Bidpa's studies in Philosophy. His research shows that Bidpâ in its original form is Veda vayas, the founders of Vedanta. He has added another hypothesis to this wrong hypothesis: that the theory of Wahdatu'l-Wujûd (Unity of existence or the belief that God is One and the things in the universe are only manifestations of his powers) crept into Muslim belief through the translation of this Vedanta of Vedavayas.⁴ I do not

(1) *Kitabu'l-Wuzara wa'l-Kitabu'l-Jahshyari*, edited in Vienna 192 A.D. p. 259.

(2) *Safarnama-i-Ibn-i-Hauqal* p. 227.

(3) Vol. 1 p. 97.

(4) Introduction to *India*, p. 88.

deny that Vedanta left its impress upon later Muslim Sûfis but I decline to believe that at such an early date the Muslims or the Hindus knew anything about this theory. The Neo-Platonic philosophy of Alexandria no doubt left its mark upon this theory as held by early Muslim Sûfis. Here we are not concerned with the history of this theory. But I want to dispel the delusion under which the learned Orientalist labours. This delusion is due to a sentence of Ibn Nadîm. In Arabic the morals taught by means of parables are known as 'Hikmat' (wisdom and philosophy). By the book of Bidpâ is meant the book *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, whose author is known in the beginning of the Persian translation as Pandit Bidpâ¹ and whose subject-matter is the teaching of wisdom by means of stories and parables. So Ibn Nadîm has mentioned Bidpâ's book in connection with stories and not in connection with philosophy.

However, this important book was the product of India's creative genius and was made famous by the Arabs in every nook and corner of the globe. Bîrûnî writes: "‘Abdullâh bin Muqaffa’ who was a follower of the creed of Mani (the cult of fire-worship) has, in the translation of the original book, made certain alterations according to his faith and belief. It was my fondly cherished desire to translate the original book ‘Panch Tantar.’"² But it appears that Bîrûnî did not get the opportunity to translate this book. This is a common book in Arabic. Even to-day at different places it has found a place in the curriculum for children.

Another book of Indian wisdom and sagacity is *Buzasaf wa Balohar* (بوزاسف و بلوهر), a book which, though less famous than *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, is yet more important and of a higher culture. Ibn Nadîm has mentioned this book among the Indian legends translated into Arabic. There is not a shred of doubt that 'Boozasaf' (بوزاسف) means Budh (بده). In old Persian the letter 'dal' was often substituted by 'dhal'. Hence 'Bû'dasaf' was written as 'Bûdhasaf.' The suffix 'saf' (سف) is Satv (ستو) according to Dr. Sachau. In Arabic the letter wau (و) of a particular kind becomes, like the Roman V, 'fay' (ف). The original meaning of Balohar is, according to Dr. Sachau, 'Protector', which means

(1) Ya'qûbi Vol. 1, p. 97.

(2) *Kitabu'l-Hind* p. 76 (London).

'guru' or spiritual leader. In this book there is an account of the birth and education of Buddha and also how by a sheer accident he became world-weary ; how an anchorite of Ceylon, hearing this news, came to Buddha in the guise of a merchant. There is also a very informing dialogue between the teacher and the pupil on the insoluble questions of the universe and the unexplored mysteries of Nature, illustrated by stories, parables and innuendos. This book was translated from Arabic into various tongues and was so much appreciated in religious circles that the Christians ascribed it to one of their saints. A Muslim sect compiled a large portion of it and ascribed it to one of their Imams.

Ikhwanu's-Safa is a half-religious, half philosophical book of the 4th century and is important because it was published confidentially by a secret association in the 4th century to represent a certain school of thought. To a particular sect of Islam it has the importance of a religious book. In this book too, there are various chapters of 'Bûzâsaf and Balôhar.'

Thirty years ago, the late Maulvi 'Abdul-Ghanî Sâhib Wârisî Bihârî translated this book from Arabic into simple Urdu. I quite remember that, when this book was first translated and when it came to my guardian, I expressed my desire to look at this book. But the request was denied. He said, "If you read it, you will become of the world and you will cry a halt to your studies." This excited my curiosity to such a pitch that I got into a naughty mood. At night when he was asleep, I stole into his room, saw the book on the table and took it away. The streaks of dawn had not yet disappeared when I finished the book and placed it again upon the table. From that day to this I treasure up the recollections of that book being one of the few books of the world which can reclaim sinners. There are such edifying examples in that book as can fairly find a place in the Bible. We do not know from what ocean these pearls have come.

Lastly, let me mention the names of two Muslim scholars who came to India not for purposes of travel but for drinking at the Ganges of arts and letters. They went back after quaffing at the perennial springs of knowledge.

Tanukhi.

The first of these persons is Muhammad bin Isma'îl Tanûkhî. He belongs to the 3rd century A.H. (9th A.D.).

He was a famous scholar of Astronomy and Astrology. He collected much information about his special subject and went back.

It is a pity that not much information about this scholar has come down to us. Had not a Muslim historian of Spain mentioned his name, he would have been possibly lost to us.

Biruni.

The other Scholar is the famous philosopher-mathematician of Khwarazm, Abû Reyhân al-Bîrûnî. He had a special taste for studying the thoughts, beliefs and fads of the various races of the globe. Not a book of his that does not reflect this aptitude. There is no manner of doubt but that he was familiar, through the writings of earlier authors, with India and its vast learning. Up to this time Arabic learning and the literary researches of Muslims had attained to the acme of perfection. The Muslims did not leave their acquired learning where they found it; rather they largely improved on all they learnt from the Hindus, Persians and Greeks. They had by this time corrected many errors and improved much that was defective. Therefore the motive cause with Bîrûnî for learning the arts of India was nothing but love of originality.

However, it is not definitely known when he came to India, how long he lived here and what places he visited. But this much is known that in 408 A.H. he came to Ghazna from Khwarazm and he finished writing his book *Kitabu'l-Hind* in 423 A.H. in Ghazna. Three years before, in 420 A.H., Mahmûd had passed away. The period of his sojourn in India seems to be between 408 A.H. and 422 A.H., a period of thirteen years. There is a book in Persian named *Durratu'l-Akhbar* dealing with the history of philosophers and *homo sapiens*. This is the translation of the book in Arabic of Ali bin Zeyd Beyhaqî (d. 565 A.H.), called 'Titimmatu Sawâni'l-Hikmat.*' In it is written that "he (Bîrûnî) spent forty years in India. According to this he must have first stepped on the soil of India in 383 A.H. while the Ghaznavites had not yet crossed her frontier. But by comparing the different biographies of Al-Bîrûnî the fact of his coming to India seems to be off the mark.

* This book was published in the supplement of the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore (Feb. 1929). In the original book the words are 'Dar Bilâd' (در بلاد). The Editor has added the word 'Hind.'

Though his itinerary did not extend beyond the Punjâb and Sind¹ yet in the geography he has given us of India in his 'Kitâbu'l-Hind' he has surveyed the whole of Hindustan; and in the book 'Qânûn Mas'ûdî' (Laws of Mas'ûd) written a few years later, he has given us the latitudes and longitudes of the large towns in India. Anyhow he came to India when she was tottering under the blows of Sultân Mahmûd. A Galahad of learning, silent and alone, was busy with his literary conquest of India and was piling victory upon victory. In his heart of hearts he was uneasy at the political turmoil in India.² Dr. Sachau has stated that, by writing *Kitabu'l-Hind*, he made the Muslims proud of the fact that a member of their race had written a book which made the accounts of Greek and Chinese travellers antiquated; and, on the other hand, laid India under the obligation that he preserved the ancient civilization, the ancient learning and the ancient culture of India. It is worth while remembering a remark of Al-Bîrûnî which shows how proud the Hindus were of their literary and intellectual attainment. He writes: "The Hindus know nothing of any race except their own. They firmly believe that there is no country except their own, no race except theirs, and that learning is their sole monopoly. If somebody tells them the names of scholars of Khorasan or Persia they dub him ignorant." He goes on "If they were to mix with other nations, this wrong notion would be dispelled." Again he says: "The pandits of yore were not like this. They made the fullest use of the learning of other nations. Warah Mehr says: "Though the Greeks are unholy and Mlechcha (defiled), still we should revere them for their learning." Bîrûnî says further on: "So long as I did not know their language I used to sit with them like a pupil. When I picked up their language a little and explained to them problems, arguments and researches in mathematics and astrology they were astounded and they began to learn from me, and they asked in astonishment: "What pandit is your teacher?" When I began to point out the weak points in their literature, they took me for a magician or knower of unknown things and called me Vidya Sagar (Ocean of Learning)."

Bîrûnî's greatest achievement is his ambassadorial rôle. He was the literary ambassador between the Muslims and the Hindus. He it was who initiated the Arabs and Persians into Hindu lore, and the Hindus into

(1) *Kitabu'l-Hind* p. 11, (London).

(2) Introduction to Al-Bîrûnî's *Kitabu'l-Hind*.

Arab and Persian learning. He translated Sanskrit books into Arabic for the use of Arabic students and Arabic books into Sanskrit for the use of Sanskrit students. Thus he repaid the debt which Arabian arts and letters had owed to India for so long a time. He wrote three kinds of books about India, books from Arabic into Sanskrit, books from Sanskrit into Arabic, and books on researches into Indian arts and Indian problems.

The books he wrote for the Hindus are the following :—

1. Answers to the queries of Hindu astronomers.
2. Answers to ten questions of pandits of Kashmîr and a solution of their doubts.
3. A pamphlet on the astrolabe.
4. A translation of Ptolemy's *Megustios*.
5. The propositions of Euclid.
6. A book on astrology.

The books written for students of Arabic are :—

1. *Kitabu'l-Hind*—a summary account of the beliefs, learning and researches of the Hindus.
2. A translation into Arabic of Barham Gupta's *Panch Siddhant*.
3. A translation of Barham Gupta's *Barhan Siddhant*.
4. A translation of Hindu researches into lunar and solar eclipses.
5. A book on numerals (ank).
6. An account of figures in the teaching of Mathematics.
7. A translation of the Indian 'Rule of Three' (Tri Rashak).
8. A translation of Indian philosophy.
9. A translation of Patanjali.
10. A translation of Warah Mehr's book *Lagho Jatakam* (Book on Birth).
11. A pamphlet on Vasudeva's second incarnation, etc.

The third kind of books are :—

1. A correction of errors by Authors or Translators in the books on astronomy translated from Sanskrit into Arabic (Books like *Siddhant*, *Arya Bhata* and *Khaudya Khand*).
2. A book of 500 pages on *Siddhant* proper, called *Jawami'ul-Mawjud ba Khawatir-ul-Hunud*.
3. A pamphlet on the subject that the method of writing down numerals is more correct in Arabic than in Sanskrit.

4. Correction of some principles of Astrology on the Hindu basis (*Fi'l-irshad ila tashihî'l-Mabadi 'Ala'n-Namudarat.*,

In the 5th discourse of the Laws of Mas'ûdî, Bîrûnî has given us the latitudes and longitudes of the following places of Hindustan-- Lohawar (Lahore), Avastan (Avasthan), which was the capital of (Kashmîr), Nepâl (he says that it is a place of resort between Hindustan and Tibet), Vaihind (a town in the valley of Sindha), Sialkot, Multân, Tez (a port in Baluchistan), Somnat, Nahlwala, Khambayat, Kalanjar in Central India, Mahûrâ (Muttra), Kannauj (he says that Kannauj is the central portion of India and that great capitals of Râjas existed here. It lies west of the Ganges), Mari (it is the present day capital of Kannauj), the fortress of Gowaliar, Lobrâni, Daibal (a port in Sind), Kajooraha, Ajodh (Ajodhya) Bânârs (Benares). (He says that it is a sacred town and is the emporium of arts and letters,) the island of Ceylon, Jamkot, Tanjâwar, Sangal-dup, Mankri. (Mahanagari ?)

A remarkable achievement—the measuring of the circuit of the earth—redounds to the credit of Al-Bîrûnî. Mâ'mûn had started this practice among the Arabs in the third century A.H. Two hundred years had gone over it. Bîrûnî was extremely fond of this experiment. He found no suitable place for this experiment in Khwarazm or Afghanistan. Such a field he found in India. On one side this place was bordered by a mountain. He measured the circuit of the earth according to the Indian principles.¹

Regarding Astronomy and Astrology the Muslims during the reigns of Akbar and Muhammad Shâh paid all the debts they owed to Sanskrit and to India.

By Akbar's orders the horoscope of Ulugh Beg was translated into Sanskrit.² It is a collection of Islamic astronomical researches and the latest observations of the Timurid observatory situated in Maragha. When, during the reign of Muhammad Shah, Râja Jai Singh established observatories in Delhi, Benares and Jaipur, higher books of Arabian astronomy were translated into Sanskrit.³

(1) *Qanun Mas'ûdi* (Laws of Masud). I happened to see a manuscript copy of this book in the Aligarh Muslim University Library.

(2) *Ain-i-Akbari*.

(3) A full account is to be found in Ya'qûbî, Vol. I p. 99-105 *vide* Mas'ûdî Vol. I. p. 160. Leyden. (Author).

These abstruse technical discussions may have tired the readers a little. Therefore in the end I turn to games which may serve as a sort of recreation both to the writer and the reader. Chess and Chawsar (a game of dice) are the product of India's creative genius. Among Arab writers the man who has written at large on the subject is Ya'qûbî. He has written that they are not mere games but are based on some very delicate points of mathematics and astrology. The board is a chart of the vicissitudes or the whirligig of time. The compartments in the board are heavenly belts. Chess is based on 64 compartments in all, then on 32, then on 16, then on 8, then on 4 compartments. Apart from this mathematical conundrum, very little thought has been given to the fact that these two games elucidate two religious or philosophical schools of India. Chawsar is a proof of the fact that man is a mere plaything in the hands of Fate which tosses him to and fro. Man does as the heavens and stars will. There is an overruling destiny that ordains. On the other hand chess is a proof of the fact that whatever man does is a result of his personal efforts ; that his success or unsucccess depends upon the efforts of body and mind, muscle and brain. In short, both these games are practical statements of insoluble problems of the world. Ya'qûbî, has written that a pandit invented chawsar and made a gift of it to a Râja. In it he propounded the theory of determinism. (جبر). Another pundit invented chess, made a present of it to the Raja, and taught the theory of free will (اختيار).

The reward which the inventor of chess asked of the Râja is a miracle of mathematical genius. He asked that one grain of wheat he put in the first compartment, twice the number of grains in the first compartment to be put in the second compartment, and so on till the last. Apparently, the Râja thought it a simple affair but when calculations were made it was beyond the Raja's powers to grant that reward. Ya'qûbî and Mas'ûdî made this calculation but to quote it here would be plunging into a ticklish mathematical puzzle.¹⁻²

(1) A full account is to be found in Ya'qûbî Vol, I. pp. 99—105. Vide Mas'ûdî, Vol. I. p. 160 Leyden. (Author).

(2) I have made my own calculations. On calculation it is found that the total number of grains will be 18446744073709551615. On a rough estimate it was found that 1 chattak of wheat = 2,400 grains. Hence 1 maund of wheat = 15,36,000 grains.

Both these games came to Arabia from Persia as early as the first century A.H. Of these chawsar came earlier, since it is mentioned in the Traditions. Chess came later on, probably during the Abbasid regime. In the 2nd century A.H. we find opinions on chess expressed by Muslim theologians. The Persians claim that the word 'Shatranj' (شطرنج) which means chess was minted into Persia and is a Persian possession. They say that its original is 'Hashat Ranj' (هشت رنج) or eight cases,¹ because there are eight compartments in a chess board. But this is an open burglary. The word 'Shatranj' was minted in India and is an Indian possession. Its original is 'Chitrang'² (four-limbed). The Iranians have tried to strengthen their claims by such names as 'Shâh' (King) 'Farzîn' (Queen), Peyâdâ (pawn). But two things still exist which are an unimpeachable proof of India's superior claim—Elephant and Rukh (horse). *Rukh* is really *Rath*, a cart which is not found outside India.

Research scholars are of opinion that there is mention of 'chitrang' even in the Ramayana.³ Not only the Persians but the Greeks, Romans, Egyptians and others have claimed its possession; but, in the High Court of Letters, the claim of India alone is upheld.⁴ But it is also worth noticing that, whether it was first called 'Hasht Ranj' in Persia or 'Chitrang' in India, the name 'Shatranj,' minted by the Arabs, is current to-day both in India and Persia.

The total number of maunds will be :—1844674407370955161'

1536000

=12009599006821 $\frac{495615}{1536000}$ The whole calculation will be

=12009599006821 mds. 12 srs. 14 $\frac{81}{60}$ chattaks.

1. Ya'qûbî, Vol. I p. 101 (Leyden).

2. *Sawa'u's-Sabil fi'l ma'rifat-ul-Murwalled wa'd-dakhil*.

3. Vide *British Encyclopædia* Vol. VI, p. 100 word *chess*.

4. Ditto.

SULEYMAN NADVI.

(Concluded.)

GENERAL RAYMOND OF THE NIZAM'S ARMY

"ABOUT half a mile from the jail at Hyderabad, on the summit of a small hill which rises a hundred feet above the surrounding plain, is a tall obelisk inscribed only with the letters "J. R." On the 25th March every year this tomb is brilliantly illuminated, and salutes are fired from musket and cannon by thousands of irregular troops from the Nizam's capital, who spend some hours on the hill, 'feasting on sweetmeals and recounting to each other stories of the greatness and kindness of *Musa Rahim*.' Thus is preserved the memory of Monsieur Michel-Joachim Marie Raymond, the French commander of the Nizam's Forces, a worthy successor to Bussy....After a hundred and fifty years 'Musa Rahim' is not forgotten by the descendants of his sepoys, as the annual ceremony shows." (*Statesman*, July 3, 1932).

The letters of General Raymond, which are here published for the first time, can be best understood, in the light of his biography as abstracted below from H. Compton's *Particular Account of the European Military Adventurers of Hindustan* (T. Fisher Unwin), pp. 382-386.

Francois de Raymond was born at Serignac, in Gascony, in 1755. He came out to India early in life, and in 1775 obtained employment as sub-lieutenant in a battalion commanded by the Chevalier de Lasse (Lallee),* in the service of Haidar Ali of Mysore. His conduct brought him to the notice of the military authorities, and he received a commission as a captain in the French army in 1783, and was appointed aide-de-camp to the famous Bussy. Three years later, on Bussy's death, Raymond

* See note to letter No. 1,

entered the service of Nizam Ali Khan of Haidarabad, for whom he raised a small corps of 300 men, hiring the weapons with which they were armed from a French merchant on the coast, at the rate of eight annas *per mensem* for each musket. When the confederate war against Tipu Sultan broke out (in 1791), and the English, the Marathas and the Nizam were leagued against the ruler of Mysore, Raymond's command was raised to 700 men, and he distinguished himself so much in the campaign that he grew into great favour with (Nizam) Ali Khan, and his force was augmented to 5,000 men, his own pay being increased to Rs. 5,000 a month. At the battle of Kardla in 1795, Raymond's battalions numbered 10,840 men, with 28 guns and 46 tumbrils. The regularity with which this force was paid enabled him to fill its ranks with deserters from the Company's services, to whom he held out tempting inducements.... He was next employed in reducing to submission the Nizam's rebellious son and heir, Ali Jah. In this he met with stout resistance, and was obliged to send for reinforcements to one of his subordinates named Baptiste, on being joined by whom he quickly brought the expedition to a conclusion, and secured the person of Ali Jah, who committed suicide, leaving Sikandar Jah heir to the throne. This prince was accustomed to swear "by the head of Raymond," whom he regarded as the first of men.... After the battle of Kardla Raymond tried hard to obtain the Karpa (Cudappa) district, which would have enabled him to co-operate with any French force making a descent on the Coromandal coast, with or without the concurrence of the Nizam. He already possessed an immense military territorial assignment which yielded 52 lakhs of rupees a year, in addition to an estate or *Jagir* of his own, the income of which was Rs. 50,000. His salary was princely, and in the style of his domestic life he collected round him every luxury and elegance within the reach of a European in India. Previous to his death (1798), he further increased his force, which he considered "a French body of troops, employed and subsidised by the Nizam," to over 14,000 men, with a complete train of artillery, chiefly brass ordnance, worked by a well-trained corps of Europeans, and drawn by 5,000 bullocks. His cavalry numbered 600. He possessed, in his own right, all the guns and military equipage belonging to the force. On 25th March 1798 Raymond died—according to some accounts by poison—at the early age of 43.

Raymond's character has been variously estimated by different writers. Major Thorn describes him as "a man of extensive knowledge and equal activity." Kaye, in his *Life of Malcolm*, views his character in the following light : "Raymond was a man of great ability and address".... Malcolm contrasts Piron with Raymond, describing the former as "a rough democrat, a stranger to that temper and those conciliating manners by which his predecessor won his way to greatness." (Malcolm's letter to General Ross). Major Kirkpatrick, who was British Resident at Haidarabad in 1797, wrote, "Raymond himself would not appear to be a man of vigorous mind; or in any respect of a very decided character, and very hard, and wanting in liberality in pecuniary matters, which makes him much disliked by all his officers, except one or two he favours. He has never shown himself to be much of a soldier; but he is artful, and seems to have an arranging head and is sufficiently conciliating in his manner towards those he has to deal with." (Despatches of the Marquis Wellesley, ed. by M. Martin, Vol. I, p. 639, Appendix A.) Captain Fraser, in his *Our Faithful Ally the Nizam*, naturally follows Kirkpatrick's authority in describing Raymond as wanting in character, promptitude, and decision. Malleon has lauded him up to the skies, without any historical basis for such glorification.

The history of the growth of Raymond's army from 300 to 14,000 men has been given in the above biographical sketch, which requires to be corrected at some points from his own self-revelations as given in the following letters. As to the resources, equipment, discipline, and efficiency of this force, we derive original information of first-rate value from the report (in the form of questions and answers) which Major Kirkpatrick submitted to Marquis Wellesley (then Lord Mornington), when he met the new-coming Governor-General at the Cape of Good Hope. The cream of this report is embodied in Wellesley's despatch to the Right Hon'ble Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control, written at the Cape on 23rd February, 1798, and the full report is given in the *Despatches of Wellesley*, Vol. I Appendix A., pages 637-643, while a short but very interesting sketch of the character and designs of the French officers of this corps is given in Malcolm's memorandum written after the disbandment of the corps, in the same work and volume, Appendix F. pp. 685-686. Some of the conjectural statements of Kirkpatrick can be corrected from the annexed letters.

“This corps consisted at so recent a period as 1792 of no more, I think, than one battalion, at most only of two. De Boigne’s and some other regular bodies of infantry (with field pieces attached) had been formed, antecedently to this period, both by Mahadji Sindhia and Tukoji Holkar; and it was probably in consideration (*sic*) of the important and abundantly obvious advantages which the former of these chiefs in particular had derived from such an establishment that first suggested to Azim-ul-umara the expediency of (such) a military institution. The Peace of Seringapatam had not been long concluded (1792) when the minister authorised, and, I believe, afterwards from time to time frequently urged him to complete his corps with all possible expedition to fourteen battalions or regiments of a thousand men each. Such a large augmentation (of forces)... I am disposed to think sprang principally from a desire of preparing for that contest with the Marathas so long before in contemplation of the minister, and which accordingly followed soon after. I see no reason to suppose that the measure was connected either immediately or remotely, at least in the mind of Azim-ul-umara... with any views of a nature hostile to our interests.

“Besides a field train of artillery consisting of 30 pieces, and on the whole pretty well appointed, there is attached to the corps a troop of perhaps 60 native dragoons. With the exception of an European officer to each battalion or regiment (as it is most commonly called) and a sort of second to a few of them, all the other Europeans, to the number I apprehend of about 50... have latterly either been stationed to the artillery, or distributed in the character of sergeants among the several regiments. These men consist of various nations, and among them there are but too many English deserters from the Company’s artillery. The parade appearance of the corps is, in general, good, that of Piron’s regiment is particularly so. In other respects, however, its discipline would not seem to be very strict....

“I believe that the number of the officers,* properly so-called, do not at present exceed 12, and that the whole of these are Frenchmen, with the exception, perhaps, of one or more jacobinised Germans. With the exception

* We find the names of the following officers, besides their General Raymond: Piron (who succeeded Raymond), Baptiste, Salnave, and Christoff,

of Piron, Baptiste, and perhaps one or two more favourites, the officers were represented to be dissatisfied with Raymond on account of his hardness and want of liberality in pecuniary matters.

“Baptiste, who stands next in rank to Piron, is eminently and peculiarly serviceable to Raymond as the main link of his correspondence with Pondicherry, Tranquebar, and Marpilly ; and as his agent for enticing French and other deserters, both native and European, and facilitating their escape to Khammam, where just at our doors this bustling emissary of seduction and procurator of all material supplies any way connected with the Carnatic, has established his head-quarters.

“The corps is recruited more or less from all the provinces of the Nizam's dominions, but from none so much as Aurangabad, . . . and but in too great a measure from the dependencies of the Carnatic, particularly the Northern Circars. The pay of the coast sepoy (in the English Company's service) is less by a Rupee than that of Raymond's sepoy, whose duty too is easier (on account of the slackness of discipline).

“The only post he holds in our neighbourhood is Khammam, where *Baptiste* (otherwise *Talihard*) has commanded for several years. . . . It serves Raymond as a magazine ; the stores he from time to time procures from the Carnatic being in the first instance deposited here, and forwarded, as occasion requires, to Haidarabad. It is also conveniently situated for communication with Marpilly (formerly a French post in the Guntur) where Raymond has a store-house in charge of a Frenchman of the name of *L'Empreur*. This is also the point whence Baptiste's emissaries issue for the purpose of inveigling deserters and procuring recruits from the adjacent districts. It is likewise the principal link in Raymond's communication with Pondicherry ; most of his messengers to and from thence, all the French fugitives, and many recruits obtained in the same quarter, pursuing the route by Cudappa and Khammam.”

The following point, in which Kirkpatrick was in the dark, is cleared up by the letters now given to the public : He writes, “I have no very substantial proof of Raymond

being in correspondence either with the Government of France, or with that of Mauritius....The strongest circumstance I know of, indicating such an intercourse, is his having fired a salute about two years ago on the occasion, as was given out in his party, of his having recently received the commission and uniform of a general officer from the French Government in Europe."

Till the period of Azim-ul-umara's captivity, the corps had always been paid from the treasury....with the exception only of a permanent assignment on the revenues of Khammam proper, which Raymond had previously obtained as a fund for the payment of a particular division of his corps, the *Sulaiman Jah's Rissala*. During the administration of the Rai-i-raian he contrived to procure on a still better footing the whole *sarkar* of Medak, computed to yield about 18 lakhs of Rupees. (Kirkpatrick).

When the corps was disbanded in 1798, its stores at Haidarabad contained small arms and clothing for 12,000 men beyond the force then serving under M. Piron, besides a number of pistols for cavalry. The French corps had three arsenals and two foundries. The arsenal near their lines at Haidarabad was full of military stores, and in the foundry there were a number of brass cannon newly cast, which the English artillery officers judged as good and as well finished as any they had ever seen. They also made swords, muskets and pistols. The French party were always well paid; their clothing was neat and their discipline superior to any troops that Malcolm ever saw in a native service.

The French corps in the Deccan had for several years before 1798 hoisted the national flag, and most of the lapels and epaulets of their new clothing had the words *Liberte* and *Constitution* embroidered on them.

The general conversation of the French officers proved that they had entertained ambitious designs, and considered themselves as forwarding the interests of their mother-country. (Malcolm). The above summarises the knowledge of Raymond and his plans and organisation as possessed by the British officers of the time from the outside. The letters here printed, while modifying them in a few details, establish their general correctness and prove the wonderful efficiency of the company's intelligence department. It looks as if these letters had been

intercepted and read by Kirkpatrick,—which, we know, was not the case.

The sword of Raymond is still preserved at Haidarabad and is expected to act like a charm. Seventy-two years after his death, "Salar Jung commenced the formation of a force called the 'Reformed Troops.' The force was officered by Europeans of different nationalities, and the Commandant, in virtue of his office, wore the sword of Raymond, a Frenchman who was in the Nizam's service towards the end of the 18th century, and whose memory is so much revered by native soldiers that lights were (and probably still are) kept burning at his tomb." (*General Sir Richard Meade*, by Thornton, p. 275).

Letters of Raymond. (Translated from the French).

1. RAYMOND TO COUNT DE CONWAY.

Hyderabad, 1st December, 1787.

MY GENERAL,

Without having the honour of being known to you, I venture to take the liberty of writing to you, being persuaded that it is the duty of all Frenchmen who are to-day under your command and especially of all who enjoy your protection. I think that all are equally to be felicitated on their being under the orders of a General whose great reputation has been so legitimately established. If I still had the hope that my letter would reach you before the departure of Mons. de Cossigny, his kindness would have emboldened me to persuade him to inform you of my services and tell you who I am. I have had the honour of serving under his orders in the last war and I was engaged in different actions under his eyes. I had been for a long time attached to the party of Mons. Colonel De Lalee,* which I commanded, when very good reasons,—

* "Another emigrant Savoyard, Henri-Francois-Pierre-Charles de Motz de la Sale, better known under the name of General de Lallee.... Born at Rumilly (Savoy) in 1782, he served successively Hyder Ali and Tipu Sahib, and died in 1799 (—1790.)" [*General De Boigne*, par Victor de Saint Genis, p. 254 note.]

"M. Lally died of the wounds which he received in the action of 14th September, 1790, at Daraporam [Satyamangalam]. The loss of this officer must be severely felt by Tipu, as he is supposed to have the merit of bringing his artillery to the perfection in which it now is." (*Calcutta Gazette* of 18 Nov. 1790, quoted in *Bengal Past and Present* No. 87.)

about which I have informed M. de Cossigny,—forced me to leave that corps which has no stability now. It is now eighteen months since he sent me here, with very strong letters of recommendation to the Subedar (*i.e.*, the Nizam), who made much of them and received me well. By his orders I have formed one battalion of Sepoys, which is now (well) trained and disciplined, of which I am the sole owner. It is composed of seven hundred Sepoys, with one European with the title of second commandant, and sub-officers, also European, and its conduct has appeared to me praiseworthy up to this day. It is drilled and formed according to the prescribed French (military) regulations.

After the information which the colony of Pondicherry is in a position to furnish you regarding my conduct, I hope, my General, that you will not disdain a work which M. de Cossigny commenced and that you will give me in it your assistance and your good wishes. I am ready to sacrifice all, if I am so fortunate that circumstances may ever put it in my power to prove the zeal for my country which animates me and the profound respect with which I am, my General,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

(Sd.) RAYMOND.

2. RAYMOND TO (COUNT DE CONWAY).

3rd January, 1792.

The departure of M. Piron having been delayed by some days, I am able to give you by his (hands) information about the change which has taken place in the position of the armies.

At the commencement of this month (December 1791), the English army made a move and took the fort of Mag* while the son of Tipu (Fath Haidar) with 10,000 horsemen reached the Mughal camp (*i.e.*, the Nizam's) at Garamkonda, consisting of 8,000 soldiers, on the 21st of the month. He defeated it entirely, revictualled the place, and has returned to his father.

* Probably *Magry*, midway between Savendroog and Ootradoorg. For these operations see Wilkes, 2nd ed., ii. 288-285. Savendroog fell on 21 Dec.

The army of Sikandar Jah has returned and is encamped now at Garamkonda ; that of the English is ten leagues from Patan and waits for junction with it in order to advance. It appears that the English army will have to wait very long indeed.

The loss in the camp at Garamkonda is estimated at a hundred lakhs of Rupees. The Chief has been made prisoner and so also some other special officers, such as M. Riviere and others.

My General, M. Piron can give you all the details which you desire.

(Sd.) RAYMOND.

3. RAYMOND TO GENERAL (COUNT DE CONWAY).

13th July, 1792.

MY GENERAL,

By two *harkaraks* (messengers),--of whom I have had no news since,--I had the honour to reply to the two letters which you had had the goodness to write to me on the 17th and the 22nd of last month. My letter was dated from Chenganga, where the English separated themselves from the Mughals (*i.e.*, the Nizam's forces) and the Marathas. The last-named also departed some days after. The news which was received then about the illness of Nizam Ali put his army in such disorder that it has now been rallied with difficulty ; our chiefs left the troops behind ; these went with the greatest haste close upon the heels of their masters, and each thereafter in his own way and by a different route.

I believe, my General, that you cannot be ignorant of the smallest detail about the treaty of peace relating to what Tipu has lost, and to the partition (of the spoil) which has been made among the allies. What people say, as also my letters, will have given you the most exact ideas about it.

Our prince (Nizam Ali) is in perfect health, and the officers have again taken to their ordinary courses. It was no other reason than that of illness and above all the difficulties that M. Piron (Peron ?) experienced on his

way to Guntur, which deprived me of the honour of writing to you earlier. Neither did I write, while sending you the kitchen garden seeds, which you would have duly received (by now) by the hands of M. Piron. Whilst he was still at Morapalli, on the rumour that had circulated about the death of the prince (Nizam Ali), he was detained a prisoner in that place for one month. An English officer with 50 sepoy's formed his guard. He has not yet returned, but I understand that he is now encamped eight leagues from this city.

The distress here offers a frightful spectacle. I can say that every day 200 persons die of starvation. The streets of Hyderabad are paved with dead bodies; and, although the Government has set itself to remedy this lack of food, one can foresee that no change (for the better) is possible before the next crop is harvested. The people are in a riot; it was carried to the limits of Gronda on the 15th of the last month. Besides the plundering they have made in all the bazars, they almost besieged the prince in his house. The gate having been closed, they burnt it, and did not retire before they were forced by arms. One *seer* in this country weighs 30 ounces; and they sell two measures, (*i.e.*, such *seers*) of rice for one Rupee.

I am unaware of the effect which the arrival of (Mahadji) Sindhia in the Deccan will produce. He has come with the design of dethroning Sawai Madhav Rao, king (*i.e.*, Peshwa) of the Marathas, or of replacing him by a son of Ragoba. He wishes that Nizam Ali should cede to one of the sons of the Emperor, whom he has brought with him from Delhi, the province of Payinghat and Berar; and he has also come on account of a grand marriage. Undoubtedly all the different interests (*i.e.*, Powers) would come to an agreement from a distance as to how the war might be conducted. The party of Sindhia will dominate Poona, and Nizam Ali has not now ten thousand men to put in the field. The intelligence of his minister alone will not make head against a hundred thousand good horsemen; from which we can conclude either that it (the war) will be terminated by money, or that Sindhia will be given what he demands. Nevertheless, preparations are being made for the war.

It is in view of these things that the prince (Nizam Ali) urges me to raise troops. I have already 3,000 men under arms, and I have privately sent to M. Le Mercier

Rs. 20,000 for buying arms and clothing for a thousand others. You had the goodness, my General, to favour my first ventures which encourages me to a new one. It is with this intention that I have undertaken to produce two pieces of cannon, (1,000) muskets and 1,000 uniforms of Sepoys. My General, you have not raised any difficulty as regards the (muskets.) As for the cannon I equally implore your aid. In case there is any obstacle, I pray M. Mercier to do all that he possibly can to procure them for me, either at Negapatam or at Madras. My English passport authorises that if the articles are purchased at Madras, they are to be equally allowed to embark. Be so kind, my General, as not to disapprove of the importunity of my demands. I have not yet forgotten the services which you have already rendered to me by the help which you have given to M. Piron, and if my hopes are not deceived, the use to which I shall put it may in your eyes take the place of my thanks to you.

My troops are the only ones in the capital; and in view of the troubles that reign there, I shall in vain ask the Prince for permission to go to you. He has for you, my General, all the admiration and esteem which you deserve. The reputation which you have acquired in this Revolution of the French is perfectly known to him. By the wisdom of your government during a commotion like that, he judges with reason about what you can accomplish, given peace and an army. I hope, I may send you, without fear, on his behalf this testimonial. As for myself, I pray that my fellow citizens may agree and place at your disposal in India enough means for acting on the first necessity. Then, my General, the feeble strength of the machine which I have put together under your auspices may display itself.

I am etc. etc.,

(Sd.) RAYMOND.

Hydérabad, the 13th July, 1792.

M. Piront not being able to reach the province of Guntur, I have the honour, my General, to send to you to-day those that were entrusted with the kitchen garden seeds.

4. RAYMOND TO CHEVALIER DE FRESNE,
COLONEL, ISLE OF FRANCE.

Hyderabad, 1st October, 1792.

MY GENERAL,

It was nearly two months ago that I had the honour of sending you a letter through M. Chemitte, who is employed in my first Battalion as adjutant; and though I have had no news from him since, I remain calm in the confidence I have in your goodness. Having entered into new engagements with the prince (the Nizam) for raising, in addition to what I already have, a corps of 5,000 sepoy, I have to-day sent Rs. 50,000 to M. Le Mercier. If that operation had appeared easier to me, I should have sent one lakh of Rupees more. The three principal and most necessary articles are,—10 pieces of cast iron cannon, 5,000 muskets of French or English make and 5,000 uniforms for sepoy.

You will see, my General, from the letter of the prince which I have the honour to send you, that he urges you to favour him in realising an object which he has at heart and into which he will enter in greater detail in his next letter. It is no other than to enter into a regular correspondence with you. I have at first pressed the Minister to take a more open step. But he has replied to me that it is necessary that the prince should first receive from you, my General, a satisfactory letter on the friendship and the good understanding which has always existed between him and the French. He has promised me very positively not to oppose my departure for Pondicherry, as soon as Sindhia will take with his army the road to Hindustan, which will take place in the course of this month. I think, my General, that if the aims of the prince and those of myself do not displease you, you can without difficulty part with your muskets, which may be soon at your requisition replaced from the Isle of France.

I pray Me. Le Mercier not to dispose of the funds which I have sent him, without having received your orders. As for me, my General, I shall always follow as my first duty whatever (orders) you wish to give me. I have enough passports for the carriage by land, up to Kammam, of the articles which it will be possible to procure.

Peace appears to be entirely re-established,—at all events for the great Powers, because, as regards the interior of the dominions of the prince (the Nizam), there is always something wrong about some corner, and M. Piron finds himself cut off with 1,500 men in a tract of the country fifteen *Kos* from here. The abundance of the rains promises a rich harvest and an approaching amendment of the scarcity of food-stuffs.

I desire, my General, that you will let me know what this country produces that is agreeable to you: my eagerness in supplying your orders would always be in proportion to the respectful attachment and gratitude with which I am,

My General, etc.

(Sd) RAYMOND.

5 RAYMOND TO CHEVALIER DE FRESNE,
COLONEL, GOVERNOR

Hyderabad, 4th October, 1792.

MY GENERAL,

On the 1st of this month I had the honour of writing to you when I sent you a letter of the King or Nabab (the Nizam). In that letter I did not dwell at length on the aims of the prince, nor on my intentions. According to the news which I received from M. Chemitte, I have only ordered the persons whom I have entrusted with my bills of exchange on Madras to keep them till you have given your last instructions in respect of me to M. Le Mercier. Had I ever expected to find myself under the suspicion of being guilty of an act as vile as it is dishonourable, I would not have addressed you, my General, with so much confidence; nor could I have done so if I had ever wished to deceive you. Are there not at least a hundred persons in Pondicherry, even among the civil population, who can prove my sincerity by the refusals that they have met with from M. Piron?

I blush, my General, to be forced to justify myself before you. It is not the public that I care for most on this occasion. Your opinion alone suffices for my satisfaction. If in the colony that you govern, my General,

with so much justice, there is found one being who can prove that either by my letters or by my men I have sought to injure the interests of the nation or the discipline of the soldiery, I give you my word of honour, my General, to present myself under your orders at Pondicherry to account for my conduct.

I do not venture, my General, to continue my letter ; I trust nevertheless in your goodness still. I do not ask that you should favour my projects if they should injure (the nation's interests). I have always asked for your orders on that point..... But, my General, my reputation is very dear to me.

Tranquil in my own conscience, in the fullest confidence about your intentions, I have taken steps in the service of the prince which I believed to be advantageous to my country, and I have sent you one of his letters on that point. It would, my General, be very unfortunate if not only should I be deprived of your esteem, but also, by an accusation so false, prejudice should be created against me in the mind of the prince whom I serve.

I beg you, my General, to give M. Le Mercier the orders which concern me, in order that he may communicate them to my men who will conform to them and who will bring me back the funds which the prince has confided to me,—an object sacred to my mind.

Some evil-minded persons have deceived you with regard to me and the injury which they have done me by depriving me of the muskets which I had been assured of getting by the letters I have had the honour to receive from you, is nothing if I am not deprived of your good wishes.

I am etc. etc.

(Sd.) RAYMOND.

6. RAYMOND TO THE GOVERNOR (DE FRESNE)

Hyderabad, 17th October, 1792.

MY GENERAL,

I have received through M. Chemitte the letter with which you have been pleased to honour me, and I have sent on to M. de Morampont that which was addressed to him.

The circumstances which have placed obstacles before the desire you had to oblige me, do not permit me to complain of the ill success of the mission of M. Chemitte; it has been no more fortunate at Madras than at Pondy. This is not surprising to those who know the policy of the English. And I shall make up my mind to abandon my enterprises until a more favourable time arrives. The two letters which should have been delivered to you by M. Le Mercier with that of the Nabab, have informed you, my General, about his intentions and mine. I shall not add anything specially.

The impossibility which you have felt in supplying me with the things I had asked for having been made clear by you yourself in the last letter which I have had the honour to receive, I shall not permit myself to have in this matter the smallest semblance of the fear of growing importunate.

In my letter of 13th July I have had the pleasure, my General, of explaining to you the designs of Sindhia upon the Deccan, the Court of Puna; and this latter was at first alarmed and has made preparations of war. Nizam Ali and Nana Farnis, wishing to act with more certainty, have raised against Sindhia a great part of Hindustan. Holkar, the powerful Maratha chief, joined by Ali Bahadur, has attacked all the possessions of Sindhia during his absence (at Puna) and has compelled him to abandon the project in order that he may go to the succour of his own country. He was to have departed from Puna the day after the feast of Dasahara, which took place a few days ago. But it is doubtful whether the Marathas will let him make his retreat in peace. According to the last letter that I have received about the army of Sindhia, his forces consist of 4,000 horsemen, eight battalions which can form 5,000 bad sepoys, and 52 pieces of artillery. He has, besides, in Hindustan, 50,000 horsemen under different chiefs, 18 battalions under the orders of M. De Boigne, an officer, Savoyard by nationality, who also commands his great park of artillery and who possesses the confidence of Sindhia. He has moreover the detachment of the late M. Sombre, but that is a very small matter. Here, my General, are the news that I can give you with certainty.

The arrival of Sindhia has not caused anything extraordinary in the Deccan. It is, on the contrary, a journey

that he has made without doubt to his great disadvantage, especially if they have put obstacles in the way of his departure; and it is about this that I shall be able to inform you shortly.

It is not necessary, my General, that I should have to be in a fix, when you send for the things that may interest you. Your wish will be always an order to me. It will be enough if I know it, which I shall not lack opportunity to obey.

I wish very sincerely that France may be usefully served by her great armies and her great resources of all kinds. Not only the Powers of the North, but also all those that may turn enemies to her liberty, would succumb if every Frenchman, my General, had your quality, (and were like you) a good citizen and tranquil-minded over the fate of his motherland. As for me, I live in a state of mingled fear and hope.

Be pleased, my General, to receive my thanks for the services which you have been so willing to render me. That which has happened not permitting me to hope for anything else, I shall be blessed if I obtain your esteem.

I am etc.

(Sd.) RAYMOND.

7. MORAMPONT TO DE FRESNE.

Hyderabad, 19th January, 1793.

To Monsieur Chevalier De Fresne, Chevalier of the royal and military order of St. Louis, Special Governor of Pondicherry.

MY GENERAL,

I have the honour to inform you that the Prince Nizam Ali, subahdar of the Deccan, has just ordered the raising of a battalion of Sepoys on the same condition as M. Raymond. From my preceding letters you must have seen how my unhappy condition demands a prompt change. It is with alacrity that I have the honour to apprise you of it, not doubting at all that you will be responsive, when you understand that it is under the French flag that I shall be able one day to prove my zeal and my attachment to my nation. Alas! if ever I can be still useful to France, I am ready to pour my blood

once more for her. I labour only to discharge this duty and gain your good opinion.

In the letter which you did me the honour to write to me on the 18th September last, in reply to mine of the 12th June, you tell me that you are waiting for the coming from Europe of the Civil Commissioners to regulate and to make laws with regard to all matters, and that you will place my complaints before them and support them to the best of your ability. There is no doubt whatever, my General, that your support before these gentlemen, seconded by the justice of my demand, cannot but command all the success that you should look forward to with regard to it and that you will obtain the repayment of my salaries along with the things I have advanced.

I count firmly upon this (money) for supplying myself with a part of the articles of which I am in need for the formation of the battalion I have been ordered to raise. It is equally the king's duty to give me either the articles or the money. There are arms.....and clothing in the stores, things essential, (but) having no use for me.

Be, my General, favourable to the officers who beseech your integrity and your justice. You have at all times been the father of the officer as well as of the soldier. You have listened to the cry for justice and extended a generous hand to the unhappy, for which reason should I not have recourse to your generosity, having just right? Deign, my General, to second my wishes by falling in with them and giving me the three articles of which I have need. I shall be in eternal gratitude to you for it.

M. de Lagrenir, to whom I have written, will supply my needs,.....and will speak to you verbally what my feeble pen cannot express. (*Then follow New Year's greetings*).

Yours very humble, etc.,

(Sd.) DE MORAMPONT.

8. RAYMOND TO GENERAL (DE FRESNE).

1st June, 1793.

MY GENERAL,

Sultan Nizam Ali Khan has done me the favour of returning to me the letter with which you honoured me on the 26th of March last, and I have received since then your

letter of 12th April, which has been found among the personal effects of the deceased M. Duclanseau. He died in a village 12 leagues from Hyderabad from an illness of 7 to 8 days. I mourn the loss of that officer very sincerely, but I hope to be informed that it is not he in whom you take interest (and whom you mention) in your first letter. I wait for your orders as to the disposal which I should make of the effects which belonged to the deceased M. Duclanseau. You will find herewith an inventory of them, which is a proof of that unhappy event.

I cannot, my General, receive any news more flattering than that of your nomination to the Government of the French in India. Circumstances have deprived me of the pleasure of being known to you ; but (your) renown has informed me that no better choice could have been made in the interests of the nation in general and to the satisfaction of the citizens in particular. I am very sincerely one of the latter.

You need not doubt the favourable reception which the Sultan (Nizam) will accord to your relative. The ignorance in which I am about his name, troubles me besides.

In the letter which you have written to the Sultan, I have not seen the partieular which concerns the young officer. Doubtless through the forgetfulness of your Persian interpreter, there is no mention made of it, nor also of your favourable disposition regarding the object of his seeking. I have taken it upon myself to assure him of the success of that negotiation, after what you had the goodness to inform me. I have represented to him that usage does not permit one to enter into great detail in a first letter, and that this (first letter) you have written to him simply in order to let him know of your promotion to the Governorship.

As soon as you will be pleased to inform me of the price which may be put on the things to which I have laid a claim, I shall expedite the payment of it by the bankers of Madras, to the order of the persons you may be pleased to indicate to me.

I explained long ago the advantages which may be derived from my operations. I shall place them under your eyes over again, if you order it, in assuring you that my position will become more favourable to the interests

of the nation by reason of the independence which it can acquire. I have the honour of serving a good prince whose attachment to the French is not doubtful and he will prove useful to them in need, if however they desire him, in preparing at a distance the reinforcements which ought to be effective.

I have the pleasure of sending you his reply by my couriers (*harkaras*), and in this matter I venture, my General, to represent to you that the usage of this country prescribes an order of corresponding more (formal) between the Powers of India and those of Europe. The abatement of (lacuna in MS.).....in his manner of treating with the different courts of Asia. It is only from the perfect knowledge I have of your character, that I put myself forth to communicate this detail to you. For the rest, my intention is not to swell the expenses of the Government (of Pondicharry). I shall not ask for anything for following the orders which I may receive. I desire solely that the French may enjoy in India the greatest consideration, and if I have the happiness to contribute to it, the Republic has no more flattering recompense to offer to me than that which I shall find in my heart.

I desire to conform to the decrees of the Republic, if I know the changes which it has made in its first constitution. I received a long time ago the design of the flag of the nation, which is the one I use.* I understand that it has again been changed, along with many other things. Do me the favour of informing me as to what has been established (in France) in this matter, and I shall conform to it. The troops that I have the honour of commanding have not yet been designated under the name of the Swiss Company. If I receive your approval on this point, I shall follow the usage which I have established by calling them the Detachment of French Corps of Raymond. There has not been in India yet a corps of 15,000 men.

I am, etc.

(Sd.) RAYMOND.

*Scene etrange ! es fantassins de Raymond portaient le bonnet rouge et combattaient sous le drapeau tricolore ; les soldats de M. de Boigne marchaient sous l'enseigne bleue et la croix blanche. [St. Genis, 284.]

THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM

25. INDUSTRY.

OF the three basic necessities of the human body, food, clothing, and housing, clothing was the most important to the dwellers in the Near East. The clothier's art was more elaborated than any other, and interior decoration consisted almost entirely in coloured hangings for the rooms. Luxury meant to them in the main to be well dressed; comfort meant to have handsome carpets on the walls and on the floor. It was especially noticed in the case of the ascetic et-Tusi (ob. 344/955) that "he possessed no carpets."¹ So the manufacture of carpets was widespread and constituted far away the most important industry. Particular styles of carpet actually formed a constituent element of the national costume; one who travelled through the empire could tell from the carpeting of the rooms in what province he was. Three main sorts were at that time distinguished: 1. Curtains for the walls (*sitr*): 2. Carpets for the floor (*busat*) and long strips (*nakhkh*): 3. Such as were not intended to be trodden (*namat*).² To these were to be added the smaller sorts: prayer-mats, quilts, pillows and various sorts of cushion.³

Although cotton had long been cultivated in Upper Egypt,⁴ it is not mentioned in the 4/10th century as an Egyptian product, and appears to have played no part in the land which now produces the best cotton.⁵

Egypt's speciality in textiles was flax, which was chiefly grown in the Fayyum,⁶ and was exported as far as Persia.⁷ The wrappings of mummies are invariably of linen. The

(1) Wüstenfeld, *Schafiten*, AGGW 37, Nr. 129.

(2) *Ta'rikh Bagdad* ed. Salmon, p. 52.

(3) Abu'l-Qasim, p. 86.

(4) Pliny N. H. xix. 14.

(5) As late as the end of the 18th century Egypt exported flax to Syria and imported cotton thence (Browne, *Travels in Africa*, London, 1799, p. 854.

(6) Muq., p. 208. At the time of a severe famine the Egyptians had to eat linseed (Eutychius, p. 71).

(7) Muq., p. 442.

art of linen-weaving was so highly elaborated that the few woollen articles were similarly prepared. Taha in Upper Egypt was celebrated for its thin wools.¹ The two centres of Egyptian linen-weaving were Fayyum and the "Lake of Tinnis," at the mouth of the Nile, with the localities Tinnis, Damietta, Shata, and Dabku. At an earlier period the last was the chief place, for the most celebrated fabric was called after it "Dabiki"; but in the 4/10th century Tinnis and Damietta were the chief seats of the industry. The true Egyptian style was white uncoloured linen. There was a saying current in Umayyad times: "Egyptian cloths are like the membrane round an egg, those of Yemen like spring flowers."² These cloths were worth their weight in silver.³ They are so firmly twined that the tearing of one could be compared to a loud *crepitus ventris*,⁴ and they could be used as material for maps.⁵ They cost 100 dinars the piece; ordinarily, however, gold thread was interwoven, and then they cost double this sum.⁶ The show-piece of the Tinnisians, called *Badanah*, and manufactured for the Caliph, was actually woven in the shape of a garment, so that it had not to be cut and no stitching was required. It contained no more than two ounces of linen, all the rest being gold; its value was 1,000 dinars.⁷ A pair of costly curtains from Fayyum, of a length of 30 yards, fetched 300 dinars.⁸ In the 4/10th century it was unfashionable for a man to appear in attire of many colours; hence Dabiqi garments are regularly mentioned in the first place.⁹ Down to the year 360/971 the export from Tinnis to Babylonia only amounted to from 20,000 to 30,000 dinars' worth.¹⁰ Egypt then came under the Fatimids, and the export was forbidden;¹¹ but in Egypt itself Dabiqi turbans of 100 yards in length became fashionable, and their popularity lasted from

(1) Muq., p. 102.

(2) 'Iqd' I- 46.

(3) Makrizi *Khīrat* i, 163.

(4) Abu'l-Qasim, pp. 98, 109.

(5) Fihrist, p. 285.

(6) Ibn Hauqal, p. 101.

(7) Ibn Duqmaq ii. 79; Maqrizi, *Khītat* i. 177.

(8) Ibn Hauqal, p. 105.

(9) *Muwashsha*, ed. Brunnnow, p. 124; Tha'alibi, *Kitab al-mirwāh*, Berl. Pet. 59, fol. 129 b; Abu'l-Qasim, p. 33.

(10) Maqrizi, *Khītat* i, 177.

(11) Ibn Duqmaq ii. 79.

365/976 till 385/995.¹ There was besides a loose sort of linen fabric "comparable to a sieve,"² called *qasab*. This could be coloured; all the coloured *qasa b* came from Tinnis, the white from Damietta.³ It was made into turbans, but chiefly into cloaks and veils for women.⁴ Further, in the 5/11th century a new speciality came in, *Abu Qalamun*, an iridescent material, exclusively manufactured in Tinnis.⁵

In the Delta industry was carried on in the home; women spun the linen, the men wove it. They received a daily wage from the dealers, and might only sell to the official brokers. At the commencement of the 3/9th century a weaver's daily wage was half a dirhem, "which was insufficient for the bread of his mouth"—at least this was the complaint they made to the patriarch Dionysius of Tellmahre when he travelled through the region.⁶ The article was raised to an absurd price by all sorts of duties.⁷

The East too had its seat of a linen industry in Persia; the chief place being Kazrun, called "the Damietta of Persis."⁸ Here too the Egyptian styles were distinguished, *Dabiqi*, *sharb* and *qasab*, which indicates that the two industries were not independent of each other. And since Muqaddasi (p. 442) asserts that in earlier times flax was imported from Egypt to the Persian maritime town Siniz, which was celebrated for its linen *qasab*, whereas in his own time the local product was chiefly employed for this manufacture,⁹ this is evidence that the linen industry had been transplanted thither from Egypt. And indeed

(1) Maqrizi, *Khitat* i, 229. At a later period there was a place in Babylonia called Dabiqiyyah (Yaqut s. v.), which is nowhere mentioned in the 4/10th century. This does not prove that the Egyptian industry was taken over, for the place is likely to have been called after the famous cloth, like the place Susanjurd near Baghdad (Karabacek *Die persische Nadelmalerei*, p. 117).

(2) Yaqut i. 190.

(3) Nasir Khosrau, ed. Schefer, p. 36.

(4) E.g. Abu'l-Qasim, pp. 53, 54; Nasir Khosrau, p. 36.

(5) Nasir Khosrau, p. 36; Abu'l-Qasim, p. 3. The authors of the 4/10th century do not speak of this in connection with Egypt. Muqaddasi (p. 240, thinks of *Abu qalamun* as "wool of the sea," i.e., hairs of an animal which had been rubbed off on stones, and collected, and were so costly that a garment made of them fetched 10,000 dinars. In the 5/1 century the storehouse of the Fatimid Caliphs actually contained carpet made of Qalamun (Maqrizi, *Khitat* i. 416).

(6) Michael Syrus, ed. Chabot, p. 516.

(7) See above, §8.

(8) Muq., p. 433.

(9) Muq., p. 442.

it came by sea ; at first it was localized on the coast, at Siniz, Jennabah, and Tawwaj : only at a later time, after it had become independent of the Egyptian material, did it penetrate into the interior. Hence the best sort of Persian linen was still called that of Tawwaj, when most of it was manufactured at Kazrun.¹

Ibn Balkhi, who composed his description of Persis about 500/1106 portrays the manufacture of the Tawwaj linen in Kazrun as follows. The flax is soaked in ponds, then pulled apart and spun into threads. The linen thread is washed in the water of the Rahban Canal ; though the water of this canal is scanty, it has the property of bleaching the linen thread, which becomes white in no other water. This Rahban Canal belongs to the royal treasury, and its earnings now belong to the house of the Emir, since the exchequer grants the use of it only to those weavers who are commissioned by it to weave. A fiscal inspects as overseer, and brokers fix the proper price of the fabrics, sealing the bales before they are put into the hands of foreign traders. These relied on the brokers, and purchased the corded bales, just as they were lying, and in each town whither they were brought people merely asked for the certificate of the broker of Kazrun, and sold the bales without undoing them. Hence it often came to pass that a load of bales from Kazrun changed hands more than ten times without being opened. In these last days, however, fraud has begun to be practised. People have become dishonest, and all confidence has disappeared. For goods with the stamp of the exchequer have often been found to be of poor quality, whence foreign dealers avoid the products of Kazrun.²

With this single exception cotton was to the East what linen was to the West.³ Even the *gasab* of Kazrun was frequently made of cotton. Cotton had travelled by a direct route from India to the north long before it came westward or eastward. In the 13th century A.D. it was still little known in China. The narrative of the travels of Chan Chung (1221 A.D.) mentions it in the valley of the Ili ; " there is there a sort of cloth called *lu-lu-ma*, which people say is woven from the wool of a plant. This hair

(1) Muq., p. 435.

(2) *JRAS* 1902, p. 337. (This reference appears to be wrong. Transl.)

(3) " It is well known that cotton belongs to Khorasan and flax to Egypt " (Thaalibi, *Lata'if al-Ma'arif*, p. 97).

? Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches* i. 70 ; also p. 31.

resembles the catkin of our meadows, is very clean, fine and soft; peoples make of it thread, cord, cloth and quilts."¹ As late as the 4/10th century celebrated cotton stuffs (*sabaniyyat*) were exported from Kabul to China and Khorasan. In Babylonia cotton was not cultivated, but was brought thither from northern Persia and Mesopotamia;² even in our time Transoxiana produces cotton annually to the value of 400,000,000 Marks; in Mesopotamia it was encouraged by the policy of the Hamdanids, which was hostile to the peasants.³ In the 4/10th century it had migrated to North Africa⁴ and Spain.⁵ All the chief seats of the cotton industry were in the Persian East: Merv, Nisabur, and Bemm (eastern Kirman). The speciality of the last consisted in veils, interwoven with wreaths, which travelled as far as Egypt,⁶ costing about 30 dinars a piece. The product of Merv on the other hand was soft flannel,⁷ too thick for clothing; hence it is called by Mutanabbi⁸ "apes' raiment" and Abu'l-Qasim makes merry about "coarsely woven stuff of Merv, of domestic manufacture, each strand accompanied by a *crepitus ventris*."⁹ On the other hand it was prized for turbans.¹⁰ Even the cotton-growing area of Turkestan exported fabrics to Babylonia,¹¹ whereas in Transoxiana linen was one of the rarest articles; the Samanid Isma'il presented each officer with a linen garment as a valuable gift.¹²

Following the opposite course to the cotton industry that of silk had spread from Byzantium in the West Eastward. The tradition of this lasted to our time.¹³ Greek satins also continued to be imported, indeed it was the most important article which came through Trebizond.¹⁴ In the 4th century it counted as the finest.¹⁵ The greatest

(1) Ibn Hauqal, p. 328.

(2) W. Husse, *Hemdsserungswirtschaft in Turan*, p. 72.

(3) See above §8.

(4) Bekri, ed. Slane, 59, 69.

(5) Moro Rasis, p. 56.

(6) Ibn Hauqal, p. 223.

(7) Muq., 323; *Lat. al-Ma'arif*, p. 119; Ibn Hauqal, p. 316; Ibn al-Faqih, p. 320.

(8) *Diwan*, Beyrut ed., p. 17.

(9) P, 37.

(10) Yatima ii. 62.

(11) Ibn Hauqal, p. 362.

(12) Vâmbéry, *History of Bokhara*, p. 63.

(13) Mas'udi, II. 185 f.

(14) Ibn Hauqal, p. 2.

(15) *Lat. al-Ma'arif*, p. 131; satin was brought to the Muslims even from the land of the Franks (Ya'qubi. p. 270).

number of silk looms were still to be found in the province of Khuzistan, whither the Sasanids had transplanted the art from the Byzantine empire.¹ Damask, Satin, Plush, and floss-silk were produced. On the other hand silk-throwing was localized in the North, on the former land route to China. There, in Merv, and especially in Tabaristan, the mountainous country south of the Caspian, the strong *abrishem* thread was thrown, which was exported everywhere,¹ and out of which in the neighbouring Armenia the famous knee-bands were made which fetched from 1 to 10 dinars.² The fabrics of heavy silk (*thiyab harir*) which Tabaristan exported show direct relationship with China; the Persian industry preferred the lighter textures.

Among woollen carpets the Persian, the Armenian, and those of Bokhara were especially distinguished. In Persis the "art carpets" (*el-busut-es-san'i'ah*) were woven, the choicest specimens of which were those worked with the technique of Susangird.³ But that age set the highest value on Armenian carpets (*i.e.* of Asia Minor), the prototypes of our Smyrna carpets.⁴ In the residence of the Umayyad Caliph Al-Walid II floor and walls were covered with Armenian carpets.⁵ The consort of al-Rashid sat on an Armenian carpet, her women on Armenian cushions.⁶ Armenian carpets and carpets of Tabaristan are mentioned with admiration among the possessions of the jeweller who about 300/912 was the richest man in Baghdad, as well as in the treasury of Muqtadir's mother.⁸ A vassal presented this Caliph with seven Armenian carpets among other gifts.⁹ The highest value was set on those Persian carpets which most nearly resembled Armenian workmanship,¹⁰ and in praise of the best Persian carpets, those from Isfahan, it was said that they matched particularly well with the splendid Armenian carpets, but looked

(1) Istakhri 212; Ibn Hauqal 272.

(2) Ibn Hauqal 246. This industry is the most valuable of modern Baghdad. It was known that floss-silk was imported from Merv into Jurjan and Tabaristan (Ibn Hauqal 316), and as late as the 4/10th century cocoons came annually from Jurjan into western Tabaristan (Ibn Hauqal 272).

(3) Karabacek, *Die persische Nadelmalerei Susangird*, Leipzig, 881.

(4) Tha'alibi, *Lata'if al-Ma'arif*, pp. 111, 222. Abu'l-Qasim, p. 36.

(5) Ag. v. 173.

(6) Mas'udi, vi. 234.

(7) Arib, p. 48.

(8) Misk. v. 389.

(9) Elias Nisib, p. 202.

(10) Istakhri, p. 153.

sufficiently well by themselves.¹ Marco Polo (I. 3) observes that the best and finest carpets are wrought in Armenia. Probably the reason for the value set on them lay in the Armenian wool to which Tha'alibi assigns the first place after the Egyptian, and particularly in the Armenian red. "Red is the colour of children, women, and joy. Red suits the eye best, because it enlarges the pupil, whereas black narrows it"—such is the doctrine of Mas'udi in the year 332/943. In the carpet store in Cairo red carpets were the most admired⁴ and it is said of the crimson carpets of the Egyptian Siyut that they resemble the Armenian.⁵ The rugs called *Tanafis* betray their Greek origin in their name (*lapetes*). In Babylonia they must at an earlier period have been manufactured especially in the Christian frontier town Hirah, since at a later time the manufacture of en-Nu'maniyyah bore the name "Carpets of Hirah".⁶ The patterns remained the same: chalices, elephants, horses, camels, lions, and birds.⁷ Throughout the empire mats were made of rush (*halfa*). Those most in repute were from Abbadan, a small island at the mouth of the Shatt el-'Arab.⁸ They were copied in Persia⁹ as in Egypt.¹⁰ Famous places had the words "product ('amal) of—" woven in the fabric as evidence of origin, a practice which naturally did not prevent fraud. Thus, e.g., some unknown localities inscribed the well recommended name Basinna on their curtains, and similarly materials for garments which came from Khuzistan bore the stamp of Baghdad.¹¹

A special branch of industry flourished in the Persian province Sabur, similar to one in the French Riviera: the preparation of perfumes. Ten essences were there made out of violets, lotus, narcissus, fragrant screw-pine, lilies, white jasmine, myrtle, marjoram, and orange-peel.¹² This

(1) Ibn Rusteh, p. 153.

(2) *Lata'if el-ma'arif*, p. 128. Next comes that of Tekrit, and only then the Persian. According to ZDMG viii. 529 this passage comes from the treatise of Jahiz on trade.

(3) Mas'udi ii. 102.

(4) Maqrizi, *Khitat* i, 416 f.

(5) Ya'qubi, *Geogr.*, p. 331.

(6) Ibn Rusteh, p. 186.

(7) Cp. *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, ed. Salmon, p. 52, with Kremer, *Kulturbesch.* ii. 289; Maqrizi i. 417.

(8) Muqaddasi, p. 118.

(9) Muq., p. 442.

(10) Muq., p. 203.

(11) Istakhri, p. 93.

(12) Muq. n. 443.

lucrative industry was attempted in Babylonia also; Kufah added the essence of pinks, and surpassed the Persians in that of violets.¹ A similar industry, though quite separate from it, had its headquarters in the southern town of Jur. There fragrant waters were prepared, but from quite different flowers: roses, palm flower, southernwood, safflower, and willow. Thence rose-water was exported to the whole world, "the Maghrib, Spain, Yemen, India, and China."² These important industries, of which the ancient reporters say nothing, must have arisen in the Islamic period.

We hear no more of the drudgery of the awkward handmill among either country or townsfolk; there were floating mills on the rivers,³ and water-mills on the brooks.⁴ The Devil's River of Jiruft in Kirman alone drove fifty mills,⁵ and in Basrah one of the most modern problems of hydraulics was tackled: mills were erected at the mouths of the canals which were almost entirely fed by the tide, and these were driven at the ebb by the falling water.⁶ Animals were used for grinding only where there was no water.⁷ The citizens of the Moroccan town Ijli felt pious qualms about enslaving the water: "They have no mill on the brook, and if they are asked what stands in the way they reply: How could we compel the sweet water to turn a mill?"⁸ The great floating mills of Babylonia were on the Tigris, not on the Euphrates; they were in Tekri, Hadithan, Ukbara, Baradan, and Baghdad. Some famous ones were also in Mosul and Beled. The last of these had its season; it worked only during the days in which the harvest was being shipped for Babylonia. We have a more precise description of the mills of Mosul. They were made entirely of wood and iron, and were suspended on iron chains in midstream. Each mill had two stones, (*'arbah*) each of which ground fifty camels' load per day.⁹ The largest mill of Baghdad, the Patricius

(1) Istakhri, p. 153; Ibn Hauqal, p. 213.

(2) Ibn Hauqal, p. 213.

(3) E. G. Muq., p. 408. *Mafatih al-'Ulum*, p. 71.

(4) Muq., pp. 401, 406.

(5) Ibn Hauqal, p. 222.

(6) Muq., p. 125.

(7) Istakhri, p. 273, dealing with Khorasan. In well-watered Persia this clearly was not practised. The inhabitants of the village Khullar, which supplied the millstones for the whole province, had to have their grinding done in a neighbouring village, as they had no mill-stream (Ibn al-Balkhi, who wrote about 500/1107. JRAS 1902, p. 335).

(8) Bekri, p. 162.

(9) Ibn Hauqal, p. 147. f.

Mill, had 100 stones, and is said to have earned 100,000,000 dirhems annually.¹ We hear nothing of sawmills for wood. It is stated that the murderer of 'Umar I, a Persian of Nehawand, offered to make a mill to be driven by the wind.² As late as the 4/10th century the strong and abnormally steady wind (called *bad-i sad u bist ruz* because it blows for 120 days) was utilized in Afghanistan for windmills.³ Such still exist: "The North wind sets in about the middle of June, and blows continuously for two months. The windmills are erected for it exclusively. They have eight arms and stand between two posts, between which the wind penetrates like a wedge. The arms are vertical and stand on a similarly perpendicular rod, the lower end of which sets in motion a millstone which revolves over another stone."⁴ This then is a genuine wind turbine. A statement of Guzuli (ob.815/1412) shows that such a mill could be regulated like our waterwheels by opening and shutting the apertures. "In Afghanistan all the mills and waterwheels are driven by the North wind, and made to face it. This wind blows there constantly in both summer and winter, but is stronger and more constant in summer. Oftentimes it ceases blowing once or twice during the day or night, and then every mill and waterwheel in the region stops work. Then the wind starts again, and they start also. The mills have hatches (*manafis*) which can be opened or closed, so that more or less wind can pass in. For if it blows too fiercely, the meal gets burned and comes out black, and often the millstone becomes red-hot and crumbles."⁵

In the manufacture of paper also the third and fourth centuries brought a great revolution, which liberated the process of writing from the monopoly of a single country, and materially cheapened it. So long as people wrote on papyrus, they were dependent on Egypt,⁶ whereas now "the Chinese papers, manufactured only in China and

(1) Ya'qubi, p. 243.

(2) Mas'udi *Prairies* iv. 227.

(3) Ibn Hauqal, p. 299; Muq., p. 333.

(4) Sven Hedin *Zu Land nach Indien*, ii. 147.

(5) Guzuli, *Malali' al-Budur*, Cairo, 1299, i. 50. The "Persian mills" of North Africa (Bekri, ed. Slane, p. 86; Abu Salih, ed. Evetts, fol. 68a: not in the dictionaries) served for chopping up the sugar-cane (Lippmann, *Geschichte des Zuckerrohrs*, p. 110).

(6.) It was ordinarily manufactured there in rolls of about 80 yards in length, and one span in breadth (Suyuti, *Husn al-Muhadarah*, Cairo, ii. 194.) I cannot say what is meant by *qirtas quhiyyah* in Umar b. Abi Rabi'ah (*Diwan*, ed. Schwarz, No. 32, 3;) perhaps we should adopt the variant *qahwiyyah* "wine-coloured."

Samarcand, displaced the papyrus of Egypt, and parchment on which our ancestors wrote.”¹ Ya’qubi, towards the end of the third (9th) century, speaks of two small towns in Lower Egypt in which papyrus was still fabricated.² Even the Sicilian papyrus was only wrought into writing material to a very small extent for the Government; most of it was wound into cables³ as in Homeric times.⁴ “The Egyptian manufacture of papyrus for writing material may with great probability be assumed in the main to have become extinct about the middle of the tenth century A.D. Dated papyri cease entirely with the year 323/935, whereas dated paper documents start in the year 300/912.”⁵ At that time the best paper in the empire was the *kagid* paper which had been transplanted from China, but experienced a change of world-wide historical importance in the hands of the Muhammadans.

They freed it from the mulberry-tree, and the bamboo, and invented rag-paper.⁶ In the third (9th) century it was manufactured only in Transoxiana,⁷ but in the 4/10th century there were paper-mills in Damascus, in the Palastinian Tiberias,⁸ and in the Syrian Tripoli.⁹ Still

(1) Tha alibi, *Lata’if al-ma’arif*, p. 126.

(2) *Geogr.*, p. 338.

(3) Ibn Hauqal, p. 86.

(4) Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, 8th ed p. 312.

(5) Karabacek, *Mitteilungen aus den Papyrus Rainer*, II/III, p. 98.

(6) Karabacek, loc. cit., 4. 11 foll.

(7) Istakhri, p. 288.

(8) Muq., p. 180.

(9) Nasir Khosrau, p. 12. Edrisi (ed. Dozy, p. 192) in the 6/12th century mentions the papermill of Xativa as the best in Spain. According to Karabacek, loc. cit. p. 121, a factory for the paper of Samarcand was erected in Baghdad as early as the end of the 2nd (8th) century. Against this there are the positive assertions of Istakhri and Tha’alibi, who is here copying an earlier authority, probably the treatise of Jahiz on trade, and the complete silence of all ancient authors, among them those of accurate descriptions of the city of Baghdad. Karabacek’s sole source is Ibn Khaldun, who is too late; the two other sources, both western and late, the *Diwan al-Insha* and Maqrizi, speak only of the introduction of paper into the bureaux of Harun ar-Rashid. Yaqut is the first writer who mentions (II. 522) that paper in his time was manufactured in what was formerly the Silk Court in Baghdad. On the ground that the author of the *Fihrist* (p. 10) finds paper documents made of *warag tihami*, Karabacek, following Kremer, would find the third oldest paper-factory on the south-west coast of Arabia, which is *a priori* improbable, against the evidence of Istakhri and countered also by the silence of Hamdani and all later authors. This single notice then cannot be maintained; most probably we should read *shami* for *tihami*, which would give Syrian paper. Finally, if Tha’alibi (ZDMG viii. 526) praises the paper of Egypt as the best, finest, and smoothest,

Samarcand remained the headquarters. Khwarizmi jestingly excuses a friend for not writing on the ground that he lives a long distance from Samarcand and so finds paper (*kagid*) too dear.¹ About the same time the librarian of the princely library in Shiraz is collecting the best paper "of Samarcand and China."²

The manufacture of accurate astronomical and mathematical instruments in Harran, the last refuge of the old Star-worship, was connected with the peculiar religious position of the city.³ The accuracy of the Harranian weighing-machines was proverbial.⁴ And the trade in rosaries which still flourishes in the city of pilgrimage, Jerusalem, was already then in full swing.⁵

it is not clear from von Hammer's translation whether paper or papyrus is meant. Probably too Tha'alibi is speaking of earlier times. This is rendered almost certain by a good old report in Yaqut's *Irshad* (ii. 412) according to which the Egyptian vizir Abu'l-Fadl b. al-Furat (ob. 391 1001) used to import paper every year from Samarcand for his copyists, and an Egyptian savant, who came into possession of part of his library, carefully cut out all the blank leaves from these books and put them together for a new book. This gives no indication of a local industry for the manufacture of paper.

- (1) *Rasa'il*, p. 25.
- (2) Yaqut, *Irshad*, v. 447.
- (3) Hamdani, p. 132.
- (4) Muq., p. 141.
- (5) Muq., p. 180.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(*To be continued.*)

THE FOUNDERS OF THE BUHAR LIBRARY

THE famous Buhâr Library which is an annexe of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, was founded by Sayyid Sadr-ad-dîn, the Mîr Munshî of Warren Hastings. The Library received its finishing touch from his great-grandson, Maulvi Sayyid Sadr-ad-dîn Ahmad al-Mûsavî who presented it to the Imperial Library, Calcutta. It is worth while to make some research into the lives of these two historic, though scarcely remembered, personages.

Munshî Sayyid Sadr-ad-dîn comes of a Sayyid family of Buhâr, also known as the Munshî family. This Munshî family is one of the very ancient and respectable Muhammadan families of Bengal. The Munshî Sahib of Buhâr is the hereditary *Mutarwalli* and *Sajjadanashin* of the Dargah of Pandooah, famous in Bengal as the Estate of *Ba'is Hazari* which extends over parts of the three districts of Malda, Dinajpore and Rajshahi. The Buhâr family is directly descended¹ from the Prophet of Islam through the 7th Imâm, Imâm Mûsa al-Kâzim, whence the family is known as al-Mûsavî.

Most of the members of this family were well-known for their piety and devoutness, and reputed as saints of a very high order. One of them, Sayyid Shihâb-ad-dîn by name, being the ninth in descent from Imâm Mûsa Kâzim and the fifteenth from the Prophet, came to India as a soldier of fortune during the reign of Sultân Altamish (A.H. 607-633, A.D. 1210-1235), the third king of the Slave Dynasty in Delhi. One of his descendants, Sayyid Hamid Shah, was a distinguished saint, though at first he had chosen the career of a soldier. His tomb is situated in Manickpore in Allahabad and is held in high esteem. His son, Sayyid Râjî Nûr, a worthy successor of his saintly father, for his piety and his spiritual sanctity won the veneration of the general public.² Sayyid Husam al-Haqq son of Sayyid Râjî Nûr married a princess of Gour,

(1) See *Rawa'ih al-Mustafa min Azhar al-Murtaza*, p. 405.

(2) See *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, p. 189.

who was the daughter of Nasrat Shah (A.H. 925-939, A.D. 1518-1532), an independent King of Bengal, who bestowed on his son-in-law the Jagir of Pargana Rânihatî in Burdwân. This Pargana yielded an income of no less than three lacs of rupees annually in those days.¹ Sayyid Husam al-Haqq settled with his wife at Utra, a village known as Utrasan, now situated within the Kâlna sub-division of Burdwân.

As time rolled on, the descendants of Sayyid Husam al-Haqq went on multiplying, and split up into many branches. Sayyid Muhammad Sâdiq, the eleventh in descent from Husam al-Haqq, married the daughter of Shaikh Karam Allâh of the village of Buhâr where he settled down. His two sons (1) Sayyid Sadr-ad-dîn and (2) Sayyid Sirâj-ad-dîn were born at Buhâr.

Sayyid Sadr-ad-dîn, son of Sayyid Muhammad Sâdiq, has a remarkable history of his own. His career was a chequered one, being sprinkled with scenes of joy and sorrow, success and failure throughout. For some time he worked as a clerk under Holwell in Calcutta.² Probably he was the first Bengali Muslim to serve under the British. As he was a man of enlightened views he took off the mask of prejudice against private service and did not feel the least scruple to enter the service of Holwell. This took place before the fateful battle of Plassey. Then he acted as the Mîr Munshî of Nawâb Mîr Ja'far 'Alî Khân, to which capacity he united the Dewanship of Munni Begum who approved of his services so highly that she used to call him her son.³

As Sadr-ad-dîn was a friend of Mîr Ja'far 'Alî Khân from childhood, for they had read with the same tutor, and as Sadr-ad-dîn never served under Sirâj ad-Dawla, Mîr Ja'far naturally trusted him very much, and later events show that his confidence was not misplaced.⁴ When Mr. John Shore (afterwards Sir John Shore) wanted to extort the secret movements of Mîr Ja'far 'Alî Khân from Sadr-ad-dîn, he refused to inform and was imprisoned for four months and fifteen days. On the last day of his imprisonment two European sergeants came to his cell,

(1) See *Rawa'ih al-Mustafa*, p. 405.

(2) See trial of Maharaja Nunda Kumar by H. Beveridge, (Thacker Spink & Co.), 1886.

(3) *Journal of the Moslem Institute*, Calcutta, Vol. I, Part I, p. 87.

(4) See *Akhbar as-Sidq*, foll : 190-198.

held loaded pistols to his breast and demanded an immediate disclosure of all these secrets of Mîr Ja'far under threat of instant death. The undaunted Sadr-ad-dîn replied: "It is better that you should kill me ; I shall then be relieved of all this pain and misery which are unendurable. You cannot expect to have a word from me. My reply throughout has been the uniform denial of all knowledge." This ended in the honourable release of Sadr-ad-dîn. The author of the *Akhbar as-Sidq* says that afterwards, when he asked Sadr-ad-dîn why he did not speak out "the secrets" if there were any, as it was a question of life and death with him, Sadr-ad-dîn replied : "Had I spoken out the truth the result would have been the execution of the noble soul of a Sayyid (descendant of the Prophet), meaning Mîr Ja'far 'Alî Khân, and that of the very best wearer of the sacred thread (meaning the Brahmin, Maharaja Nanda Kumar).¹ Mîr Ja'far 'Alî Khân, who held Sadr-ad-dîn his most faithful friend and well-wisher, appointed him *Ataliq* (Tutor) to his son by Munni Begum, Nawâb Najm-ad-Dawla. It is gratifying to note that Sadr-ad-dîn proved in no way unworthy of the trust placed in him by his friend and master, Nawâb Mîr Ja'far 'Alî Khân, and during Nawâb Najm-ad-Dawla's rule, when Mr. Johnston fell out with him, he said, "The servants of the Nâzim cannot be disloyal, faithless and false to the salt of their master." The history of Nawâb Najm-ad-Dawla is inseparably connected with Sadr-ad-dîn. His advocacy of the cause of Nawâb Najm-ad-Dawla against Nawâb Muzaffar Jung before Lord Chitty was admirable. Even the last moments of the Nawâb were not dissociated from the aforesaid Sayyid. The Nawâb passed whole nights in restlessness on the lap of Sadr-ad-dîn and towards the morning breathed his last quietly in his arms.² During Nawâb Saif-ad-Dawla's time also he was a figure of no mean importance. It was not till his enemies rose to power during the time of the next Nawâb, Mubârak-ad-Dawla, that they got the better of him and pulled him down. They whispered into the ears of the thoughtless Nawâb that Sadr-ad-dîn was rather too intimately familiar with Munni Begum. This incensed the young Nawâb who unhesitatingly gave orders for his execution at once. It is said that the Sayyid was enjoying his *Huqqa* when the old Chaprasi who had served him for years ran to him and informed him of his immediate danger.³

(1) See *Akhbar as-Sidq* ; foll : 262-267.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Journal of the Moslem Institute*, Calcutta, Vol. I, No. I, p. 88.

He at once got up, saying, "If ever better days dawn for me again I will return your kindness—Now salâm," and off he went. Immediately after, Nawâb's men arrived, but only to find the house deserted to their surprise and disappointment. When his enemies found that all their endeavours were thus frustrated by the vigilance of Sadr-ad-dîn, they prevailed on the Nawâb to set a price upon his head and to confiscate all his properties both at Murshidabad and at Burdwân. This was done. His brother Sirâj-ad-dîn who was left at home to look after the affairs there, finding that the family was being driven to a state of penury and distress, sought for an appointment under Mr. John Graham, Collector of Midnapore, and became his Sirishtadar. In this way he managed to keep up his family.

A homeless wanderer, Sadr-ad-dîn was passing his days in exile from forest to forest till he reached Midnapore, where he found in the Sirishtadari of Mr. J. Graham of the East India Company his own brother, Siraj-ad-dîn. The two brothers embraced each other tenderly. Sadr-ad-dîn sought, through Sirâj-ad-dîn, for protection under the British, and this was most sympathetically extended to him by Mr. Graham,* who recommended him to Mr. Barwell, Collector of Burdwân and a friend of Warren Hastings. Mr. Barwell again recommended him most highly to the Governor-General, who afterwards found him a most valuable hand in the affairs of the *Nizamat*, particularly during the transfer of the *Dîwânî* from Murshadabad. Under Warren Hastings, he was at first appointed his Mîr Munshî and then the Darugha of all the '*Adalats* (or the Superintendent of all the Courts). In the latter capacity he first made the acquaintance of Sir Elijah Impey, the first Chief Justice of Bengal, and this acquaintance ultimately blossomed into life-long friendship. During the administration of Lord Cornwallis, Sadr-ad-dîn's services were also utilised in the Decennial Settlement of Bengal. The *Aimma* lands were settled by Sadr-ad-dîn. The Governor-General was so highly pleased with him that he bestowed on him a *Ja'igîr* (hereditary possession) consisting of the Parganas of Baharband as a reward for his services. Dîwân Janga Govinda Singh, the founder of the Raj family of Kandi in Murshidabad, who owed his position and fortune to the influence of Sadr-ad-dîn,

**Journal of the Moslem Institute*, Calcutta, Vol. I, No. I, p. 89.

wanted to have the above Parganas, Baharband, for his favourite Kanto Mudi, and therefore, played a trick with his benefactor. While congratulating him on the occasion, he artfully requested him to maintain a hundred Brahmins on his behalf, whereupon Sadr-ad-dîn asked him what he meant by such a request. Ganga Govinda replied that the *Zamindari* of Baharband is required to maintain many a temple and consequently a large number of Brahmins Shebaitis for the worship thereof. When Sadr-ad-dîn heard this, his religious spirit revolted against the idea of worshipping idols (he being a Muslim) and he at once wrote to the Governor-General expressing his unwillingness to accept the *Ja'igir*. The result was that Ganga Govinda won the prize for his friend and co-religionist, Kanto Babu.*

Sadr-ad-dîn was as deeply learned as he was strictly pious in his private life. He built several mosques and rest-houses where travellers were freely fed. The mosque, a pretty big structure, at Buhâr is still extant, and travellers are still fed free there. The nice little annexe to the mosque which contains the tombs of Sadr-ad-dîn, his two wives and a little child, is beautifully situated towards the south-east corner, and at the base of this tomb-house the ground forms the graveyard of his family. The mosque was built in A.H. 1187, A.D. 1773. He constructed many a village road and excavated numerous tanks in the district of Burdwân. His services were recognised not only by the local authorities at Murshidabad and at Calcutta, but also by the East India Company and by the Emperor of Delhi, Shah 'Alam, (A.H. 1173-1221, A.D. 1759-1806), who was pleased to bestow on him and his descendants, in the oldest male line, the endowment Estate of the *Pargana-Ba'is Hazari* in the districts of Malda, Dinajpore and Rajshahi under a *Sanad* bearing the Imperial Seal and the sign manual of the Emperor in the thirteenth year of his reign and subsequently the *Ja'igir* of Pargana Ranihati in Burdwân which now forms the principal factor of the Burdwân Raj, under a similar *Sanad*. The *A'imma* of Buhâr was also granted to him under a royal warrant. Many other properties at Calcutta, Murshidabad and in the Mofassil were granted to him as *Muqarrari Mawrusi*. The well-known building in Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta, named the "Munshi ka Chakla" belonged to him, and the lane to the south of the house still bears his name.

*See *Journal of the Moslem Institute*, Calcutta, Vol. I, No. I, p. 9

Sadr-ad-dîn married twice, first at Jhillo near Mangalkot in Burdwân, the daughter of Qâzi Hâfiz Tâlib Allâh, Râ'is and Zemîndâr of the village ;—secondly at Murshidabad the widowed daughter of Sayyid Wajid 'Alî, a member of the well-known Sayyid family of Barh in Bihâr. He had no issue by his first wife, while by his second he had a girl and a son Kafil-ad-dîn al-Musavî. He died on the 14th, of Ramazân, A.H. 1211, A.D. 1796, in his favourite cottage famous as Rangin Ghar. He left behind him an inheritance worth several lacs of rupees.

Sadr-ad-dîn's zeal for works of public utility was indeed remarkable. He was a sincere well-wisher of his country. In A.H. 1189 (A.D. 1775) he established the famous Buhâr Madrasah, as the following chronogram indicates :—

کرد چون تعمیر صدر الدین مبارک مدرسه شد اساس علم قائم زین مبارک مدرسه
خواستم تاریخ سال از عالم بالا عزیر علویان گفتند روشن این مبارک مدرسه

(When Sadr-ad-dîn erected this auspicious Madrasah ;
The foundation of Knowledge came into being.

Aziz ! I wanted (to know) the year (of its foundation)
from heavenly regions,

The angels replied ! “ Let this auspicious Madrasah be
luminous (with learning)” Date : A.H. 1189

and the nucleus of the Buhâr library was then started. This Madrasah diffused the light of Oriental learning in Bengal and became the last seat of Oriental education during the Musalman regime in India. It was in this Madrasa that he utilised the services of Maulâna 'Abd al-'Alî, Bahr-al-'Ulum, or the Sea of Learning*, at a monthly salary of Rs. 1,000. Students from all parts of Asia used to flock there to get education and, on the completion of their course, an examination used to be held to confer academic degrees on the successful candidates in accordance with their acquirements, together with the usual presentation of turbans. He also attached a free boarding-house for 800 students who were all fed free of charge, and were supplied with light for study. Most of the Qâzis of all the Courts of Bengal, from the Supreme Court downwards, were indebted for their education to the Buhâr Madrasah. The Calcutta Government Madrasah was built after its model five years afterwards in 1780 A.D. The aforesaid Maulâna Bahr-al-'Ulûm was not the only person who adorned the professorial staff under Sadr-ad-dîn. The most erudite scholar of the six schools of Indian Philosophy of that age,

* See for his life *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I., p. 584.

Pandit Dulal Chandra Tarkabagis, who defeated quite a host of Sava Pandits who gathered at the Sradha ceremony of Raja Naba Kissen's mother, held service under Sadr-ad-dîn, at a monthly salary of Rs. 300. The well-known calligraphist of the time Ghulâm Qâdir, who had not a second in the land, was also in his service ; while writers like Munshî Muhammad Yâsin and Munshî Lal Chand, each of whom was a master in the literary sphere, worked under him and used to draw Rs. 300 a month each. The calligraphist used to receive Rs. 250 a month.

Kafil-ad-dîn was only a boy when his father died. So, the British Government gave him protection and his whole estate was managed by the Court of Wards. Kafil-ad-dîn, when of age, took over charge of his property : but on account of his extravagance he left a debt of over two lacs of rupees when he died in A.H. 1243, A.D. 1827, at the age of 43. He had married a daughter of Khundkar Sayyid Muhammad Kirmânî and had a son, called Karîm-ad-dîn Ahmad al-Mûsavî, who, unlike his father, was a man of prudence and tact and managed his affairs with wisdom and skill. His frugality became a household word and the immense debt of his father was eventually paid off by him although he had to part with some of the most valuable portions of his property. However, when he died he left an estate yielding an annual net income of not less than a lac of rupees. He married a daughter of Maulavî Muhammad Sâjid Siddîq, who was a Munsif. He had three sons—(1) Sadr-ad-dîn Ahmad, (2) Sirâj-ad-dîn Ahmad, (3) Safi-ad-dîn Ahmad, and a daughter. All these children were minors, except Sadr-ad-dîn Ahmad, at the time of his death in A.H. 1274, (A.D. 1857).

Sayyid Sadr-ad-dîn Ahmad al-Mûsavî was born in 1259 A.H., (A.D. 1843). When he was about seven he was admitted into the Buhar Madrasah and studied with Maulavi Sayyid Rasûl Bakhsh. At the age of fifteen he was reading *Sharh Jami*. At this time he lost his father, and the management of the estate devolved upon him, he being the eldest child. He spent some of his time in the estate affairs and some in his studies, history and biography being his favourite subjects. He was an important member of the Muslim Community of Bengal, being an Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner and a Juror in the District Court for 30 years, and having been exempted from the Arms Act with four of his retainers. He did a good deal for the public benefit. He was a great

Oriental scholar. He compiled in Persian, first, the *Rawa'ih al-Mustafa min Azhar al-Murtaza*, a biography of the Prophet's descendants. His second book was *Zarb al-Malahi*, a treatise justifying sober music and mirth according to the principles of Islam. He also edited *an-Nasa'iz al-Khasa'is*. Lastly, he wrote *Al-Murtaza* which is the biography of 'Alî bin Abî Tâlib and is still unpublished.

He was so engrossed in his books that he could not take proper care of the estate which ultimately came to partial ruin. He even sold some of the property to buy books.

He died in 1905 A.D. and left behind him two sons, 'Abd-al-Wâis and 'Abdullâh, both of whom are now dead, and two daughters.

The Buhâr Library contains 485 Persian MSS. and 465 Arabic MSS. Maulavî Sayyid Sadr-ad-dîn presented the Library to the Government of India under an agreement on the 22nd August, 1904. In accordance with the agreement the Buhâr Library, which is always to be so designated, is preserved in a separate room in the Imperial Library, Calcutta.

Among the Persian MSS. the following are of special interest :—

Kitab 'Aja'ib-ul-Makhluqat.

This is a very valuable and extremely rare cosmographical work, composed in the beginning of the latter half of the 6th century A.H.

This work, of which I have seen no notice anywhere else, is one of the earliest Persian works on cosmography and is, therefore of considerable interest.

On an ornamented blue ground in the beautifully illuminated head-piece the title of the work written in gold letters is Kitâb 'Ajâ'ib-ul-Makhlûqât, but in the preface, on fol. 3, the full title of the work, as given by the author himself, is " 'Ajâ'ib-ul-Makhlûqât wa Gharâ'ib-ul-Maujûdât."

From a passage on fol. 7^b we learn that the author wrote the work for Tughril bin Arslân bin Tughril. This royal personage is evidently Sultan Tughril bin Arslân (A.H. 571-590—A.D. 1175-1193) the last of the Saljuqian monarchs of Persia.

The last dates mentioned in the work are (1) under Nishapur on fol. 131^b, where the author says the city was devastated by the Ghuzz in A.H. 550—A.D. 1155; (2) he refers to an earthquake, *Zalzala-i-Kôhistân* (زلزله کوہستان) on fol. 161, which took place in his time, A.H. 551—A.D. 1156.

On fol. 132^b he deals at some length with Hamadân. He speaks of the place with a certain predilection and relates some stories from his father and his teacher Imâm Sa'id bin Majd-ad-dîn Abu'l-Fath-al-Tâlî. Again on fol. 9^a he says that a man who has spent his whole life in the place where he was born may not necessarily know everything that can be known about the locality, and cites the following incident. He relates that on one occasion when he was in Isfahân a certain person wanted from him some particulars of the inscription on the Arwand Mountain (*Kôh-i-Arwand*) (a mountain in Hamadân noticed by our author on fol. 63^b). In reply the author said that he had no knowledge whatever of the existence of such an inscription. Subsequently, when he came to Hamadân, he went to the mountain, saw the inscription and was surprised with its curiosities.

This points to the author's having been a native of Hamadân.

The above facts point to the conclusion that our anonymous author was born before A.H. 551—A.D. 1156, and that he wrote this work entitled '*Aja'ib-ul-Makhlûqat wa Ghara'ib-ul-Maujudat*' for Sultan Tughril III bin Arslân between A.H. 571 and 590—A.D. 1175 and 1193.

An anonymous treatise of about 52 folios, called "*Risala-i-'Aja'ib-ul-Makhlûqat*," which seems to bear a close relation with the present work, is noticed by Dr. Ethê. in the Bodl. Lib. Cat. No. 405. The beginning of the said treatise is quite different from that of the present work, but the subject headings, so far as enumerated in the said

catalogue, closely agree with those of this work. We learn that the division of Dr. Ethê's copy is not quite clear and that the headings are very often omitted. Strangely, the division in this copy is also vague and confusing, but the headings here are seldom omitted.

Like Ethê's copy our work begins with wonderful stories from the lives of Iskandar Luqmân, Jamshîd, etc. ; then follows the index of the work in beginning which the author says that the work is divided into ten Qânûns and ten Rûkns.

Each page containing the miniature, with its opposite page, is beautifully illuminated.

Written on thick and glossy gold sprinkled paper in a clear Nasta'liq within gold and coloured borders with a double-page, beautifully illuminated 'Unwan. The headings are written in red and blue throughout.

Dated Muharram, A.H. 125, evidently meaning 1025.

Al-Mu'jam Fi Ma'ayir-i Ash'ar-ul-'Ajam.

A work on prosody, rhyme and poetical figures, by Shams-ud-dîn Muhammad ibn Qays of Ray.

The work has been edited by Mirza Muhammad with introduction and indices in "E. J. W." Gibb Memorial Series (London, 1909).

The title of the work given in the preface is *Al-Mu'jam Fi Ash'ar-ul-'Ajam* but it has been labelled and entitled by some former owner "Hādâ'iq-us-Sihr or Hādâ'iq-us-Sihr Fi Daqâ'iq-ish-Sh'ir which, as we know, is a work on the same subject by the famous poet Rashîd-ud-dîn Watwât (died A.H. 578 —A.D 1182) and which Shams-i-Qays mentions in the preface, Fol. 4^a.

The present copy is somewhat abridged. Most of the poetical quotations found in the printed edition are omitted, while the prose part is merely an abstract. The system of divisions and arrangement, found in the printed edition, is maintained. The year in which the author began to write the book is given here as A.H. 615 (A.D. 1218) instead of A.H. 614, as in the printed edition.

Of the two Qisms into which the work is divided the first on Prosody, subdivided into four Bâbs, begins on fol. 5^b; the second on Rhyme, subdivided into six Bâbs on fol. 55^a. The Khâtimah on poetical figures begins on fol. 111^a.

Written in a careless Nasta'liq. Dated A.H. 1236.

Diwan-i-Nizâmî.

A collection of lyrical poems attributed to Nizâmî. His full name was Nizâm-ud-dîn Abu Muhammad Ilyâs bin Yûsuf bin Mu'ayyid al-Ganjawi. He was born in A.H. 535 (A.D. 1140) and died, according to reliable authorities, A.H. 599 (A.D. 1202).

The Dîwân consists chiefly of Qasîdahs (fol. 1^b—12^a) without any alphabetical order.

The MS. an incomplete one, is written in fair Nasta'liq within gold and coloured-ruled borders. Folios have been misplaced in several cases.

Not dated, apparently 18th century.

Khamsah-i-Sarfî.

A unique and valuable, but defective, copy of the Khamsah of Maulana Shaikh Ya'qûb, poetically surnamed Sarfî, of Kashmîr. He was a friend of the celebrated historian Badâ'ûni, who devoted a long notice to the poet's life. Sarfî died on the 12th Zulqa'da, A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1594).

The poet composed this Khamsah in imitation of the five poems of Nizâmî.

The poems in the present copy are arranged in wrong order. The right order seems to be as follows :—

I. Maslak-ul-Akhyâr, foll. 87^b-111^a, written in imitation of Nizâmî's Makhzan-ul-Asrâr, and completed (A.H. 993 A.D. 1585). This seems to be the first poem of the poet's Khamsah.

II. Wamiq wa Azra, fol. 1^b-24^a. It is in imitation of Nizâmî's Khusrau wa Shîrîn, and treats of the love adventures of Wamiq and Azra. This is the second (Masnawi) poem of the poet's Khamsah.

It was completed in (A.H. 993 A.D. 1585), as expressed by the chronogram "*Ma'shuq wa 'Ashiq*" in the concluding line of the poem.

III. Layla wa Majnûn, foll. 25^b-50.^a This is in imitation of Nizâmî's poem of the same name. This is the third poem of the Khamsah.

The date of completion is (A.H. 998 A.D. 1589), as is expressed by the chronogram "Sharh-i-'Ishqbâzi" in the concluding lines of the poem.

The fourth poem which he has written in imitation of Nizâmî's Iskandar Nâmah and to which he refers in the prologue of his fifth poem, is wanting.

V. Maqâmât-i-Pir, fol. 50^b—86^b, is in imitation of Nizâmî's Haft-i-Paikar.

It was completed in (A.H. 1000 A.D. 1591), for which year the title forms a chronogram.

Written in small Nastalîq within gold and coloured-ruled border, with an illuminated head-piece at the beginning of each poem. The headings are written in red throughout. The original folios are placed in new margins.

Not dated, apparently beginning of the 17th century.

Tuhfat-ul-Faqir wa Hidayat-ul-Haqir.

A very rare and valuable copy of an Arabic and Persian anthology, compiled by Sharaf-ud-dîn 'Alî Yazdi (d. A.H. 858—A.D. 1454), the author of the well-known history of Tîmûr, entitled Zâfar Nâmah. Sharaf enjoys a vast reputation as an elegant prose-writer, but at the same time he was a poet of no mean order. He was well-versed in the art of composing verses and his Hulâl-Mutarrâz and Muntakhab-i-Hulâl-i-Mutarrâz, on riddles and enigmas, were held in high estimation by later poets of distinction, so much so that the celebrated Jâmî based on them his own treatise on the same subject entitled Mu'amma-i-Kabîr or Hilâyat ul-Hilâl.

The present work, which seems to be hitherto unknown, contains a vast collection of the choicest specimens of the different branches of Arabic and Persian poetry by various authors, arranged according to the topics of which they treat.

Unfortunately there is a lacuna after fol. 2, otherwise we might possibly have got some valuable information about the work. This folio suddenly breaks off in the middle of the praise of a certain royal personage to whom our author dedicates the work.

After which fol. 3^a abruptly opens in the middle of the description of the contents.

The subjects, consisting of sixty-four Bâbs, are enumerated on fol. 3^a—4^a.

The first Bâb begins on fol. 4^a with an extract from the Dîwân of 'Alî bin Abû Tâlib.

The above is followed by a Persian extract from the Dîwân of Kamâl Isfâhânî.

The colophon is dated, Saturday, 19th Zulhijja, A.H. 1019.

Shah Nama.

An exceedingly valuable copy of the famous epic poem Shâh Nâma by Abu'l Qâsim Mansûr surnamed Firdausî, who was born in Shadab near Tûs about A.H. 321 or 322—(A.D. 933 or 934) and died in A.H. 411 (A.D. 1020). According to some the poet died in A.H. 416 (A.D. 1025) or A.H. 421 (A.D. 1030).

The work has been frequently lithographed and printed.

This copy contains the introduction written in A.H. 829 (A.D. 1426) by order of Mirza Bayasangar.

The preface concludes with a list of the ancient Persian kings from Kayumurs to Yazdijird described in the text.

The second half of the Shâh Nâmah, which begins on folio 263^b is entitled here Kitâb Lahrasp Nâmah.

A very fine specimen of eastern ornamentation containing some quatrains written in golden letters on foll. 1^b-2^a.

Many of the folios contain richly illuminated illustrations.

Written in fine Nasta'liq, within four gold and coloured-ruled columns. The headings are written on gold grounds.

Not dated, apparently 16th century.

Khamsa-i-Nizami.

A very interesting and valuable copy of the five poems of Nizâmî.

1. *Makhzanu'l-Asrar*.—A mystic poem, composed A.H. 572 or 573 (A.D. 1176 or 1177) and dedicated to Fakhr-ud-dîn Bahram Shâh (d. A.H. 622—A.D. 1225), son of Dâ'ûd, king of Armenia and Rûm.

2. *Khusrau wa Shirin*.—The loves of Khusrau and Shîrîn, composed A.H. 576 —(A.D. 1180).

3. *Layla wa Majnun*.—A poem on the loves of Layla and Majnûn, composed A.H. 584 (A.D. 1188) and dedicated to Shirwân Shâh (d. A.H. 584).

4. *Haft Paikar*.—"The seven stories" related by the seven favourites of the king, Bahrâm Gûr, hence its other name *Qissa-i-Bahram Gur*.

This poem was written for 'Ala-ud-dîn Arstân, a descendant of Aqshanshar Ahmadîlî. He was governor of Maragah, where he was besieged in A.H. 602—(A.D. 1205). It was completed 14th Ramzân, A.H. 593—(A.D. 1196).

5. *Iskandar Nâmah* or "The Book of Alexander." The poem is divided into two parts; the first part, called *Sharaf Nâmah-i-Iskandari*, or *Iskandar Nâmah-i-Barri*, treats of Alexander as conqueror, and records his battles on land. The second part, entitled variously *Khîrad Nâmah-i-Iskandari*, *Iqbâl Nâmah-i-Iskandari* or *Iskandar Nâmah-i-Bahri*, described the king as a prophet and philosopher, and relates his adventures at sea.

Dated A.H. 941.

Khawar Nâmah.

A very valuable and exceedingly interesting copy of the *Khawar Nâmah*, an epic poem in the measure and style of Firdausî's *Shâh Nâmah*, relating the warlike deeds of 'Alî in battles fought with Qubâd, the king of Khâwarân, and with other heathen kings, most of whom embraced

Islâm, by Shams-ud-dîn Muhammad bin Husâm-ud-dîn, better known as Ibn-i-Husâm, who composed it in A.H. 830—(A.D. 1426) and died according to the best authorities in A.H. 875—(A.D. 1470).

This valuable copy is written in a very beautiful bold Nasta'liq within four gold-ruled columns with a profusely illuminated 'Unwan. It contains 146 highly finished illustrations in the best Indian style. The headings are written in red throughout.

Not dated, apparently 17th century A.D.

Tazkirat-ush-Shu'ara.

A very old and exceedingly valuable copy of the well-known biography of Persian poets by Daulat Shah bin 'Ala-ud-daulah Bakht Shâh of Samarqand (d. A.H. 900—A.D. 1494) composed in A.H. 892—(A.D. 1487).

A very excellent edition of the work with prefaces and indices, by Prof. E. G. Browne, appeared in London, 1901 Hammer's 'Schöne Redekünste Persiens' are chiefly based on this work. It is divided into an introduction, seven Tabaqât and a Khâtimah.

This copy, excellently written in learned Naskh, is dated Friday, the 17th of Jamâdi I, A.H. 980.

Kimîya-i-Sa'adat.

A very valuable copy of the popular ethico-mystical work treating of the religious and moral obligations of a true Muslim, the external and the spiritual lives, man's duty to God, the qualities conducive to salvation, etc., etc. by Muhammad bin Muhammad-ul-Ghazzâlî-ut-Tûsî who was born A.H. 450—A.D. 1058, and died A.H. 505—A.D. 1111.

This work, which may be considered as a popular abridgment of the author's own Arabic work Ahyâ-i-Ulûm ad-dîn, to which he refers in the preface to the present work,

It has been printed in Calcutta, without date, and lithographed in Lucknow A.H. 1279 and 1282, and in Bombay 1883. Dated A.H. 903.

Tarikh-i-Hirat.

This unique and exceedingly valuable work, of which no other copy seems to be extant, is no doubt the most valuable possession of this Library. It gives, on an elaborate scale, an accurate account of the city of Herat and the Malik Kings of the Kurt race who ruled there, and treats of all the important events of historical interest which took place there between the years A.H. 618-721 (A.D. 1221-1321) Mu'in Asfizari, the author of the *Rauzat-ul-Jannat* (a popular history of Herat, composed A.H. 897 (A.D. 1491), who quotes this work as one of his sources, not only freely borrows from it, but bases his entire account of the aforesaid period exclusively on it.

The author who calls himself in the preface Saif ibn Muhammad bin Ya'qûb-ul-Harawî but later on simply Saifi, says that after composing the ethical work *Majmu'ah-i-Ghiyâsi*, which he dedicated to his patron Malik Ghiyâs-ud-dîn Kurt, the fourth king of Herat of the Kurt race, who reigned from A.H. 708-729 (A.D. 1308-1328), he was ordered by the said king to write a history of the events which took place in Herat after Chinghiz Khan's death in A.H. 624 (A.D. 1226) down to his own time. Hence the composition.

This part of the work comprises 136 zikrs or chapters, fully enumerated in the beginning; but from the preface we learn that the author divided the entire work into 400 zikrs. We are further given to understand in the concluding lines that the present volume is the first *daftar* and that if chance favours, he (the author) would have written a second. It seems quite probable that the author did not live to fulfil his promise.

Of the 136 chapters comprised in this volume, the first is devoted to the account of the foundation of Herat and the second to the pre-eminence of Herat, based on those Traditions of the Prophet which refer to this city. The history itself opens with the third chapter relating to the expedition sent by Chinghiz Khân under Tûli Khân against Khurasân in A.H. 618 A.D. 1221 and the general massacre of the inhabitants. In Chapters IV to XI the author gives a vivid account of the sanguinary expeditions of the Mongols against Merv, Mishapur and Herat and the ravages wrought by them. In concluding the eleventh chapter the author observes that after the destruction of

Herat, as there were only 16 survivors whom he enumerates by name, and as the city remained in a desolated condition for 16 years, viz., A.H. 619-634 –(A.D. 1222-1236), and no king or governor came forward to rebuild it, he has given a summary account of these years under chapters IV-XI. He has, however, dealt elaborately with the history of the remaining period, narrating the events year by year. Chapters XII-XX treat of the history of the rulers and governors who ruled in Herat from A.H. 634-642 (A.D. 1236-1244) before the Maliks of Herat of the Kurt race of Ghôr.

The remaining chapters are devoted to the history of the first four kings of Herat of the Kurt race covering the period A.H. 643-721 (A.D. 1245-1321). The history ends with an account of the expedition sent against Farah by Malik Ghiyâs-ud-dîn in A.H. 721, the year in which the former went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, leaving Malik Shams-ud-dîn in charge of the Government.

The MS. is not dated, but the nature of the handwriting and the general appearance of the copy tend to suggest that it was transcribed during the lifetime of the author or immediately after his death.

The MS. is worm-eaten, mutilated and loosened from the original binding, but fortunately no folio seems to be missing.

ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS

Sharh Mishkat-ul-Masabih.

A concise commentary of the *Mishkat-ul-Masabih* based chiefly on At-Tayyibî's commentary by Alî bin Muhammad bin 'Alî known as As-Sayyid ush-Sharîf-ul-Jurjânî, died A.H. 816, (A.D. 1413). 'Ali-ul-Kârî in his commentary of *Mishkât-ul-Masâbih*, had denied the authorship of this commentary by As-Saiyid ush-Sharîf ul-Jurjânî and has given two reasons in support of his statement. The first reason is that this commentary is not mentioned in the list of the works of Al-Jurjânî, and the second that it is inconceivable that an author of such erudition and distinction could have been satisfied with merely abridging the work of At-Tayyibî without adding any comments of his own.

I am personally inclined to ascribe the authorship of this commentary to Al-Jurjânî, notwithstanding the above two arguments which 'Alî-ul-Kârî puts forward against such an assumption, for the following reasons :

As-Sakhavî in his work *Ad-Daw-ul-Iâmî* mentions, on the authority of a great grandson of Al-Jurjânî, this book among his other works. Then, again, it is not correct to say that the book is a mere abridgment of At-Tayyibî's work. Al-Jurjânî has added remarks and comments of his own, though, indeed, their number is small. Further Hajjî Khalîfah, Vol. V., p. 568, remarks that As-Sayyid-ush-Sharîf wrote a commentary on Al-Mishkât.

It is noted on the title-page that Sayyid Jamâl-ud-dîn is the author of this work.

Not dated. Circa 18th century.

Qurb-ul-Isnad.

A collection of Shî'a Traditions. Biographers differ about its authorship. Some attribute it to Abû'l 'Abbâs 'Abdallâh bin Ja'far bin -ul-Husain bin Mâlikî bin Jâmi-ul-Himyarî-ul-Qummî, and others to his son Abû Ja'far Muhammad bin 'Abdallâh bin Ja'far-ul-Himyarî-ul-Qummî. The former was the author of several works. He came to Kûfa about A.H. 290 — (A.D. 902) and many people heard traditions from him. He is regarded as a trustworthy authority by Shî'a Traditionists. The date of his death, is not known.

The latter viz. Abû Ja'far Muhammad bin 'Abdallâh was also a reliable authority on Traditions. The date of his death, also, is not known.

It narrates those traditions which the author has attributed to Al-Imâm Ja'far as-Sâdiq, died A.H. 148, (A.D. 765), who was the eldest son of Al-Imâm Muhammad al-Bâqir (born A.H. 57, A.D. 676 and died in A.H. 113, (A.D. 731), or A.H. 114, (A.D. 732) or A.H. 117 (A.D. 735) or A.H. 118, (A.D. 736), *vide* Ibn Khallikân, Teheran edition, Vol. II., p. 23). This part commences with various kinds of prayers which the Imâm Ja'far has narrated on the authority of his father. Towards the end it deals with miscellaneous religious subjects.

The second part begins with Traditions which Al-Imâm Mûsa Kâzim has narrated. He was the son of Al-Imâm Ja'far as-Sâdiq and is considered the seventh Imâm. He was born in Al-Madînah, A.H. 128, (A.D. 745) or A.H. 129 (A.D. 746); and died in A.H. 183 (A.D. 799) or A.H. 186, (A.D. 802).

The third part narrates the Traditions which the author attributes to Al-Imâm 'Alî-ur-Rizâ bin Mûsa al-Kâzim. He was born in Al-Madînah, some say in A.H. 151, (A.D. 768); and others in A.H. 153, (A.D. 770) and died at Tûs, A.H. 202, (A.D. 817), or A.H. 203, (A.D. 818). He is considered the eighth Imam.

Written in ordinary naskh. Not dated. Circa 19th century.

Kifayat al-Athar Fi'n-Nusus al a'l-A'immata'l-Isna Ashar.

A work dealing with those Traditions which are exclusively applicable to the twelve Imâms and show their superiority over others. With regard to the authorship of the work, reliable authorities differ in their opinions.

(1) Some say that Abû Ja'far Muhammad bin 'Alî bin-ul-Husain bin Babuya-ul-Qummî as-Sadûq (died A.H. 381, A.D. 991) was the author of the book.

(2) Others consider Muhammad bin Muhammad bin un-Nu'mân al-Baghdâdî, known as Ash-Shaikh-ul-Mufîd, to be its author. Ash-Shaikh-ul-Mufîd was born in A.H. 336 (A.D. 947) or A.H. 338 (A.D. 949). When young, he accompanied his father to Baghdâd. He became a great orator and debater. He is a recognised authority among the Imâmîtes. He died in A.H. 413, (A.D. 1022).

(3) But according to *Muntaha'l-Maqal* (page 224) the real author of the book is 'Alî bin Muhammad bin 'Alî-ul-Khazzâz ur-Râzî ul-Qummî. He was a pupil of Ash-Shaikh us-Sadûq, (died A.H. 381, A.D. 919) and was an indisputable authority in matters connected with religion. He is also the author of *Kitab al-Idah fi Usul-ud-dîn*.

This third opinion is corroborated by Rawzat al-Jannat, page 388. Dr. Ahlwardt in his Berlin Catalogue No. 9675 has been quite misled about the authorship of this work.

The author, in the preface, says that he had found a class of people of ordinary learning who thought that there were no reliable Traditions about the eminence and superiority of the Imâms, and consequently he composed the present work from trustworthy sources in order to prove their eminence.

Written in Naskh. Circa 19th century.

Kitab-ul-Hadith.

A portion of a work on Imâmite Traditions, defective both at the beginning and end. It is most probably a commentary on the famous work of Muhammad bin Ya'qûb bin Ishâq-ul-Kulainî, died A.H. 328, (A.D. 939), or A.H. 329, (A.D. 940), which is known as *Al-Kâfi fî 'Ilm ud-Dîn*.

Written in good Naskh. Not dated. Circa 17th century.

Nahj-ul-Mustarshidin.

A short treatise on the Fundamental Principles of the Shî'a creed by Jamâl-ud-dîn Hasan bin Yûsuf bin 'Alî bin-ul-Mutahhar-ul-Hillî, died, A.H. 726, (A.D. 1326). He was born on the 20th Ramazân, A.H. 648, (A.D. 1250), at Hilla. He studied religious subjects under his father, and philosophy, logic, etc. under Nasr-ud-dîn Abû Ja'far Muhammad bin Muhammad-ut-Tûsî. He was the greatest Shî'a doctor of his time, and was commonly designated *Al-'Alâmah*. His works, chiefly dealing with religious subjects, are often referred to as authorities of undisputed merit. Muhammad bin al-Hasan-al-Hurr ul-'Amili in his work *'Aml-ul-'Amil* (page 40) enumerated no less than 69 works of this learned author.

Written in fine Naskh. Not dated. Circa 17th century.

Al-Iktifa Fi Fazl Al-Arba'at Al-Khulafa.

A work in praise of the virtues of the Companions of the Prophet, especially of his first four successors, chiefly based on the Traditions by Ibrâhîm bin 'Abdallâh ul-Wassabî ul-Yamanî ush-Shafi-i. From a perusal of the work it appears that he was an inhabitant of Yemen, and a follower of the Shafi'î school. He flourished in the latter half of the 10th century, A.H.

Written in Nastaliq. Not dated. Circa 19th century.

Miftah un-Naja fi Manaqib Al al-'Aba.

A work on the virtues and excellences of the descendants of the Prophet, chiefly based on the Traditions, together with a short account of their birth and death, by Mirza Muhammad bin Rustum Mu'tamad Khân ul-Hârisî ul-Badakhshi. He belonged to an illustrious family which served the Mughal Empire in various capacities. His grandfather, Kubâd Beg, a native of Qandahâr, received the title of Diyânât Khân from Aurangzib, and died in Delhi, A.H. 1083. (A.D. 1672). His father, Rustam, received from the same monarch the title of Mu'tamad Khân, and fell in the Deccan War, A.H. 1117, (A.D. 1705). Our author was a scholar of great reputation and served Kutb-ud-dîn Shâh 'Alam I (A.H. 1119-1124, A.D. 1707-1712). He is the author of a Persian history called Târîkh Muhammadî, and several Arabic works, such as Tarâjim al-Huffâz and Tuhfat al-Muhibbîn bi Manâqib ul-Khulafa ur-Rashidîn, mentioned in Rampûr list. p. 668.

From the preface it appears that the author began the work in Ramazân, A.H. 1123, (A.D. 1711), and the colophon indicates that it was completed on the 7th Muharram A.H. 1124, (A.D. 1712).

Written in fine Naskh. Dated A.H. 1126.

Manaqib Ahl al-Bait.

A work on the lives and virtues of the twelve Imâms of the Imâmîya sect by Haidar 'Alî bin Mirza Muhammad bin al-Hasan ash-Shirwânî. He was an Imâmî scholar, and wrote several treatises and books. One of his works, called *Kitab ul-Majalis*, is well known. His father Muhammad bin al-Hasan, known as Mullâ Mirza, was a pupil of Aqa Husain bin Muhammad al-Khunsarî, who died in A.H. 1098, (A.D. 1686). The date of his death is not known.

Written in Naskh. Not dated. Circa 19th century.

Tabaqat-ul-Hanbaliya.

A biographical work dealing with the eminent scholars of the Hanbalî sect by Abû'l-Husain Muhammad bin

Muhammad bin al-Husain Abû Ya'la ul-Farra ul-Hanbalî. He was born in A.H. 451, (A.D. 1059), studied under his father and others, and became one of the most eminent scholars of the Hanbalî sect. He was murdered on the night of the 10th of Muharram, A.H. 526 (A.D. 1131) on account of his wealth.

The biographies are preceded by a short introduction, in which the special merits of Al-Imâm Abû 'Abdallâh Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Hanbal, with his genealogical table going back to the Prophet Ibrâhîm are given. The work is divided into six chapters, called *Tabaqat*. The names in the first two are arranged alphabetically, and in the rest chronologically.

Written in Nastâ'liq. Not dated. Circa 19th century.

Zahr ur-Riyaz Wa Zulal ul-Hiyaz.

A biographical work chiefly based on Ibn Khallikân's *Wafayat ul-A'yan* by Hasan bin 'Alî bin al-Hasan bin 'Alî bin Shadqam ul-Husainî ul-Madanî ush-Shî'î. He was born in A.H. 940 (A.D. 1533), and was a pupil of Husain bin 'Abd us-Samad ul-'Amilî, who died A.H. 984, (A.D. 1576). He visited Hyderabad, Deccan, and wrote a work called *Al-Jawâhir un-Nizâmiya* for Nizâm Shâh. The date of his death is not known.

Written in different hands of Naskh. Not dated. Circa 17th century.

HIDAYAT HOSAIN.

IN THE GARDEN OF THE TAJ MAHAL

TRIFLES LIGHT AS AIR.

I WAS seated on one of the marble benches on the lower terrace of the Taj, overlooking the river on one side and the splendid view westwards on the other. The distant crenellated shape of the fort at Agra had long begun to discard its details, and had simplified its appearance into a silhouette—a pattern against the salmon-pink of the evening sky. Soon, I knew, would come the puffs of smoke, and clouds of dust from the city, to make the view more atmospheric and pictorial; when these ghost-like vapours would drift across, trailing their tattered draperies against the deep rose that would only linger another few minutes in the sky and the wide curve of the river; for the sun had set. The foreground of my view consisted of the red sand-stone pavilion at the angle of the terrace, which had lost its ruddiness and was turning darker and more nondescript every minute in the glow which shone behind, and through, its delicate arches, cutting out its cupola and triple terrace with a precision which can be applied to the Mogul buildings and to few others in the world.

But I was not sketching the fascinating piece before me although this was certainly the last possible moment available for such a task, and an artist interested in the East could hardly have wished for a more likely subject for his brush.

Instead of taking up my sketching materials which lay on the seat beside me I allowed myself to indulge in dilatory musings, and continued this ineffective but fascinating pursuit, although I was aware that the blue jays had long departed, that the cooing of the doves in the mangoes of the garden had ceased, and that the kingfisher had been at his evening hunt for supper for the last half-hour. For some minutes I had watched the little

fellow's methodical efforts, as he poised high over the smooth sheet of water, his head and tail held downwards, his wings revolving like one of those little paper windmills which are made for the children ; then he would transfer himself another ten or fifteen yards down the river, and the stationary whirring process would begin again. I watched him till he was a black speck a long way off on his evening beat. He had not swooped yet—he drops like a stone when he spies a fish and for all I know the kingfisher may have had his pains for nothing that night, indefatigable little worker though he be. Then my mind resumed the thread of questions, which the sight of the kingfisher had loosened a little, but not broken. As a matter of fact the day had been one of many distractions. In the morning there had been “an incident” in the Garden which had disturbed my sketching operations for quite a while. The pitch I had chosen was in the cold shadow of the great Entrance Gateway, whence one gets the long reach of water with its causeways, yews, and cypresses, in full perspective, and receives a perfect object-lesson in the inevitability of the meeting of parallel lines. A Yogi, who was as naked as the day he was born except for the ribbon round his waist, carrying a large bronze water bowl on his head, had passed through the official guards and the few visitors assembled in the entrance, and had crossed the terrace of the gateway, and got down the steps before the uniformed custodians noticed him. Evidently this wanderer ought not to have been admitted within the precincts, for two or three of the guards halloosed to the Yogi to come back. He did not respond to the summons, nor did he turn his head, which indeed would have been a difficult feat to have accomplished with the heavy bowl that he held carefully balanced on his bald pate. That the man knew that he was on forbidden ground was soon evidenced however, when one of the guards started to follow him along the causeway ; for he at once accelerated his pace. The guard, in his long thick blue official overcoat, with his white turban and kummerband and scarlet baldric looking resplendent in the hot brilliant sunshine, which somehow always seems more brilliant in the Taj garden than anywhere else, increased his speed. So did the Yogi. The pursuer broke into a run, in spite of his cumbersome garments. The Yogi did likewise, and it was soon evident to those of us who were watching this pursuit that the fugitive, in spite of the burden he carried, was likely to win the race.

"But where will he go?" Someone asked. Where could he go? There was only the river before him; one or two other custodians were seen approaching from the Taj to cut off his flight; and his would-be captor was following steadily in the rear. However, we were not long to be left in doubt as to what the Yogi meant to do. On arriving at the marble terrace midway down the garden on which the causeways converge, the man ran up the steps, and at once plunged into the tank! It seemed a laughable conclusion to the race, but clearly failed to cause amusement to the guardians of the precincts who had now gathered in a group by the steps of the gateway, and were shouting directions as to his course of procedure to their distant colleague. The latter had reached the tank, and we could see him gesticulating, and hear the sound of a lively remonstrance, which obviously had no effect on the lightly-clad gentleman who was immersed in the water. His tenacious pursuer was not to be baffled by such obstinacy however. To our great amusement we could see him—far off as he was—beginning to divest himself of his uniform, with the obvious intention of going into the tank after his quarry. When his purpose had become evident to the custodians assembled at the gateway, two of these started to go to their colleague's assistance, each armed with a long useful-looking staff. The official at the tank stripped in leisurely fashion; and at last he actually got down into the water; and that was all we could see of the operations from our position, for a small crowd of spectators had gathered at the scene of action and closed around the tank, no doubt intensely interested. From the sounds that came in our direction it seemed that the Yogi must have been an awkward fish to land even with the reinforcement to the forces of law and order. However the guards came back at last marching the culprit between them and smiling triumphantly, and followed by a scattered train of small boys and hangers-on. The Yogi's expression, as he hung limply backwards in the grasp of his captors was the vacant look of an idiot; and his captors who now evidently took a humorous view of his escapade escorted him under the great arch of the Entrance Doorway. The almost friendly eviction of the offender having ended the episode, we all incontinently returned to our respective occupations; several of those present proceeded to view the tomb, or to promenade in the garden; and I returned to the task of continuing the painting of the Taj which I had carefully planned out—but which had fallen into

arrears on account of the excitement and bustle of this interruption. But the delay had been fatal to my plans ; the shadows of the rows of cypresses had now shifted their ground ; so had those in the alcoves of the facade of the Taj ; so I abandoned this sketch for the present, determined to renew the effort on the following day, when I would be more careful to avoid letting my attention be distracted. I took the postponement as philosophically as possible, assisted towards the right attitude of resignation by the contents of my luncheon basket, of which I partook in a comfortable quiet corner to the East of the Gateway, where, except for the wasps who seemed determined to dispute my camping ground with me, or perhaps on account of them, I was undisturbed by other visitors. I had reckoned on making a better show at my afternoon's task (for I had planned three sketches, each for a portion of the day when the light would remain reasonably stable) and now resolved to make as early a start as possible, the vicinity of the wasps having cooled my liking for the secluded corner near the Gateway. So, with the help of a servant, and a tattered volunteer who had insisted on attaching himself to my party—a youth who had his uses as an extra hand—my pitch was transferred to one of the quiet, almost deserted walks leading towards the Western wall of the garden. From the point I had selected I had a beautiful vista, though without the formality of the prospect of the Taj from the Main Gateway, and also I fondly hoped without its elaborate intricacy of detail and perspective. The heat was great, it is true, at that torrid hour, but I was ensconced in the shadow of one of the large trees (whether an orange or a pomegranate, I forget) but which in the glare that surrounded this strategic position on all sides, was as valuable a protection as the gourd that sprang up so obligingly in the desert, to shelter the prophet Jonah. The view I was engaged in attempting to transfer to canvas was very effective and, as I reminded myself encouragingly, eminently paintable. That is to say it was a composition of strong decided contrasts. The Taj seemed to tower over my head, framed between a tall cypress on the right, and the angle of a high hedge with flowering shrubs behind it. The splendid white structure was relieved by a blue so deep that it would have to be seen to be believed by people who have never been in India. This sketch would, I decided, be a strong rendering of the subject—almost devoid of that mystical and elusive atmosphere which the artist who tries to paint the Taj from other points of view

has to struggle with. I had the Taj before me reduced to its simplest elements—a bold decided arabesque against a background not far removed from ultramarine ; in short almost a poster. But whether this was really one of my off-days (of course every artist, like every tennis-player, *does* have his off-days) or whether I really was foredoomed by circumstances to break off my sketching—like the serials in the magazines—just when it began to get interesting, it again happened that I was subjected to distractions, which though of a more agreeable kind than the last, proved quite as effective in hindering the materialisation of the picture which was, or ought to have been, the main concern. I am unable to say with certainty whether the birds or the squirrels were the first to distract my attention this time. Like the unsolved riddle of the hen and the egg, I am unable to determine with any degree of absoluteness which came first. Both however belonged very distinctly to those fascinations which should be taboo for every artist who is seriously intent upon his work ; and yet both were entirely different in their appeal. The birds, which I have mentioned first from a sort of chivalrous feeling that birds are more ethereal and therefore perhaps more feminine by nature than squirrels, and not because they were the more obtrusive of the two parties, were the sort of birds that people in India call “ The Seven Sisters.” They were of sober plumage, being of a soft plump grey, about the size of large fat blackbirds, and having yellow beaks and legs. The only other touch of yellow was in the iris of their eyes, which exactly matched the legs and beaks, in which the pupils looked like beads of jet. They hopped softly out from the bushes and shrubs around me—across the long stone bed of the empty stream which crossed my view, and up to the fringe of the colony of squirrels which were foregathering from the four quarters of the Taj garden apparently, not a dozen feet distant from where I sat on my camp stool.

Looking round to discover the cause of this visitation from the furred and feathered denizens of the garden, I saw an old man seated on the paved walk. He had deposited a stick and bundle on the ground ; and from the latter now extracted a knotted handkerchief, the squirrels obviously watching him with lively anticipation, the birds (I thought) with knowing and calculating interest. He then proceeded to feed the creatures with *gram*, which he scattered close around him, and for which the birds and

squirrels competed quite amicably. It was clear that the rivalry was as friendly on both sides as such a conflict of interests would allow ; which is to say that the birds continued to remain aloof, forming an outer circle, from which after mature consideration, they would advance in long sudden hops to pick up a morsel and then withdraw to their own ranks to bolt it at leisure. The squirrels were obviously not so cautious, but they made up fully in dash what they lacked in science. They would dart right up to their Indian friend, even spring into his open hand which he often held invitingly a few feet from the ground. One of them would sit on his palm quite a long time, nibbling at the *gram*, and would even allow its benefactor to rise to his full height before springing to earth again, which seemed a long leap for so small an animal. I noticed that the squirrels and birds did not attack one another—the contest being evidently a battle of wit against agility. The birds' capacities were perhaps solid rather than brilliant, while the squirrels seemed to be here, there and everywhere at once. However these little creatures showed every sign of arguing the point with one another. There were many little scuffles, alarms, and excursions, and several ignominious retreats on the part of the squirrels ; and the old man watched these operations with his small eyes screwed up under the shadow of his huge white-turban, and the wrinkles on his thin face augmented by a sympathetic smile. . . . Well ! this was all very idyllic—but it was not art ; and yet so intrigued had I become in this interlude in the rites of Taj-worship, that I could not tear my attention away from the pretty spectacle ; but, even after the old man had at last picked up his stick and bundle and hobbled off down the garden-walks, I stayed watching the unsatisfied remnant of the birds and squirrels disputing the scattered relics of the feast ; and the squirrels, little bloodless duels over unexpected finds which continued to turn up in unlikely spots and crevices. So that when at last I turned to resume my brush and palette, it was to find that once again the shadows had stolen a march upon me, and that, moreover, the Taj had altered its colour scheme. Alas ! The completion of this sketch would have to be deferred now. But there was still time—indeed this was the one and only time—to go down to the river, and get a sketch of the reflection of the Taj from the opposite bank of the Jumna. This turned out to be a practicable idea ; for my friendly assistant added, it seemed, to his other more mysterious ways of eking out a living, a

little unofficial guiding : he now promised to direct me to a point at the river front of which I had been ignorant, where was a ferry for crossing the stream. I closed with this convenient offer, and my guide brought me in due course to the top of the dark steps under the angle of the Western cupola, which I climbed down gingerly with the help of an ancient attendant who carried a fraction of lighted candle in his hand. At the water gate was moored a very big punt, and a ferryman who, in spite of his long pole, seemed a most inadequate agent for the propulsion of that huge bulk through the water. Standing on the stone steps at the water's edge and looking along the superb front of the marble terraces, I noticed with satisfaction that the reflections were going to be wonderful that evening. But just as we were about to embark with our paraphernalia, so as to get to the opposite bank in readiness for the psychological moment when the reflections should reach a perfect duplication of the Taj under the magic of the approaching sunset—the volunteer in my small party (an individual who was always out for fresh wonders at any price) drew my attention to a man who had just approached along the narrow path that runs at the foot of the wall. This person seemed at first an ordinary enough individual ; but when my eyes fell on the long snake he had twisted round his neck, and I had remarked that the rope which he casually dangled in one hand was another and even livelier serpent, and the whip he flourished in the other was also animate, I could hardly have helped giving him a second glance—though from a somewhat more respectable distance ; for he chose to hold his snakes by the tail and not by the head ! I therefore retreated a step or two ; at which the man, who clearly took this retrograde movement as a tribute to the genuineness of the goods he carried, proceeded to show off his serpents to the best possible advantage. He made the rope-like specimen battle fiercely with a bit of blue drapery - only just keeping his own hand out of reach of the snapping jaws of the reptile ; while the one that was like a whip he brandished around in a style which the creature's violent irascibility rendered particularly exciting. My tatterdemalion follower (who now elected to add the rôle of interpreter to his numerous other avocations) informed me that these were very venomous snakes which the lucky finder had just caught a little further up the river. They looked a queer freight for a man to bear under the sacred walls of the Taj Mahal—such a contrast that there was no

help for it—I had to pull out my sketch book and draw the incongruous group, then and there :—the man and his snakes, with the great angle of the Western buttress as a background. And by the time I had done this work the golden reflections were turning grey, of course, and it was too late to cross the river for painting ! I had lost my last chance of the Taj for the sake of a snake-finder and his peculiar *protegees* ! Thus it had come about that I was seated at long last on the marble bench on the terrace looking disconsolately at the red-stone cupola at the corner, and waiting aimlessly for the deepening glow behind it to expire. It was too late to paint anything now, too late to do anything at all. An unsatisfactory day ! I had spent the whole of it in the Garden of the Taj Mahal, and had nothing to show for it all, except the abortive unfinished things I had perpetrated. I felt ashamed and perplexed at such unwonted ineffectiveness, which I was conscious was *not* laziness, as I glanced upwards at the great south front of the mausoleum, and the dome soaring a tremendous distance above my head. All the light had gone from it now ; but, it came into my mind then that the shadows had not departed. *They* were still there ; they always would be there. It was the coming of the ultimate, the inevitable, the cool restful shadow that I had, perhaps, been waiting for. I had not really been unobservant of the Taj when I had stopped thinking about it, to look at the eviction of a vagrant ; at an old man feeding the birds and squirrels ; at the snake-finder, who was so strangely *en rapport* with the more repellent section of the animal creation. I realised that all these trifles did also denote and illustrate India ; that the ordinary life of India could not stand still because the great creator of the Taj had been laid to rest with his Empress under that stately dome. I reflected that it was just *because*, under the very shadow of the fairest of the world's buildings, I had been able to look with strong interest upon these simple transactions in the every-day life of the country that the Taj must have really spoken to me. I had not been overwhelmed, as we are so often overwhelmed by great works of art, by the proximity of this masterpiece, for I had preferred to live for a day beside it, rather than to paint it. It was true that the light and brilliance of the Taj had escaped me ; --and as I retraced my steps through the dark, silent, almost deserted garden, from which even the flying foxes had now departed, my thoughts shaped themselves somewhat as follows.

THE SHADOW OF THE TAJ.

The story is told of an incident which is said to have happened when the Dowager Empress of China was sitting for her portrait. The artist (who was a lady) had almost completed the work, and her august sitter had condescended to inspect the result. To the surprise of the artist the Empress requested her to eliminate all the shaded modelling of form from the painting. "There should be no shadows on the face of Royalty," was the imperial explanation. The symbolism of this remarkable *obiter dictum* could hardly be objected to, even if its literal application was rather hard upon the artist concerned ! Perhaps a somewhat similar notion was entertained in olden times at the Mogul Court ; for shadows are generally either absent from the portraits of the monarchs, or if permitted at all, are so slightly suggested as to be reduced to delicate *nuances*. As a rule the countenances of the Indian Princes as depicted in their portraits, are full of light, as though they radiated sunshine, as the faces of Kings ought to do. The Mogul school was a courtiers' school of portraiture. Compared with their work Rembrandt's sitters seem to be trammelled up in shadows ; gloom lurks in the eyes of the most comely of the women, and steepes the old men in a darkness that seems to prefigure the approach of the night which has no end. When the shadow came into Christian painting it was a sign of the growth of art ; but knowledge brought sophistication, and a world of painful experience lies between the angels of Fra Angelico, who are bathed in the light of a land where no shadows are, and the forms and faces in Tintoretto's pictures, where the fiery halos seem to make even the features of the saints all the darker for their brilliance, and a cherub with upraised arm looms almost as black against his glory as Milton's lost archangel. Tintoretto's pictures throb and vibrate with life and the movements of titanic people, chequered with light and shadow ; like the mountains, where shadows tread so closely on the trailing skirts of the sunbeams, that the green of the grass, the purple of the heather are constantly being blotted out. A shadowless art can be innocent, and joyous, but it cannot be sublime. It can speak to us in the fresh and lispng accents of childhood, of which we are fain to catch an echo now and then, but it cannot make us hear the sounding reverberations of the eternal message. And so it is that " Our sweetest songs are those which tell

of saddest thought ” ; that our greatest works of painting seem to grow in their greatness as their shadows are deepened by Time ; that the greatest Sculpture is draped in shadow.—like the three-faced deity of Elephanta, where the sombre shading of the sculptor’s handiwork increases both its beauties and its terrors.

A day spent in the garden of the Taj Mahal of Agra, gives one a renewed appreciation of the place which shadows occupy in art, and their possibilities in the hands of great artists, for supplementing and explaining form, intensifying colour, and casting upon the spectator a mysterious spell. It is the shadow of the mausoleum which sends us away “Taj-haunted,” as some have called it. Relieved of its subtle shadow, the Taj would be robbed of its inspiration. Like Bhanavar the Beautiful, when she had to throw her magic jewel to the serpents to save her lover, and so divested herself of her perpetual beauty, the Taj without its shadow would wither in a moment ; the lingering love-whisper of youth which throbs eternally through all its delicate loveliness, would die away, and the fairest building in the world would be no more than an old and empty emblem, the dull record of a burnt-out passion. The shadow of the Taj is like the robe of Psyche, enveloping alabaster limbs in that mystery which must ever be the concomitant of beauty—enveloping, but not concealing ; ever partly promising, partly disclosing, and again enshrouding the virginal inaccessible soul, from which it may never be wholly separated.

Such are some of the pale impressions, the tentative suggestions which the shadow of the Taj conveys. Let us try and trace the mystery to some of its sources. The hours of the Taj are numbered by its shadows as surely as by a sundial. A very little experience will enable the visitor to tell the time of day from the shadow cast on the alcove of the entrance to the tomb. At sunrise this shadow is drawn aside to reveal the white marble, deep within the recess ; at noon it is festooned like a golden curtain directly under the apex of the arch ; when we see it looped heavily around the Western side of the alcove we know that it must be getting towards tea-time, and by sunset the veil is drawn once more and the secrets of the alcove enclosed again by the diaphanous curtain—those secrets which never have been and never will be laid bare. The great entrance arch of the mausoleum and the four smaller

recesses on either side of it become blurred as the night begins to wind her gloomy draperies about the miraculous building. But at the first touch of the moon's pale finger these sombre trappings slip away, the curtain of shadows is parted, and glistening with light, the Taj timidly steps out from the discarded garments.

“The chariest maid is prodigal enough
“If she unmask her beauty to the moon.”

There cannot be a more exquisite illustration of this figure, nor a sweeter symbol of reluctant beauty, than the Taj unrobing herself of her shadows. But the four Minars which stand aloof at the truncated angles of the great square of the tomb look austere enough even in the melting moonlight, especially when the moon is behind one of them, encircling the cupola with a halo. The Minars watch over the perfumed tomb of Taj Mahal, and yet, at night, seem far removed, and isolated! I do not agree with those who have thought that the Taj would be better without the Minars. Detached and different as they are, they form the right contrast. Their essential masculinity lends firmness to the picture; their stark massive outlines are the antitheses of those lovely curves; their strong black shadows, advanced like gigantic spears, impose respect on those who approach the place where Beauty is enshrined. Apart from this romantic phantasmagoric impression made by the Minars of the Taj, when seen by moonlight, the towers are very useful to the whole effect. The shadows that lurk under their cupolas are always a full dark, and balance the similar dark accents under the domes at the flattened angles of the tomb. The object of these shadows (which are *always* at their posts wherever the sun may be) is—like the patches on the complexion of a *poudre* beauty of the eighteenth century—to enhance the delicacy and fairness of the dome. Take away these and other shadow-blots and the extreme prettiness of the architecture would tend to become insipid. The shadows are the necessary corrective in this scale of values, like the tenor that can mingle with and support the most exquisite treble notes, which gain by the contrast.

It is told that in the brilliant picture of a Venetian painter a figure was shown in deep shadow. When the artist was asked how he could justify this, he replied simply, “A cloud passes!” He knew that that shadow was of essential importance to the life of his picture, for a

picture that is all sunshine is not the most sunny. It is only the canvas with the *patches* of sunlight, counter-balanced by proportionate masses of shadow, which can make us feel that the painter has mastered the art of bringing the sun into his picture. The colours composing the shadow of the Taj are as changeable as the tints which make up its brilliance. From lilac they grow to purple, which, later in the day, is shot with a deep orange. After sunset the colours fade; the building turns a front of greenish grey towards the river, and a warmer side, in which the golden tints of the sunset still linger, towards the north. But the low-toned colouring of this picture is saved from monotony, even in the absence of the sun and moon, by the dark stars under the cupolas, and the brooding but more elusive shades which seem to jostle each other in the deep alcoves of the facade, and to clamber up the outlines of the dome as though to detach it from the darkening sky.

The shadow of the Taj is weary of the day's protean changes under the wand of that greatest of Eastern wizards, the sun. It no longer assumes, hourly, new and fantastic shapes to baffle the anxious artist's attempt to plant their outlines in his canvas; but the shapeless, formless shadow of evening is much more elusive than the moving designs patterned successively upon the white marble by daylight. This shadow shows no silhouette; it is felt rather than seen, a shadow within a shadow; until at last the delicate building is no more than a phantasm of vaporous spires and swelling mystic domes poised against the vast sweetness of the night. The Taj has returned again into the primeval shadow, out of which, in spite of its glancing marbles and living sparkling stones, it was fashioned. Its ineffable loveliness is swallowed in the shadow which waits to engorge all beauty. The transition is an allegory of all sublunary works of art, and of animate as well as inanimate life. Hence it was that the Arabian Sultan, when he went in cloth of gold and scarlet, used to be preceded by a standard-bearer who held aloft the blazon "Saladin must die." And the multitude who bowed low before the magnificence of the Saracen monarch bent also before the intimation of the transience of his glory. But the nightly eclipse of the Taj does not signify oblivion. The moon-rise will resurrect the Taj again in a beauty that is still fresher, and of a still more unearthly fairness. When the moon has passed and sunk, there are the rose

and purple petals scattered by "Dawn the rosy-fingered," to usher the Taj once more, smiling and radiant, into the world we know.

Everyone will treasure the recollection of his own favourite view of the Taj ; but the distant prospect from the Palace at Agra is certainly one of the best,—when the day is not too clear, and the whole building is steeped in shadow, with a silver edging to the domes and cupolas that are sparkling like mother-of-pearl, upon the dusty bosom of Mother Earth. Between us and the Mogul masterpiece lies the bare bed of the river, an arid wilderness, separated from the Taj by the winding stream of the Jumna which, at this distance, seems little more than a skein of blue silk. The light picks out the curves of the dome and cupolas, and the sharp outlines of the Minars ; here and there it strikes upon one of the red sandstone pavilions mirrored in the river. The rest is plunged in shadows. For the Moguls knew well how to draw between their buildings and the garish light of India, that veil of delicate mystery which has given their work its lasting interest. They thrust the shadows into the deep heart of their sun-lit buildings, to make them glimmer like diamonds against black velvet. They mapped out their shadows with unerring taste, to frame the windows ; to model the domes ; to support the cupolas ; to engirdle the towers. And it is this artistic and exquisite appreciation of the values of black-and-white, which made the Moguls the great colourists they were, not only in their buildings, but in the best of their paintings, where the black-and-white of the pictures can take the place of light-and-shade. Just as the flat shadowless surfaces of the Taj Mahal are relieved by the unrivalled, dark inlay of jewelled or calligraphic ornament, so the Mogul artists analysed and employed the magic of the shadows to define, to explain, or to conceal, but always to enhance the abiding charm of form and colour.

W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

RELIGION UNIVERSAL AND ETERNAL. *

THE name of Muhammad Farîd Wajdî is already known to many Indian Muslims as that of a contemporary Arabic writer of some note. It will be still more widely and more honourably famous when this newly published book of his has found the public it deserves. In a short introduction he tells us how he came to write a book in defence of Al-Islâm. A Muslim student at the American (Christian Missionary) College in Cairo some time ago appealed in the Arabic Press for someone publicly to refute some reflections on Al-Islâm, the Qur'ân and the Prophet published in a book called مسائل في الدين (Questions about Religion) which was being circulated among the students in the College. The Cairo American College is run by missionaries sent out to attack the faith of Muslims, so that we cannot see that a Muslim student there could expect anything else than anti-Muslim propaganda. The methods of the missionaries are generally aggressive and their publications occasionally strike us as unfair, even polemically, since they only tend to shake the faith of ill-informed young men, and the kind of criticism employed is one which the writers would not allow to be applied to Christianity. It was time that a strong and well thought-out reply was made to them, and this book of Muhammad Bey Farîd has more than a polemical value. It is a description of Al-Islâm in modern terms as a religion which the author, as a modern man, accepts and thinks accept-

* الاسلام دين عام خالد - تحليل دقيق لاصول الدين الاسلامي تحت ضوء العلم
والفلسفه تاليف محمد فريد وجدى طبع في مصر في مطبعة دائرة المعارف القرن
العشرين

(Al-Islâm a Universal and Eternal Religion ; a close analysis of Islamic religious principles in the light of science and philosophy by Muhammad Farîd Wajdî, Cairo. Twentieth Century Encyclopædia Press. 1982.)

able by everybody. Whatever may be the results of the efforts of the American Mission in Cairo in their own selected field they have done good service to Islâm at unawares by rousing one good Muslim to write a defence of Islâm which is convincing and will edify the Muslims by reminding them of many things that they are apt to forget amid the modern hurly-burly.

The greater part of the book consists, as the sub-title puts it, of "a close analysis of Islamic religious principles in the light of science and philosophy" together with an estimate of the part played by Islâm in the evolution of modern science and civilisation. This deserves close study. It is only the last part which is devoted to refutation of the charges brought against Islâm in the book *Masa'il fi'd-din* above mentioned and the refutation, being dignified and courteous and supported by sound arguments and knowledge, forms a telling conclusion. We give some long quotations from it (in our own translation), to enable the reader to form some idea of the style and scope of the work.

Of Islamic justice and equality the author writes :—
 "A Jew made a complaint against 'Alî ibn Abî Tâlib to 'Umar at the time when he was Khalîfah, and you know well who 'Alî was. And when they both appeared before the Prince of Believers, he looked at 'Alî and said : O Abû'l-Hasan, pray be scated ! And signs of anger appeared in the lines of 'Alî's face and 'Umar said to him : Art vexed, O 'Alî, at having a Jew for thine opponent and at having to appear with him before the judgment-seat ? 'Alî answered : No ; but I am angry because thou hast not treated me and him on an equality since thou hast called me by my kunyah (name of honour) and hast said : Yâ Abû'l-Hasan." (To call a man by his kunyah was to exalt him).

"And it is related that a son of 'Amrû ibnu'l A'âs, (the famous commander who conquered Egypt and became its governor in the reign of 'Umar ibnu'l-Khattâb), beat a man wrongfully, and the injured person swore that he would complain to the Prince of Believers. And while the Khalîfah was with his chief men, 'Amrû ibnu'l-A'âs and his son being with them in the mosque at the season of the Pilgrimage, behold this man stands up and says :

O ! Prince of Believers ! Lo ! he '—pointing to the son of 'Amrû—'beat me and said : Get out, for I am a scion of

the noblest!’ And ‘Umar looked at ‘Amrû and said to him : ‘ Since when hast thou enslaved mankind when their mothers bore them free ? ’ Then he turned to the plaintiff and gave him his staff and said to him : ‘ Beat the scion of the noblest with it even as he beat thee.’ And he did so.”

“ And Abû Dhar Al-Ghaffârî was conversing with a negro slave in the presence of the Prophet (May God bless and keep him !) and he grew sharp with him and said : ‘ O ! son of the black woman ! ’ And the Prophet (may God bless and keep him !) was angry and said : ‘ There is no preferment of the son of the white woman above the son of the black woman unless it be for piety or a good deed.’

“ Thereupon Abû Dhar laid his cheek upon the ground and said to the black : ‘ Come tread upon my cheek ’ (as penance for his sin). Read this and remember that the world in general regards black people to-day as on a par with monkeys, and the greatest contempt is in the countries of the very ‘ civilised ’.

“ And while speaking of slaves, I ask : Do you know of any community in the world killing a freeman for the murder of a slave ? No, not even in this century when ideas of equality have gone so far. But Al-Islâm laid down in the Sacred Law that the freeman should be killed for the killing of the slave if he killed him purposely. Again : Do you know of any religious community killing one of their believing brethren for the murder of a disbeliever ? No, by Allah ! except in the Sacred Law of Al-Islâm !

“ Is it possible that for this Law which sets up the highest ideal of justice there can be any other source than Divine Revelation ? Could a man who grew up in Arabia—the home of family pride and contempt for the weak and hostility to human rights and worship of might and the mighty —could he have produced justice such as this in that age so far from us ?”

In answer to the not uncommon criticism that the Sacred Law of Islam imposes cruel punishments for certain crimes, more suited to a barbarous age than to the present, the author has some interesting things to say. He writes :

“ Someone says : You say that the Sacred Law of Al-Islam is a universal code suited to every time and place,

but we see that the Qur'ân has enjoined various punishments for specified crimes such as adultery, theft, the drinking of intoxicants, slander and oppression in the land. How can you reconcile your saying with such injunctions?

.....

“Has this religion transgressed the natural rights which belong to individuals and nations by its horror of the crimes which we have mentioned and imposing deterrent punishments for them. What lawgiver or philosopher in the world does not see in adultery one of the ugliest of crimes because it is so greatly against honour, human dignity and morality. Al-Islâm has enjoined that the person guilty of it shall be punished with a hundred stripes if he be unmarried, and shall be stoned to death if he be a married man.

“This is an extremely severe punishment. But have you considered how Islamic law has restricted it so as to make it a deterrent formula rather than an actual punishment? To establish the fact of adultery it requires that four reputable witnesses shall declare that they saw the act with their own eyes, expressly, so that there can be no argument about it—a provision which makes its establishment near to impossible. And it adds in addition that if anyone accuses a couple of committing this crime and the government demands that he produce four reputable witnesses, if he fails to produce them he will be accounted a calumniator and flogged with a hundred stripes..... And it chanced one day that ‘Umar ibn al-Khattâb in the time of his khilafât saw a man and a woman in the act of adultery and on account of his zeal to maintain the limits imposed by Allah he could not keep the matter to himself. So he called the people together and stood up among them as preacher, and said: What is your opinion. O people, if the Prince of Believers saw a man and woman in adultery? And ‘Alî ibn Abî Tâlib answered by his saying: Let the Prince of Believers bring four witnesses or be beaten with a hundred stripes, the penalty of the calumniator.”

We come now to his defence of the Qur'ân from aspersions which are very often cast upon it by the disbelievers, and which are so utterly impossible from the point of view of learned Muslims, not to mention Arabs, that one can only account for their perversity by imputing to their authors lack of knowledge of the language or some defect of sight or hearing or intelligence.

“ The author of the book *Masa'il-fi'd-din* in his final reflection on the holy Qur'ân says that it is full of accounts of spiritual matters far from common sense, and that it is lacking in eloquence and arrangement, and that this is one of the chief causes of the dulness and confusion of this book which have made it barren food for its votaries.

“ By his saying that the Qur'ân is full of accounts of spiritual matters far from common sense does the author of *Masa'il fi'd-din* mean that it abounds in mention of the angels and the Jinn and revelation and reward and punishment and matters of the life to come etc. etc. ? If he means that, then all books reputed heavenly treat of such things, some extravagantly, asserting that Allah is corporeal and that he met some of the prophets face to face and talked to them, and that one of them caught hold of Him and did not let go of Him till He had given him a new heart. And these Books describe the Creator in terms of His creatures and ascribe to Him laughter and tears and repentance and partiality and cruelty, and so forth and so on ; whereas Al-Islâm is stated to be the religion of reason, and he who takes to it is concerned only with what he can comprehend and what can be shown to be true. And this is a distinction belonging to no other religion. The zealots of those other religions pretend that they contain matter above reason and that it is necessary for him who accepts them to discard his intellectual gifts in matters of belief ; and there is no end to the gulf between the two parties. So it is better, while this aspersion remains thus obscure, that we leave it till the author tells us what he means by it.

“ But his saying that the Qur'ân is lacking in eloquence is quite the strangest charge that we have ever heard against this sacred Book. For if it were allowable for an opponent to charge it with everything else that entered his head it would not be allowable for him to charge it with lack of eloquence. Has he not heard that this Book was regarded by the Arabs as miraculous both in its form and contents and that they were powerless to produce the like of a single Sûrah of it, though they strove to do so ? The Qur'ân says :—

“ And if ye are in doubt concerning that which We have revealed unto Our slave then produce a Sûrah of the like thereof and call your witnesses besides Allah if ye are truthful, And if ye do it not, and ye can never do it,

guard yourselves against the fire, whose fuel is of men and stones, which is prepared for disbelievers."

"And again :

" Say (O Muhammad, to the Arabs) : Even if human kind and the Jinn came together in order that they might produce the like of this Qur'ân they could not produce the like thereof even though they helped one another."

" The Arabs by their belief admitted that it is in truth miraculous. And that opinion prevailed even in the age when Arab literary eloquence reached its apogee with the coming-in of Persian, Greek and Indian methods in the third century A.H. ; when books were composed by the greatest masters of literary style themselves expounding the mysteries of its eloquence, and everything that was written upon eloquence and style and rhetoric was founded on examples from the Qur'ân as a never-failing source of every kind of verbal and metaphorical eloquence. Is the author of the book *Masa'il-fi'd-din* joking when he throws this aspersion at us, or is he saying what he thinks and thereby showing us plainly that he does not know Arabic, and has not been able to draw upon the Orientalists who, knowing it, have conceded to the Qur'ân something of what it merits in this connection."

It is true that these hostile critics of the Qur'ân, if they know Arabic, know it only as a man knows music who dislikes its harmonies and cannot tell one tune from another. The book continues ;

" There remains his saying that it is lacking in arrangement, by which he means that it is not arranged in sections and chapters like other books and its subjects are not placed each in the section or chapter reserved for it, but are mingled in a way in which intentional arrangement is not observable. He says : ' And this is the reason of the boredom which strikes everyone who hears or reads it, and the cause of the difficulty in understanding it which makes it barren food for its votaries.' It has escaped his notice that if this book had been forged the writer would have given it the arrangement which the author of *Masa'il fi'd-din* demands. But it is revelation sent down as events occurred and as incidents happened. Some of its verses were revealed to call mankind to faith, others are in answer to objectors, others again in answer to questions

or to decide between disputants, some excite men to right endeavour and to noble conduct, and so forth ; and all of them were revealed on occasion and in the order of temporal events. Revelation, for those who embraced Islâm in the first period, was in the position of the directing intelligence, whose guidance they sought in difficulties, humiliation and misfortune, and at whose dictation they acted in triumph and adversity save in certain matters which were left to their own discretion so as to train them to rely on their intelligence when they were ready for it after a while. It is a collection of flashes of revelation rendered necessary by events at the time of their happening ; and such events recur in every generation, and are reproduced in every community. Many of the verses of the Qur'ân were revealed to give peace to men's hearts, to chasten men's minds, to uphold right conduct, to make men aim at noble deeds, to confirm the workers in their effort and to breathe the spirit of enthusiasm into their nature. It is a collection of flashes of revelation which, when read or heard, captures the whole attention of the mind and dominates all approaches to the intellect, and affects every faculty of delight in men's breasts because it strikes every chord in the human soul simultaneously and it transports the listener as if he were overwhelmed in a magic wave and could not breathe in any other element. Everyone who has read or heard it, whether he were of the people of this Faith or not, has been conscious of this effect of the Qur'ân. Is it this magical effect that the author of *Masa'il fi'd-din* considers to be a cause of boredom and a source of weariness ? If that is so then the thing is named by other than its name and is called by one which means the very opposite.

“ As for its being barren food for those who accept it and put faith in it, this is strange logic. For it must be generally known that this Book was revealed among tribes having different passions, separate motives, divided efforts and conflicting claims, with no concern but to raid and rob one another, with no bond between them of collective organization or common political aim or economic unity or cultural ideal or general sympathy ; and it united their disunion, made their aim and object one, and organised their state, then launched them as a solid mass capable of attaining to all that exalts human life and makes for progress, into the very heart of human social intercourse where is clash of ambitions, turmoil of affairs and strife

of passions, and where the struggle for existence leads communities to fight with tooth and nail and fire and sword. And not more than eighty years had passed before they had founded for themselves an empire on which the sun never set, the like of which was not given to the greatest of imperial nations, even the Romans, nor to the greatest colonizing nations till the present day. And the viceroyalty of the earth became theirs in science and philosophy and arts and politics, and they became the means of raising learning from the dust and recalling world-civilisation from its aberration. The moderns and the ancients both bear witness to it, and friends and foes alike admit it. Is this the effect of "the barren food" which the Qur'ân offers to its votaries, as the author of *Masa'il fid'-din* says? Is he joking or in earnest?"

The Muslim student-world has here an armoury against the covert sneers and pretended frank discussion used to bewilder them by the enemies of our religion, and also against the atheism or agnosticism which have so far been the sole result of such attacks. The book, as we have said, is much more than a mere polemic. We hope that it will be translated into Urdu and English.

M. P.

THE QUATRAINS OF HALI.*

THIS is a book that will be welcomed by all lovers of Urdu literature, especially in Hyderabad since we learn from the Preface that Hyderabad has had a share in its production. Mr. Tute writes: "I also wish to express my deep appreciation of the great help and encouragement given by the Educational Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government and Sir Akbar Hydari. Mr. Fazl Muhammad Khan, the Director of Public Instruction of His Exalted Highness's Government, has personally interested himself in this book and has most generously arranged for the revision of Mr. Ward's translation by eminent scholars of the State."

The result is a highly satisfactory literal translation which indeed rather takes the shine out of Mr. Tute's "rendering into English verse," since the rugged force of

* *The Quatrains of Hali*. The original Urdu with a literal English translation by G. E. Ward and a Rendering into English Verse by C. S. Tute. Oxford University Press. Available in three bindings, Vellum spine Rs. 6, quarter cloth cover Rs. 3, and lined paper cover Rs. 2.

Hâlî is apparent in the one and often polished out of existence in the other, which, however, is not lacking in occasional felicity. A general idea of the book, together with such criticisms as we have to make, can be best illustrated by a number of quotations.

ہستی ہے تیری رنگ و بوسب کے لئے طاعت میں ہے تیری آبروسب کے لئے
ہیں تیرے سوا سارے سہارے کزور سب اپنے لئے ہیں، اور تو سب کے لئے

(Literal Translation)

From Thy being is the glow and scent of life —for the good
of all ;

In submission to Thee is self-respect —for the good of all ;
Excepting Thee alone. all supports are feeble ;
All are for their own sake—and Thou for the good of all.

(Versified Translation)

All Scent and Light and Colour do from Thy being flow,
Thy Service is an honour as those who serve Thee know,
Thou art our one sure buttress, who doth eternally
Upon Thy selfish creatures Thy Selfless Self bestow.

The “doth” in the last line but one we should have regarded as a printer’s error had we not found another instance, evidently deliberate, of the use of the third person instead of the second person singular of a verb. On page 68 (Quatrain 67) we find :

“ For Life work is essential the while Thou *draweth*
breath

“ There is no zest in living unless Thou *laboureth* ”

(The italics are, of course, our own). The capital “ T ” for “ thou ” throughout this quatrain is misleading since it is man not God who is addressed.

Again :

صحرا میں جو لایا یا ایک چٹیل میدان برسات میں سبزہ کا نہ تھا جس پہ نشان
مایوس تھے جس کے جوتنے سے دھقان یاد آئی ہیں قوم کے ادبار کی شان

(Literal Translation)

In the desert when I came upon a bare bleak plain,
 On which in the rains there was no sign of verdure,
 Which the peasants had long ceased to have the heart to
 till,—
 I thought on the trophies of reverse of my race.*

(Versified Translation)

I chanced once in the desert upon a bare bleak plain,
 Whereon no verdure flourished, not even after rain,
 Where not a peasant laboured,—my thoughts turned sadly
 to
 My race once great, now sterile, to blossom ne'er again.

That *to blossom ne'er again* goes far beyond the sense
 of Hâli's verse.

موجود ہوں ذات میں جسکی ہزار بدظن نہ ہو، عیب اسمیں اگر ہوں دوچار
 طاؤس کے پائے زشت پر کر کے نظر کر حسن و جمال کا نہ اس کے انکار

(Literal Translation)

If a thousand fine qualities are patent in a man,
 Do not grudge your esteem to him for one or two defects.
 Because your eye has fallen on the peacock's ugly legs,
 You must not deny the grace and splendour of his beauty.

(Versified Translation)

If with a thousand virtues a man should be endowed
 Let not some trifling defect your judgment of him cloud —
 If in the Peacock's beauty your eye some blemish finds
 Are all his grace and splendour no credit then allowed ?

Here the striking point in Hâli's quatrain is the realism
 of the peacock's "ugly legs." The substitution of "some
 blemish" makes the verse quite banal. Then in quatrain
 LXX, entitled by Hâli "The Silence of an ignorant Der-
 vish," Mr. Tute is not justified in turning پ آ into

* I thought on the 'fallen glory' (or "retrograde condition")
 of my race, would be a fairer rendering. This must have escaped the
 notice of the Hyderabad revisers.

“ O Holy One,” particularly as the capital initial letters give a false impression, nor in bringing in the Qur’ân. The Quatrain is set forth as follows.

مصروف جو یوں وظیفہ خوانی میں ہیں آپ
خیرا بنی سمجھتے بے زبانی میں ہیں آپ
بولیں کچھ منہ سے یا نہ بولیں حضرت
معلوم ہے ہم کو جتنے بانی میں ہیں آپ

(Literal Translation)

So deeply engrossed upon your text is Your Honour,
Silence is your safest course—so thinks Your Honour
Open your mouth and speak—or do not speak—Your
Highness !

I have my own gauge of the depth of Your Honour.

The word “ text ” in the first line is misleading since the dervîsh was probably engrossed only in his rosary. It has misled Mr. Tute :

(Versified Translation).

Dig down into your Koran—deep—deep—O Holy One !
Silence perhaps is safest—it keep, O Holy One !—
Open your mouth or close it—what matters it to me
Who hold you and your knowledge so cheap, O Holy
One !

As an example of the many happy renderings in the book we choose the following (Q. LXXVIII).

منزل ہے بعید ، باندہ لو زاد سفر
مواج ہے بحر ، رکھو کشتی کی خبر
گاہک چوکس ہے ، لے چلو مال کھرا
ہلکا کرو بوجھ ، ہے کُہن راہ گذر

(Literal Translation)

Reflections on the latter end.

The haven is far off :—gird on food for the journey !
The sea is boisterous :—look well to your vessel !
The purchaser is keen :—let the goods you take be pure !
And make your load light !—for the course is full of toil.

materials ; madrasas filled with ancient manuscripts ; palaces and gardens, running water and orchards—all things delightful united under his able guidance to form a city of incredible charm." He made of her a city of wonder, and whatever terrible memories of cruelty cling to his name, in this city of his choice and making he is for ever the favourite of Heaven. He saw the light of day in a part of Kesh known as Shahr-i-Sabz, where the ruins of the palace he built await the inevitable end, but still (during our author's visit) showed vast expanses of brick-work, all glittering with coloured tiles, amidst orchards and kitchen gardens, though " it requires little imagination to complete the whole of the enamelled decoration. The tiles are mostly blue, dark like sapphire or light like turquoise—hues which no modern ceramist is able to create. Very often patterns in these two blues are woven into the ordinary brick of the country, which is a pinkish grey, and the harmony produced by the blending of the three colours is enchanting."

Otrar, where the aged Timur died (1405), is a place of desolation, a wilderness reclaimed by the pitiless desert. Birthplace and deathplace are alike forgotten. But his sanctuary, the exquisite resting-place which he caused to be built, keeps his memory alive. " All about the mosque and its garden native houses hum with the noise of everyday labour, and if one takes the trouble to climb up on to one of their flat roofs, the pointed, turquoise-blue cupola rises solemnly before one's eyes, so near, yet so remote, above the dense foliage of enormous weeping willows. It is a magnificent sight. Whether it is seen against a deep blue summer sky, when the willows are thick with pale leaves ; or against a background of grey winter clouds, when the bare branches are like delicate wickerwork ; or at night under a sky of deep velvet ; or at sunset amidst a gorgeous display of orange light—at all times that enamelled dome, so superbly outlined, so beautifully poised, so full of grace and dignity, seems a mute and eternal guardian of splendid traditions."

The origin of the huge block of dark green jade which marks Timur's grave is unknown, for none is known within many hundreds of miles. Nadir Shah, leading a victorious army, had it broken in two, but no treasure of gold rewarded his impious greed.

The glory of the mosques of Samarqand first revealed itself to this traveller under the bright rays of the moon—

"three perfect mosques standing at right angles along three sides of an admirably proportioned square pointed their domes and their minarets towards the moon. The cool, enamelled surfaces of their portals and walls shimmered in faint blues and greens like the skin of a snake, and the silvery light ran and played over the intricate patterns of the mosaics, shrouding them in a diaphanous, unearthly haze. Towers boldly rose up to the sky; but were they actually formed of stone or brick and fastened with mortar? There they were, standing aslant, like the towers of Pisa or of Bologna, as if deriding the ponderous laws of terrestrial matter. The haughty silence of those lofty shrines created an atmosphere of unreality, which deepened their aloofness, made them no longer human, but nearly divine. Could they have been built by mortals in order to bring mankind together for prayers? Of course not. Clearly they had been piled up out of ghostly gems by fairies or by genii, their wonderful harmony expressing in its mere lines a stronger yearning for heaven than any human works could proclaim."

Alas, the glorious madrasa erected by Timur to the memory of his sister (Bibi-Khanum) by its very richness attracted every despoiler in the dark ages of wars and turmoil in Central Asia, and is now a grim skeleton, its priceless treasures, so lavishly used, gone for ever—all but one, an immense Koran table, cut out of a block of marble shaped to support a volume half-open. This alone survives—"the symbol of learning, the pillar of abstract truth has survived through all those terrible vicissitudes, to tell those who are attentive and able to understand that Timur's foundation was but a piously decorated frame made for housing a radiance of mind—infinitely more precious than all the blandishments of matter."

Leaving the glorious remains of ancient cities, the author gives us glimpses of strange ceremonies and people in out-of-the-way places. He appreciates to the full the physical and mental delights of this land of an ancient Muslim civilization, and deprecates whatever changes the new order of things has brought about since his visits. The ten delicate illustrations by B. Litvinoff are an admirable accompaniment to the text of this delightful book.

R. C.

SHORTER NOTICES

Comparative Tables of Muhammadan and Christian Dates. Enabling one to find the exact equivalent of any day in any month from the beginning of the Muhammadan era. Compiled by Lt.-Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., G.M.G., C.B.E., M.A., (Dublin). London, Lauzac & Co., 1932.

A highly practical little work consisting of three tables, which together form a simple and unfailing means of ascertaining the Christian equivalent of any Hijri date, together with full instructions how to use them.

“Let it be supposed that we wish to find the date in the Christian era corresponding to Rajab 10, A.H. 722. The student first looks up the year 722 in Table I and finds that it began on January 20, A.D. 1322, nineteen days of the Christian year having elapsed before it began. He sets down the figures 10, and, turning to Table III, finds that Rajab 10 is the 187th day of the *Hijra* year. He then adds 187 to 19, obtaining the sum 206. Turning to Table II, he finds that the 206th day of the Christian year, not being a leap year, is July 25. Therefore the Christian date corresponding to Rajab 10, A.H. 722 is July 25, 1322.”

There follow full instructions with regard to leap years and the reminder that “if a Muslim historian says that a certain event happened on the night of October 31st it happened between sunset and midnight on October 30, or between midnight and dawn on October 31.” The book should find a place in every study and in many offices.

History of India (Islamic Period). By the late Ghulam Mohammad A. Shaikh, author of *Mirat-e-Mustafabad* (in Urdu), *Mirat-e-Mohammadi* (in Urdu) and *Mirat-e-Alam-giri* (in Gujarati). Published by G. A. Shaikh, Grasia College, Junagadh. Rajkot. 1932. Price Re. 1.

A concise account of all the Muslim rulers of India from Mahmûd of Ghazna (966-1030 A.D.) to Bahadur Shah II (1836-1857 A.D.) written with a view to remove the many false impressions which unfortunately have become popular and have found their way into School text-books. Excellent in design and execution, the book can be

recommended to Indian school-masters and students; but careful revision from the point of view of English and the correction of many misprints will be required before the work can take its place as an authorized official text-book for all Muslim schools.

Ali the Caliph. By Muhammad Al-Haj Salmin. Bangalore 1931. The purpose of this handsomely bound, well-printed book, adorned with photographs of the gentlemen who had a part in its production, is devotional rather than historic. Historically speaking, it contains much debatable matter; and the English in which it is written is of so unfamiliar a kind as occasionally to be almost unintelligible. The enthusiasm of the author for his subject is apparent. The book includes short contributions by Mr. Qassim Ali Jairazbhoy, Mr. S. M. Akhtar, Maulvi Muhammad Ali of Lahore and Khwaja Hasan Nizami among others; also a collection of poems in praise of Sayyidna Ali by Mr. Ahmad Ali Mohani of Lucknow.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

1. *Persia.* By Sir Arnold T. Wilson. *Orford University Press.* 1932.

2. *An Examination of the Mystic Tendencies in Islam in the Light of the Qur'an and Traditions.* By M. M. Zuhuru'd-din Ahmad, M.A., LL.B., Bombay. 1932.

3. *Al-Minar.* Part VIII. Vol. 32 (in Arabic) Edited by Sayyid M. Rashid Rida. Cairo. 1932.

4. *Die Welt des Islams.* Band 9, Haft 2-4 (in German, English and Arabic). "Leaders in contemporary Arabic Literature" by Zahir Khemiri, Lecturer of Arabic at Hamburg University and Professor Dr. G. Kampffmeyer, President of the German Society for Islamic Studies, Berlin.

5. *Science* (in Urdu) A Half-yearly Review. Hyderabad, Dacca.

6. *Oriente Moderno* (Italian) Monthly. Rome.

7. *Litteræ Orientales* (German) Oct. 1932. Leipzig.

8. *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* (French). Paris.

9. *Moslemische Revue* (German). Berlin.

10. *Essays on Mughal Art.* By Capt. W. E. Gladstone Solomon. Oxford University Press.



THE AWAKENING OF TURKISH LITERATURE*

It was on a gloomy day of 1826, in the palace of *Topkapu* on the most beautiful spot of Constantinople, that Sultan Mahmûd II gathered his statesmen, scholars and generals around him and discussed the melancholy state of Turkish affairs. The country was in revolt, the army beaten, the administration corrupt and the people impoverished. The rebellious Janissaries threatened the State with utter ruin, and nobody dared to break their insolence. At this time of despondency a certain Abdu'r-Rahmân Efendi stood up and made a short but thrilling speech. In his excitement his gesticulating hand flung his rosary on to the table and it broke and the beads rolled down on to the floor.

“If God wishes to perpetuate this our religion and State, we shall destroy those miscreants; if not, we shall go down together with the State and our religion.”

The speech had its effect; the situation changed, and in a few days the Janissaries were killed to a man at the Et-Meydân.

This event is the turning-point of Turkish history. The Janissaries were the foundation, the columns of Ottoman glory, but they had become its greatest danger, and the Turkish people, awakening to self-consciousness, did not shrink from destroying the past in order to be able to create a future. The grim determination which characterised the execution of the Janissaries is symbolic of all future steps in Turkish history, which builds on the ruin of its glorious Past a new spirit and a new life. And if we measure history not by court intrigues, political failures and reverses on the battlefield, but by the spiritual life and the creative will of the people, then the last century of Turkish history has been a development towards a fixed goal and not a decay. Turkey in this last

* By Dr. Julius Germanus Professor of the Oriental Institute of Budapest University, late Nizam Professor at Santiniketan. The first of a series of three lectures delivered before the Osmania University, Hyderabad, Deccan.

century has lost province after province, but her sons have fought their fights so heroically that even their most callous enemies had to acknowledge it; and while fighting the political ambitions of a ruthless Europe, the Turkish genius has given up its memories of the past and imbibed the spirit of the noblest thinkers, poets and singers of Europe. It was not a fight of fanaticism but a fight for liberty, in which the most cherished treasures of bygone days were nobly sacrificed for the benefit of the future.

The rejuvenation of the Turkish spirit, of Turkish literature, is one of the most remarkable events in Eastern history. The Turks had a literature, which was closely connected with their history and social structure, and when the dissolution of the empire involved the decay of that social structure, a new taste, a new spirit arose which was able to animate the people for future struggles in the domain of culture. The decay of the Ottoman Empire did not mean the decay of the spirit of the people.

The old Turkish literature was firmly rooted in the social life of Turkey. It crystallised around personalities. It was the palace, the ruler and his favourites who gave the impetus to literature, and were the patrons and the goal of writers. As the people served only as the economic basis for the upper classes, so they did not form a nation, and literature was not written for them, neither did the taste and needs of the people enter into literature.

The axle around which old Turkish literature turned was religious inspiration. The *Dîwân* literature, which sang of the noblest sentiments of mankind, very often fell into the lowest abyss of libertinism. The double meanings of mysticism elevated or lowered according to the inclination of the writers or readers. *Nâmiq Kemâl* remarked once that the word *Dîwân* might be derived from the Persian *Diw* for the devilish mischief it has wrought.

The old literature was artificial, it was imitative, it laid much greater stress on the form than on the meaning; it prided itself on far-fetched metaphors, and could please only those few who understood the intricacies of the language. But this style was incapable of development. It lost itself in the stagnant waters of the privileged class of the Turkish people. Prose literature was worse in this respect than poetry, as the poetical metre did not allow the agglomeration of meaningless words, but on the other hand the subjects of poetry were limited. *Nabi*

complained of the narrow limits of Turkish poetry in his couplets.

باقسه ك اكثر سخن شاعر خام سنبل وزلف و مئے بلبل و جام
چيقا ما ز دائره دلبر دن خط و خال و لب چشم تر دن

If you consider, most of the talk of poets is crude ;
It is jacinth, locks, wine, the nightingale and a cup ;

The lines do not transcend the circle of the beloved,
Her mole, her lips and her languid looks ;

These lines give us a true picture of the character of old Turkish literature. That old school was classic ; it was rigid and stilted ; but so was life in those days, and its scanty forms remained in harmony with the limited scope of human ambitions and interests. The old school was allegorical ; it did not depict or describe reality, but reflected imagination in conventional forms. It was splendid in beauty of details but deficient in the structure of the whole. The poems lacked tempestuous emotion, and consisted of sentiments sweetened down to a convention far removed from the realities of life. In short it was the artificial expression of the taste of an artificially set-up social class. The poets lived among the people, but the people did not live in their *dîwâns*. The aspirations, the sorrows, the joys, the passion and the grief of the man in the street or the fields, of the soldiers bleeding to death on far-off battlefields, do not resound in the pompous *qasidâhs* and in the playful *ghazals*. It had no individuality, because it did not mould its figures upon life but adopted one universal model. All the beloveds of all old Turkish poets were alike, the grief in the *marthiyehs* of all poets emanated from one imaginary broken heart.

The French Revolution, with its individualistic ideas of liberty, awakened the Near East from its slumber. Napoleon arrived in Egypt with new military tactics and a new Arabic printing-press. The ideas of the Revolution and the awakening of the European peoples stirred the imagination of the Turks as well. They had known the French before, and now that a French army had broken down time-honoured thrones in Europe the spirit of individuality of scepticism, and of research spread apace in the mildewed atmosphere of the East . France began to mean the New World for the Turks, and, as they had been faithful followers of Eastern ideas for

centuries, so they now became faithful admirers of France exclusively. French ideas, French modes of thinking, French taste in literature and social life, irresistibly attracted the best spirits of Turkey, and they tried to adapt the ideas of France to the atmosphere of the East. The great catastrophes which befell Sultan Mahmûd all pointed to the necessity of adopting European methods, and 'Abdul Majîd opened a new era with the *firman* of *Gul-khaneh*, which proclaimed equality before the law, order in administration, and justice. This step, which was as hazardous as the destruction of the Janissaries, was slowly followed by others which demolished the old edifice and made way for the new. The firman of Gulkhâneh enabled Shînasi to publish his newspaper *Tasvir-i-ifkâr*, and Nâmiq Kemâl to write his play : *Vatan*. But the Turkish people and the ruling class too were ignorant of the world, and soon intrigues set in which spoiled the fruit of the great project of reform. Reshid Pasha, the inaugurator of European reforms, started public instruction for which he was threatened with death. The new knowledge which was taught in his schools was feared by those who clung to old traditions. He encouraged newspapers, and these became the mightiest factors in bringing down the language from an incomprehensible style to common-sense ; he established a Council of Learning (*Anjuman-i Danish*) for spreading higher knowledge. The reaction was stupendous. He was denounced for teaching children the art of drawing by letting them sketch geographical maps, and after his fall all such maps were destroyed. When he proposed to send young soldiers to Europe to study higher military art, the most immoral and wicked people were selected so that Europe could not spoil them any more, and Turkey would not have to sacrifice its best sons.

This attitude shows how hard a fight it was to break down ill-will and ignorance. The rotten administration feared innovation as it heard the death-knell of its liberalism in it.

At this time, literature was represented by 'Aqif Pasha and Pertev Pasha. 'Aqif did not know European languages and was not a conscious innovator. His official style is no whit better than that of his predecessors, but in his letters and in a very few of his verses one idea betrays the coming of the new light : He wants to express himself, his inner soul.

Pertev Pasha started translations from Rousseau and Victor Hugo, and in his poems he tried to use European mixed prosody and resorted to the syllable-counting of the Turkish folk-songs. But none of these things had momentous success. The time was not yet ripe, and the real man to stir up the people to national consciousness had not yet come. The reforms in Turkey a hundred years ago were effected by the Sultans in fear for their throne ; they were changes in personnel, as many others had been before. The new spirit which permeated the people came not from Sultans and Pashas, but from a man of the people who is the real first representative of the national literature of Turkey. Shinasi had a decided aim in literature. He was not an amateur ; he wished to create a new atmosphere of thought and not a stepwise advance from the old towards the new. He was a revolutionary, the first cultural revolutionary in Turkey. He created a new school against the old Asiatic school of five hundred years' standing ; and how weak that school was, and how tottering its base, is shown by the easy victory of Shinasi and his friends.

Shinasi was born in 1826. In his time those who wanted to become officials were sent to the *qalam* office school ; those who intended to take up a learned profession attended a *madrasah* ; the great bulk of the people remained illiterate and ignorant. He entered upon an official career and learned his professional duties, besides French. Early in his youth he was sent to Paris, whence he wrote his memorable letter to his mother which ends with this sentence : " I shall exert myself in honourable works, and sacrifice my life for religion and country, fatherland and nation." He was the first Turk who used the words *vatan* and *millet* in this sense, and that too at the age of seventeen. His love for literature brought him into contact with French writers and he had access to the literary circle of Lamartine, Ernest Renan and Sacy. After some years of study he returned to Turkey where the great reformer, Reshîd Pasha appointed him member of the educational council ; but as soon as Reshîd fell Shinasi was removed from office on the pretext that he had no beard. Very soon he returned to Paris and, although several posts were offered to him, he declined, and started a Turkish newspaper in 1870, in which he advocated Europeanising tendencies. The Conservatives turned against him, but the intrepid Shinasi, assisted by a few friends, fought his battle to the end. At the early age of

46 years he died; but the seed which he planted has grown into a shady tree. Politically he was a partisan of parliamentary responsible government; in literature he represented the aim and meaning of writing against the petrified conventionalism of the old school. His services to the country were great, his fighting spirit and his journalistic capacity pushed the movement further forward than anybody else could have done, but his literary talents were not adequate to his noble purposes. He seems to have been aware that his style sounded hollow and dry and did not carry his convictions.

اینجه در کرچه بوفکرم قابا دوشدی تعبیر
ایلدیم صانکه مرکب ایله حوری تصویر

Thin is alas my thought and weak its expression
As if I had drawn a *houri* with ink.

With all these defects, the sincerity of Shinasi started a movement which was in perfect keeping with his cultural and political tendencies: for the purification of the Turkish language. The universalism of Islam and the admiration of Persian and Arabic culture resulted in an artificial but highly efficient mixed Turkish language which in its sober and moderate form could vie in richness with any language, living or dead, but which, if abused—and unfortunately this has been very often the case—deteriorated into a meaningless flow of words. The style which he inaugurated in his newspaper has never been approached for purity by his followers. The Arabic and Persian words were indispensable for a refined language and could not be done away with in a writing higher than that of Shinasi. His pupils and followers, Nâmiq Kemâl, Ekrem and Abdul Haq Hâmid, who were more poets than journalists, were not extreme purists.

The greatest merit of Shinasi is doubtless his foundation of the first Turkish newspaper: *Terjuman-i-Ahval*. His deep interest in the purification of the language induced him to compile a Turkish grammar and Turkish lexicon. His fervour for innovation dictated to him the satirical play, *The Poet's marriage*, in which he ridicules the Turkish marriage customs.

The political unrest which agitated Turkish minds made an indelible imprint on literature; a strange combination of patriotic and literary activity set in, and Turkish

literature, which had lived under the old school in perfect aloofness from the pulsing life, now became the expression of the feeling of the people. Zia Pasha, who is the most quoted poet of this period, belonged to the secret circle of the young Turks who aimed at the change of the constitution and finally deposed Sultan 'Abdul 'Azîz. He served in different offices, as governor of various provinces, as secretary to the Sultan; then fled to Europe and, when he returned, fell into disgrace and died abandoned in a provincial town. Tyranny was so hard upon him that no poet dared to compose a chronogram on his grave. His literary activity was manifold. He translated from the French and embellished the translations of others with pompous words, as in his *History of Spain*, but his real merit lies in the far-sighted judgment revealed in his articles, in which he boldly declares that Persian prosody is not so suitable to the Turkish language as syllable-counting. He declares war against artificial bonds which tie down the Turkish spirit. Still in his *Tirkib-i-Bend* which he wrote as a challenge to Rûhi Baghdâd's similar mystical work, and in his satire on his political foe, 'Alî Pasha, he clung to the Persian metre and sometimes is as abstruse as any of his predecessors. His lines are still in the memory of the Turks and many of them have become proverbial.

Like a fiery globe which illuminates the horizon, a new poet and writer appeared on the stage: Nâmiq Kemâl. From him the new era really dates. Although a pupil of Shinasi, the ideas of literary reform were carried to the extreme by Kemâl. His literary career was much more closely connected with politics than that of the rest. His restless, agitating character captured the imagination and the heart of the people, and his eloquent language depicted a glorious past for a yet more glorious future. Kemâl was born of a noble family which had earned distinction in Turkish history. In his youth he travelled across the Turkish empire; and the poverty and misery and injustice he saw seized him with awe and a ripened determination to fight. He very early became a poet and wrote in the usual flowery style on love and panegyrics; but a patriotic tone crops up here and there even in his early writings. He began to study French and on the back leaf of his *Diwan* he wrote with faltering letters the names of some French authors. Europe opened his eyes and he abandoned *ghazal*-writing. He entered the society of the Young Turks. The government of 'Abdul 'Azîz appointed him secretary to the governor, but Kemâl

fled to Europe. In London he published the newspaper *Hurriyet* (Liberty) together with Zia Pasha. There he spent four years. After a general amnesty had enabled him to return, he continued his patriotic activity with an increased knowledge gained in Europe and much greater fervour. The political horizon of Turkey had darkened and the progressive Young Turks who clamoured for parliamentary government soon saw the towering clouds in the political sky. The craving for liberty, noble and sympathetic as it seems to everyone, aroused the same aspirations in the subject nationalities of Turkey, Roumanians, Serbians, Bulgarians, etc. The misgovernment of Turkey affected all elements alike; but those who differed by religion and nationality found the oppression more painful. Besides, these foreign elements could count on the help of European Christian Powers whose political aim, though short-sighted, was to partition Turkey. In 1876 the Serbians declared war, the Bulgarians revolted. Alexander Botcheff, a Bulgarian patriot and lyric poet, fired the first shot from a gun made of a cherry-tree, at the Turkish troops at Silistria. Bulgarian and Turkish poets wished the same thing: liberty and free development of the national spirit; while politicians still believed that this current of nationalism could be stopped by arrests and tardy reforms.

Kemâl wrote a play: "Silistria or Fatherland" (*Silistria yahod Vatan*) and at its performance in Constantinople it gained an unparalleled success. The audience was so deeply moved by the stilted diction and sentimental pathos of the play that it broke out into enthusiastic shouts: 'Long live the fatherland! Long live the nation!' Kemâl was arrested next day and deported to Cyprus. The hero of the people, the author of the first Turkish drama, was thrown into a damp, dark prison from which he escaped only after the dethronement of 'Abdul 'Azîz. The new Sultan, Murâd, and then 'Abdul Hamîd, favoured the progressive party. But the gloomy days of the Russian war were soon to set in. The parliament which was convoked by 'Abdul Hamîd seemed to fulfil the ardent desire of the Turks. The path of the future was indicated and freedom was to reign over the land. The enthusiastic poets and writers did not see the reality; their realm was the realm of dreams. Nâmiq Kemâl, the heroic leader of the progressive Turks, was no nationalist in the modern sense; he was an Ottoman patriot. His conception of the fatherland was the empire of the Muslim Turks, who were

confident in the glory of the Muslim past when they fought for the universal cause of Islam. Turkish nationalism was equivalent to the rejuvenation of Islam with the weapons and methods of 19th century Europe. His style was not pure, but rather bombastic; his prose-works like *Jezmi*, novels, stories like *Bariqe-i-Zafer*, *Kanije*, stage-plays like *Vatan*, *Zavalli Chojuq* (the poor child) savour of dilettantism. The form still overrules the meaning, and the sentimentality of his characters, who all speak *his* flowery language, is too maudlin to be highly appreciated. And still, if Kemâl was not an artist, he was a man of action, he was and will be the type of Turkish patriot and ardent revolutionary. In spite of his literary defects, he will always be regarded by the Turks as one of their greatest writers, because the spirit which engendered new Turkey was set free by Kemâl.

He had a number of disciples and admirers. A devout friend of his and admiring pupil was Rejaizadeh Ekrem, professor of literature and member of the State Council. Though always loyal, he also incurred the suspicion of the police and had to submit his lectures on literature to a political censorship. Ekrem was a poet, a lugubrious lyric poet who, imbued with deep and tender feeling, sang on the dusky aspects of life. He too is regarded by his contemporaries as an innovator and a genius, but the former title is true only in so far that, under the influence of French literature, he chose some other subjects for poetry than his predecessors had done, and tried to get rid of the shackles of the stilted Turkish diction. In this he often failed. An objective critic would deny him genius, as neither invention, creative power, nor extraordinary beauty of thought distinguish him from other versifiers. His language, too, is not always impeccable and the sharp criticism of his antagonist, Mu'allim Naji, was often right.

The patriotic spirit of young Turkey found an ingenious representative in 'Abdul Haq Hâmid, a friend and disciple of Nâmiq Kemâl, who soon overshadowed his master and has become one of the greatest writers of the East. Born of a noble and intellectual family in 1851, he had the opportunity to see the world and to get closely acquainted with the languages and literatures of both East and West. He spent his life on diplomatic service in Bombay, Madrid, London and other European and Asiatic towns and, being deeply versed in Oriental learning, imbibed the

influences of the French romantic and the English Shakespearean schools. He was the first Turkish writer who, as poet, prose writer and dramatist, rose high above the level of mere amateurs and made the Turkish language a fine literary medium. This language of 'Abdul Haq Hâmid is not forced, it is not artificial; it very seldom betrays the burden of the dictionary and of toilsome exertion. It flows easily from the feelings of its author and is never allowed to stand for its own sake.

The literary attitude of 'Abdul Haq Hâmid is romanticism in his subjects, and realism in their presentation. He chose his subjects from Eastern history to bring vividly before the eyes of his readers the great human forces of history, and from real life to show the passions and sufferings of types of men and women. As dramatist, he stands foremost among his countrymen and, although his dramas will ever remain book dramas, unsuitable for stage-performance on account of their complicated technique, the human feeling and noble diction will render them immortal in Turkish literature. Nothing proves his genius more than the fact that, having no precedents on the Turkish stage to go by, he could create under foreign influences a dramatic plot and psychological demonstration of his characters which may be compared with European models. His works amount to about thirty. In some of his dramas he used prose and poetry mixed; some are all prose, some wholly rhymed; but in his rhymes he abandoned Persian prosody and took up the original Turkish syllable-counting which necessitated a purer Turkish language and an easier flow of diction.

Some of the dramatic works of 'Abdul Haq Hâmid have their scenes in India. Quite young, before ever having been in India, he wrote *Dukhtar-i-Hindu*, which deals with the love of an English officer for an Indian girl. It is a true psychological picture of the easy-going life of English officers in India, and permits an insight into the social differences between the Indians and the English, and utters a cry for the freedom of the people already fifty years ago.

His stay as consul in Bombay made him acquainted with India, with "the green country"—as he calls it—"whose birds speak human tongues"; and this deeper knowledge induced him to write his favourite play, *Finten*, in 1886, while in London. It is this play which

he elaborated most minutely, and the influence of Shakespeare in technique and plot is unmistakable. A short outline of the play may not be out of place here.

Mrs. Cross, the heroine of *Finten*, a beautiful woman married to a rich Australian gold-miner, is passing her days in careless flirtations in London. A lord falls in love with her and wishes to marry her, as he thinks that the child born to her is his son. There were great difficulties which the ambitious Mrs. Cross (*Finten*) tries to eliminate by a reckless stratagem. First she is looking out for a consumptive girl whom she wants to marry to the lord and pass off her spurious idiotic child as that girl's legitimate offspring; secondly, to have her husband killed by a faithful servant. With the help of her physician she soon finds a consumptive girl in a hospital; but the faithful servant, Dawalagiro, an Indian who would do any service to his mistress, even go into the jungle and steal the cubs from beneath the breasts of a tigress, would not do one thing: he would not kill his old master, Mr. Cross. After protracted scenes in which Finten offers her love to Dawalagiro, and in which we learn that the ill-born child is really a fruit of her love of the servant, he undertakes the treacherous action and sails for Australia.

But new complications arise. The consumptive girl, whose appearance on the stage is amplified with long excursions of poetry about the sick and their suffering and death, falls in love with the lord, recovers from her deadly illness and elopes with the lord to Beyrût. Finten jealously follows them, but the lord, enamoured of the recovered girl, does not want to hear of her. A tempestuous night on the sea follows. Finten pursues the lord in a small boat and nearly perishes in the storm, but Dawalagiro, who has just returned from Australia, where he murdered his master, hears her shouts and takes her on board the ship on which a peasant-girl, his sweetheart, is accompanying him. In a scene of jealousy between Finten and this peasant-girl, Dawalagiro murders the girl jumps with Finten on his arm from the boat and swims to shore. Their life continues in London. Finten forgets the lord but, wanting her child back from him, tells him that its father is Dawalagiro. But no peace entered into their married life. Finten, who tried to save the Indian from prison, and spent in this endeavour some time away from home, engenders a fierce jealousy in Dawalagiro, who in an outburst of anger kills his child, while Finten, in her motherly grief, shoots down Dawalagiro.

The swarthy Dawalagiro reminds us in his jealousy of Othello, but the technical defects of the play as a whole do not allow more than a superficial comparison. This play is visibly written with great effort, although some of the verses flow very easily.

Another play, the theme of which was taken from Indian history, is the historic drama *Eshber*. Corneille, the great French master of romantic diction, had given a model to the Turkish writer in his *Horace*. *Eshber* was a king of Kashmîr, with whose beautiful sister the world-conquering Alexander falls in love. Sumru, in order to avoid a conflict between her brother and Alexander, aims at a peaceful understanding, which the haughty king refuses, and orders his treacherous sister to be slain. Meanwhile Alexander advances towards the country, Punjab. Rokzan, the daughter of Darius, in her love, tries to hinder him from meeting his beloved Sumru, but he tramples her to death and defeats the valiant *Eshber*, who stabs himself with his own sword. Aristotle appears on the stage amidst this carnage, and finishes the play with a sarcastic word : ' This is victory ! '

It is undeniable that, apart from the stilted atmosphere which reigns in the play, a heritage from the French romantic school of historic dramas, *Eshber* throbs with dramatic rhythm.

Abdul Haq Hâmid has another play, written after the model of Corneille's *Le Cid*, in which he first introduced the syllable-counting prosody but, as he had to conform to the language of the stage, the rhythm sounds rugged here and there. This play is *Nestren*, its scene Kabul ; and it depicts the jealousy of a throne-pretender against his father, enlivened with the inevitable romantic love.

Zeyneb, a romantic play in which the problem of inspiration and suggestion of supernatural powers is dealt with, also shows an oriental, Indian and Afghan, environment, and is written partly in prose, partly in verse. The prose section seems more direct and expressive.

We can only enumerate the other dramatic work of this fertile writer, who, when inspired by his extraordinary genius, sometimes wrote down 150 couplets a day. *Sardanapal*, a historic play of Assyrian times, *Tariq Ibn Musa*, *Texer* and *Abdullah as-Saghir* the subjects of which were taken from the history of Arabic Spain, *Liberte*, an allegoric dramatic attack against the tyrannical government of 'Abdul Hamîd, *Ilkhan* and *Tarkhan*, in which the

poet glorifies the past of the Turanian Turks, a trumpet-call for coming Turanism.

'Abdul Haq Hâmid was not only a powerful dramatist but also a fine descriptive poet who, in his *Sahra ve Beled* (country and town), has given expression to his love of the green meadows and waving trees, their soothing sounds and pure inspirations against the artifices and venality of the towns. No Turkish poet before had imbibed the air of the country so deeply, and no poet had expressed it so powerfully as Hâmid. This type of literature was Western altogether for in it Hâmid discarded Oriental prosody and used the French mixed rhythmical lines. It is interesting that Hâmid could have rendered aspects of the country so plastically, although he was extremely fond of towns, their noise and gay life, which he described in his book of poems called *Diwaneliklerim* (My Follies).

A charming versified story is given in *Gharam* (Passion) which the poet used as a vehicle for his thoughts about religion, mysticism and death.

The death of his first wife, which occurred in Beyrût agitated the poet so tremendously that he thought of committing suicide, and was closely guarded by his relatives for forty days, during which he wrote a passionate elegy to the memory of his wife, under the title *Maqber* (Cemetery), which on account of its outbursts and extravagances of sentiment was not appreciated at its time, but which has since gained a noble place in Turkish literature.

One figure in Turkish literature deserves short mention on account of his importance as a link leading to the Turkish novel: Sezayi Bey with his *Kuchuk Sheyler* (Small things) and *Serguzesht* (Adventure) first attempted to write a story the subject of which was taken from the life of a great palace with its slave-girls; and, while this romantic aspect of oriental life does not always fare well in the criticism of the author, it presents a vivid description and is written in one breath with a uniform style, though often marred by too long sentences. This novel is not allegorical and breaks with the traditions of the older literature; it is realistic and is a decisive step towards a new conception of life in the East.

It is undeniable, however, that the new spirit did not at once eradicate the old one; and as we notice a link between the West and the East, especially in poetry, so

we cannot pass by in silence the names of Yenishahirli Auni, Hersekli 'Arif Hikmet and Leskofcheli Ghâlib Bey, who, gathered in a private circle, clung to the old ideals of Turkish poetry. A reaction was represented by Mu'allim Naji, who, in his first period of literary activity, sharply criticised the eccentricities of the new school, especially Ekrem and 'Abdul Haq Hâmid. In his second period, after having learned French, he took up a more lenient attitude towards the innovations, and he himself has contributed the most eloquent and purest specimens of prose. His attitude towards the purification of the Turkish language was well defined by the sentence. "Although the Turkish language contains innumerable Arabic and Persian words, these words are only elements which the spirit of the language may use in its own way as regards secondary meaning and pronunciation." As a literary critic of the newly-founded daily *Terjuman-i-Haqqat* he had free scope to teach and to preach to his countrymen the right use of words; his nation regarded him more as a professor than a writer, and this appreciation gave him the epithet "Mu'allim." His importance lies in the fact that, by his critical articles, he put a brake on the overfervent innovators, who often overstepped the boundaries of good taste. His principal works are *Ateshpere* (Spark) by which "he gave fire to the hearts from a yearning roaming heart, with one spark of fire he lighted up a thousand firebrands."

ویردم آتش دللره سوز دل آواره دن
ایلدیم ایجاد بیک یا نعین بر آتشپاره دن

Hamîyet is the title of his rhymed history of Ertoghrul Ghâzi. In none of his poetical works does he excel as a very great poet. His prose works, like *Sumbule*, a collection of stories interspersed with poems, are remarkable for clear style.

Together with this literary activity, the learning of the Turks in the 19th century also awoke from its languor. The most remarkable figure of learning was *Ahmed Jevdet*, politician, teacher and historian. It is in this last capacity that he rendered the greatest service, by his Turkish history covering the period of 1774 to 1825, in twelve quarto volumes, a most reliable documentary history written in a straightforward, unaffected style.

The wind which had been blowing from the West created an atmosphere of literature among the Turks and, enchanted by the romanticism of the 19th century, they eagerly took up multifarious reading. A man of extraordinary talents arose to satisfy this craving after knowledge combined with pleasure. *Ahmed Midhat* (not to be confounded with the statesman) was the Turkish encyclopedist of the age. He seems to have known everything, and tried to impart his knowledge to his readers. As editor of the *Jerideh-i-Askeriyeh*, *Jerideh-i-Havadiyeh* and *Terjuman-i-Haqiqat*, he contributed thousands of articles. A prolific and versatile writer, he was able to write on any subject, at any required length. As philosopher, he concentrated his activity against the materialists. He was indefatigable in contradicting the philosophers of the West, writing several volumes in this line. His argumentation was sometimes of a very unphilosophical type, but it is undeniable that in his time (in the eighties) his interesting books aroused the Turkish mind from its stupor and incited it to think and to think deeper. He proved that Islam in its noblest spirit is not incongruous with the progress of science and philosophical knowledge.

As a novelist, his services to Turkish literature were equally important, although he cannot be called a novelist of high genius. He was read not only in Turkey proper, but by all Turkish-speaking peoples in Asia. The titles of his novels, partly translations, partly original, would cover several pages; they certainly amount to more than a hundred. He used to add his own counterpart to any translation he made. He taught the Turkish people how to read, and endeared the novel to them. He chose fantastic and exciting stories first, and when the readers devoured them he gradually gave them more realistic and analytical novels with a view to moral teaching and perfection. His sinners always get their well-deserved punishment.

As a man of universal knowledge, he became the teacher of his nation by his novels. He might be compared, and not unfavourably, with the French Jules Verne, whom he often outdid by his exuberant fancy. Some of his novels have their scenes laid in distant countries like America, Brazil or India, and the description of the customs and habits of the people was more profitable to the Turkish readers than any school-teaching could have

been. It is a pity that—as a natural consequence of quick writing—his style is the style of the common people without any attempt at reaching classical standards; but perhaps it was just this character of his writings that made him popular and exercised a deep influence on his readers.

Linguistic studies found an able representative in Ahmed Vefiq Pasha, a diplomat endowed with rare taste for style, who found leisure to study and to write philological books of paramount importance to the Turkish people. He was the first Turkish linguist who, basing his research on European scholars like Redhouse, compiled a Turkish dictionary: *Lehje-i-Osmaniye*, and *Jagatay Lughati*, a key to the study of Central Asiatic Turkish languages. In this respect he contributed towards the awakening of Turanism, the racial consciousness of the Ottoman Turks. He translated Abu'l-Ghâzi Behâdur Khan's: *Shajarat-i-Turk*. These services to learning were outshone by his masterly translations from the French. Fênelon's famous *Telemague* was rendered into Turkish by Yusuf Kyamil Pasha in stilted obsolete phrases, Vefiq Pasha's translation has remained a model of classical Turkish up to our days. He adapted the plays of Molière by taking their heroes as models and transplanting them to Turkish soil. Thus the French plays seem to be genuine Turkish. It has become a fashion in Turkey to adapt foreign plays and set them in Turkish surroundings, preserving the action and remaining faithful to the characters while transforming them into Turkish types. It is a great pity that these translations could never be produced on the stage. 'Abdul Hamîd's fear of everything new was a grave hindrance to the development of real stage-plays in Turkey. They all remained book-dramas.

Among the historians of his period Murâd Bey takes the first place. Originally a Turk from Russia he had access to foreign sources also. His great universal history in six volumes, however, is full of serious mistakes, while the history of the Ottomans under the title *Tarikh-i-Abu'l-Faruq* contains too much hypothetical generalisation. For a long time it was considered as a standard book of history, before the new historical society started to publish the documents of Turkish history and set up a scientific method of comparative study.

Although not a writer of eminence himself, but an ardent patriot and a clever publisher, *Abu Zia Tefiq*

cannot be passed over in silence. An intimate friend of the great Turkish writers, he published their works with an elaborate taste and skill that has not yet been surpassed. His *Namuneh-i-Edebiyat* is the first attempt at a Turkish literary history. Shemsuddîn Sâmi, the author of the well-known *Qamus-i-Sami*, has collected, besides Arabic and Persian phrases, the language of the people and thus his work has become the most valuable linguistic book of reference.

The awakening of the Turkish nation was slow but decisive. It was roused from its spiritual stupor by rude blows of events, such as the awakening of the national idea among the Christian subjects, who also clamoured for recognition, and the political tyranny which shackled the people under 'Abdul Hâmîd and drove the writers into exile and into a fanatic love of European ways of thinking. The best spirits of the nation only dimly saw the splendour of the new light, and the feelings which they tried to express in their works were burdened with reminiscences of the past. The period which is called that of the reforms thought and conceived nationalism as congruous with the boundary-line of the Caliphate. Even 'Abdul Haq Hâmîd, dealing with Andalusia in his dramas, considered this a national theme, for it was Islamic. Islam and Ottomanism had grown together into one conception and the progressive writers thought of liberating their nation by the resuscitation of the glorious Islamic past, under Ottoman Caliphs, by European methods of learning and taste. Their knowledge of the East was perhaps as imperfect as that of the West, but theirs was a goodwill and an honest endeavour to live, to rise from this spiritual death into which the Ottoman-Muslim *millet* had fallen from the Danube to the Persian Gulf. It is inconceivable in history that such a mighty change as was destined to take place in the Ottoman empire in its spiritual and political life should be sudden. A transition period in which the old is blended with the new, in which the faults of the old and the new are mingled to the degree of insipidity was the surest guarantee that Turkish spiritual history had not come to an end. This period produced the newspaper, the new poetry in Turkish metre, the novel and the Turkish drama. In none could it surpass its models, which were mostly French. The Turkish language was too cumbersome, too saturated with the ballast of the ages to be able to serve as a fluent vehicle for thoughts and feelings unknown hitherto. But the attempt

was made ; and it is marvellous how great a progress was achieved from Zia Pasha to 'Abdul Haq Hâmîd. The young writers were flushed with ardour and victory when, with the dethronement of 'Abdul Hamîd, a new Turkish nation stepped on to the stage of history. This new nation had to undergo the hardest disappointments and the gravest disillusionings ; endless wars and economic troubles decimated its ranks ; but in spite of all these iniquities the Turkish spirit did not die. It went on its glorious path and created new works of much greater merit than the old ones. It threw off more and more the shackles of its mental inheritance and entered a new flourishing period of cultural history. The national consciousness was awake at last.

JULIUS GERMANUS.

AT THE HAJ

Kingdoms and Empires may decline,
Of pomp and power and splendour reft.
Here is no change—the spark divine
Still in these hills and sands is left !

May it not leap once more to flame
And dart its beams across the world,
Lead Right once more her rule to claim,
See Wrong once more to ruin hurled ?

The might of Arab heart and hand
Breathes here, of outward glory shorn,
The faith that glows in burning sand,
The freedom of the desert born.

The Arab scorns our world of pride ;
He built his—and might build again.
'Tis his to seek what shall abide ;
And what he lost may be his gain !

Untaught, unused to smile on wrong,
Fearless of loss, entrenched in faith—
This made him, and will make him strong,
Unconquered, free—in life, in death.

Strong, patient, to God's will resigned,
His faith will direst ills outlast ;
For deep within his soul he'll find
The living message of the Past.

Faith moves him on to find the way
Erst by his blessed Leader found,
And hope renews the promised day
Whene'er he treads this holy ground.

NIZAMAT JUNG.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN RELIGION

PART III.

THE first development from ancestor-cult that we shall have to deal with is the rise of local gods. The idea of the godship of dead men of outstanding powers touched on earlier (Vol. VI, pp. 555-6) may well have arisen quite early in the days of ancestor-cult, through the feeling that these powers were retained in the grave, nay more, would be enhanced by the mysterious spiritual force accruing to the men on death; thus a chief renowned during life, or a medicine-man or shaman, would become on death a 'god.' His domain would be restricted to the group in which he was active when alive, but if that group increased in size and power, becoming, with accretions, a clan or tribe or even a nation, so would the authority of the 'god' expand and himself become a tribal or even a national deity; but such a one would have to be endued with exceptional fame, for the beliefs of backward peoples of to-day show that in general a man is not surely held to survive in the spirit-world longer than the memory of his name and deeds. In Egypt each district (or nome, to adopt the term usual among Egyptologists) had its regional god; some had more than one, either because the people of the district belonged originally to different groups which had amalgamated and pooled their deities or because different gods had different departments of activity, as at Memphis where Ptah was the typical patron-god of the district but Sukur was the deity connected with the dead.

When Egypt was unified the districts retained their local gods such as Ammon of Thebes, Min of Akhmim and Coptos and Tum of Heliopolis; they reigned in harmony, as brother potentates, though doubtless some of the tribes, like those ruled by Horus and Set, had at one time fought for supremacy, involving their gods in the contest

as warriors still do all the world over—but with the reduction of resistance peace prevailed and the gods, like the tribes, settled to a practical companionship.

The ties between the local gods and their followers were very strong, each god was paramount in his district; and if Egyptian literature contains many exalted hymns to the power and glory of the great national god, Re, the Sun, or his later manifestation, Amun-re, local psalmists made no less claims for their own divinities, treating them as all-powerful creator-gods; such hymns, naturally, have not made so great an impression in Egyptian literature as those to the Sun, if only because they were much less numerous, but a perusal of the surviving examples will show how strong was the feeling behind them. (See specimens in Erman's *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, translated by Dr. Aylward Blackman). One result of this regional feeling was that when the king moved to a new capital, as in the Eleventh Dynasty to Thebes, the local god had to be placed on a level with the great deity of the royal family, the Sun, with whom he became identified under the name of Ammon the Sun (*Amun-re*). There were of course political elements in this proceeding, the king's choice of a capital was doubtless largely directed by the fact that he had drawn from its district the strength which brought him to a settled throne, and he was bound for the same reason to give highest honours to its patron-god. But, with all this strength of local cults, the status of the various deities was recognized throughout the country; they were counted as members of a national body, on equal terms and sometimes even interchangeable; of this an early example may be given from the "Pyramid Texts" (par. 1378) where, among the incantations for the benefit of the dead king Pepi I, is one causing him to mount to heaven "as Monthu" and not, in the usual way, as a Falcon. In this fellowship they resembled the gods of Babylonia, such as Marduk (Merodach), Lord, or Ba'al of Babylon, Nabu of Borsippa or Nergal of Cuthah, each one lord of his district but honoured also in every part of the land, as a member of the national company of gods: when Babylon was capital of the united country, its god Marduk was held as chief of this company, and kings were not properly consecrated till they had received confirmation at his hands—a position paralleled at Thebes. In Egypt the companionship of the gods is marked in rather a special way by their habit of paying

each other seasonal visits of state, affording occasions for great ceremony and rejoicing which have been splendidly illustrated on the sculptured walls of the great colonnaded hall in the temple of Luxor. The god rode in a litter shaped as a boat and had a magnificent ship on the river which carried him in that litter to the temples of the gods whom he was visiting. The insistence on boats as vehicles seems to point to a time when gods' houses were simply movable shrines or tabernacles and the gods, as protectors of their people and living among them, travelled with them, using boats as the most dignified and comfortable and often also the most practical method. So strong was the tradition of water-travel for deities that it became a rule that gods' litters, in which they were carried in procession and which, when not thus used, rested in their innermost shrines, were shaped as boats. (See G. Legrain on the Sacred Barks of Egypt, in the *Bulletin de L'Institut Francais d'Archeologie Orientale*, t. XIII. The tradition was so strong at Luxor that it has survived through Christianity and Islam till to-day: boats are still carried in procession through the streets on certain holy days amidst the acclamations of the populace; when not thus used, they are suspended on, or under, trees).

The practices just described show how much the human was mixed with the divine in the Egyptian conception of gods, even in the advanced period in which these shrines were built, that of the New Empire, when priestly theology was much developed and a deeper spirituality was connected with the idea of gods, as we may learn from the hymns of adoration that were then written. Before that era, even when the solar cult was in its first youth and strength, under the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, the Sun, for all his cosmic might and splendour, was endued with very human needs; great boats, for example, were provided for his travelling and built into the living rock near his temple.

The evolution of gods from the eminent dead may have found a place in the tradition of the Egyptians themselves, for the historian Manetho, if he has been correctly reported by George, the African Syncellus—his own writings having perished—stated that in the earliest times Egypt had gods, (*theoi*), as kings, for the mythical period of nearly 12,000 years and these were followed, for eight and a half centuries, by demigods (*hemi-theoi*) and the “demigod spirits of the dead” (*hemitheoi nekues*),

the latter class including the greater gods of the country such as Horus, Anubis, Ammon and others, equated with the gods of the Greeks (see Theod. Hopfner, *Fontes, Historiæ Religionis Aegyptiacæ*, Vol. I, pp. 65-67). Thus it would seem as if the origin of the large class of gods from the ghosts of men of outstanding renown was recognized by learned Egyptians down even to the Ptolemaic period.

Such belief in the living powers of dead men, expressed in its simple bareness, may seem to a son of modern Western civilization mere ignorant superstition; but a similar outlook on the spiritual world is traceable in many modern beliefs and has created, for example, unnumbered stories of the exploits of saints, both Christian and Islamic, though the educated Muslim is well aware that popular superstitions about *auliya* form no part of their true religion; in India Hinduism goes much further, always ready to give generous play to the practice of deification. China has always carried out the deification of distinguished men who often have a very definite place in history; many gods have this origin even the most popular such as the ferocious door-guardians who originally protected an emperor of the T'ang dynasty, and the great magician Tao-ling who lived in the period of Han. Among modern peoples of backward culture the transformation of the dead into gods is perhaps best seen among the Veddas, the most primitive inhabitants of Ceylon: the dead are generally supposed by them to become divine under the name of *yaku*, but there are exceptions, and in doubtful cases funerary ceremonies are carried out to ascertain the event. The *yaku* are consulted through shamans about food-getting expeditions and the like, and their help invoked, as also in cases of sickness; a special feature is the simple and open manner in which the dead become gods (*see note*). There can be little doubt that in Egypt at one time men of any social standing were believed to become 'gods' on their death, for the godlike nature of the dead finds expression in many inscriptions; moreover the king's title after death is 'the great god (*ne'et* 'aa) and not merely 'god,' a difference which may perhaps indicate that at one time all dead were considered as 'gods' but the king a great one among them (*see note*).

The primitive origins of the class of gods that we have been discussing are somewhat hard to discern, obscured as they are by the lofty consideration enjoyed by the

great gods and the magnificence of their ceremonies in the period of the New Empire, when they are best known to us; but no such obscurity attends the primitive totemistic features of another class of deity referred to in Vol. VI, p. 559. These, figured as animals or birds or as human with animal heads, have been a source of wonder, often contemptuous, to other civilized people down to the present day—the jackal Anubis, the ibis Thoth, Ammon the ram, with many others. They fling us straight back into the most primitive stage of humanity when men were still hunters and food-gatherers, not yet having learnt agriculture nor the domestication of animals; of cause and effect their knowledge was narrow, limited generally to the things that presented themselves immediately to the senses; remoter causes were beyond their ken and, when they had to deal with them, were attributed to ultra-human activities, controllable only by magic. Such men conceived animals to be of much the same nature as themselves, fellow-creatures, friendly or hostile, just as strange men might be—a mode of thought that has survived in many regions till now, witness the American Indians who call animals “the younger brothers,”—and makes easy the supposition that a man can turn into a lion or a crocodile (both cases attested in recent years in African law-courts). Europe too has its werewolves and beliefs in the transformation of witches into hares. In modern Egypt the belief is firm, even among some of the educated, that twins turn by night into cats (*see note*). The early hunters, again, like some very backward races to-day, had not discovered the physiological facts about fatherhood, which they probably only learned after the domestication of animals, from the breeding of their herds and thus, with the ideas on identity just mentioned, it was easy for them to believe that they were descended, in some way, from animals, birds or reptiles, a belief so strong and widespread that it is held in many parts even now (*see note*).

The totemic connection was itself deep and intimate but the mental picture of it must have been vague and unformulated, imagined rather than realized and therefore liable, on collision with new facts or commanding ideas, to dissolve or else to suffer radical changes: it may have been sometimes discarded, but so tenacious is the mind of man of concepts that have deeply influenced his life that it has generally contrived to arrange the

necessary modifications and the totemic plan has accordingly achieved survival in many regions by assuming different forms, so numerous and so varied that no definition that would cover them all has yet met with general acceptance, and the whole matter remains the subject of the greatest controversy.

In Egypt literary remains offer little direct evidence of proto-totemism ; Anubis appears consistently, from the Pyramid Texts onwards, as the jackal god with special connection with the sepulchred dead, though at one time he was undoubtedly a local god, patron of the district round Abydos. The Greeks interpreted his figure as that of a dog and in the Late Period it certainly was so—often of the fine Slughi race—but there is little doubt that he was originally a jackal, adopted as guardian of the dead in their tombs, not, probably, as is often suggested, because of his prowling about them at night, but rather because it was a common practice of primitive men to expose their dead for wild animals to eat and this was the jackal's function, investing him with a sort of sacredness that eventually became godship. Another local god, the ibis Thoth, who reigned in the 15th nome of Lower Egypt, became when nationalized, the god of learning and of clerkly men, also the scribe of the company of gods. He was identified with the baboon whose figure was accordingly often carved at the corners of a scribe's funerary coffers or on his votive statue : the baboon was not native but imported from the land of Punt in the south, together with incense and other precious things, and, though never promoted to actual godship apart from Thoth, enjoyed a considerable degree of sacredness. He is represented specially as an adorer of the Sun and it may be that in the land of his origin he ranked as a god, perhaps an ancestor-god, and that some of his divinity adhered to him on his coming to Egypt—where also some connection may have been supposed between him and the holy incense which he accompanied : his connection with Thoth may have been the result of his apparent solemnity when in repose, fitted to the god of learning. In Babylonia and Assyria he was considered a kind of genius, connected in some way, it would appear, with the Mother-goddess (see the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. XV, p. 16). Figures of him have been found also in the ruins of early Susa, crouching as in Egyptian figures, and at Mohenjo-Daro, showing some kind of cult which has taken deep root in India,

surviving strongly at the present day. If, then, King Solomon, as his flattering chroniclers reported (I Kings, X, 22), procured apes from abroad, it is possible that he did so not merely for a palace amusement but on account of their reputation among the followers of the foreign religions with which he dallied.

Among other sacred animals the bull figures most largely, especially as Apis, well known from the Serapeum near Memphis, the great crypt in which his various incarnations were buried in huge and magnificent sarcophagi hewn out of granite monoliths. He was equated with the Nile-god and hence, when dead, with Osiris and when alive, like the King, with Horus—sometimes even with Atum and Ptah, lord of Memphis—an excellent example of the extraordinary syncretism which marked much of the late religious manifestations of Egypt (see E. Chassinat in *Recueil de Travaux*, Vol. XXXVIII, parts i and ii). The god Monthu of Erment, a little to the south of Thebes, was connected with a bull and there also a cemetery of sacred bulls (*Bucheum*) has recently been excavated and, close to it, another for the dams of the bulls, who were honoured with laudatory stelæ. In the Delta there was a bull nome and elsewhere in the country the bull entered into many names of districts. He was the emblem of strength and support and often served as a symbol of sovereignty, as in Assyria and elsewhere; in this character he appears in numberless inscriptions, supreme even over the lion—another symbol of the king, especially in the human-headed form of Sphinx. The ram also is prominent, the Theban god Ammon being identified with him and also Khnum, the god of the district round the First Cataract whose function in the Egyptian Olympus was to fashion the limbs of gods, kings and men of standing. The standards of other nomes show the ibis, oryx and fish, all connected with gods of the country and subject to mummification; the elephant appears in one case only, on a painted jar of the predynastic age; he was probably connected with Elephantine island, just above the cataract, but has left no traces in the records of Egyptian religion; the animal itself had already disappeared from the country.

The bull burials in the Serapeum and the *Bucheum* are only of the Late Period and, in the absence of direct statements from earlier sources, it would seem that before this time the worship of bulls was not publicly manifested.

But, as we have seen, the bull entered largely into the traditions of several districts and was throughout the orthodox literature of all periods a lofty symbol of kingly might ; it can therefore be hardly doubted that he always enjoyed a large degree of popular veneration which, however, was submerged under the official orthodox religion but was to re-emerge and attain to open worship in the later times when the official system had grown weak, affording a good example of a process not unusual in ancient religions. Every primitive system of religion must be considered as socio-religious, binding its followers into a homogeneous society and providing them with a moral and at the same time very practical mainstay for their safety and prosperity. Built round the gods, largely ancestral, and often, as well, the chief or king, as a divine incarnation, founded on the instinctive emotions of the people and proved, in their judgment, by the experience of many generations, these systems were exceedingly tenacious of life and their fundamental bases survived the most trying vicissitudes—at the expense, of course of great changes in their outward forms. Such a system was the Egyptian, very solid and weighty in the fulness of its development, but at this later period the country had suffered many invasions and revolutions, the national dynasties had failed, with all their methods, and the failure was reflected inevitably in the national religion ; its later elements, which had been superimposed on the more primitive by the ruling class, lost their vitality, though maintaining outwardly their former regard, while the earliest, with roots reaching far back into the nation's history, renewed their strength and gained a place again in official practice—a process which may be held to explain the rise of this later bull-worship (*see note*).

It would follow then that cruder forms of animal-worship must have been popularly practised throughout the Classical period, hidden beneath its mighty system of composite cults, and in fact traces of such practices have survived from the Nineteenth Dynasty in two stelæ now in the Turin Museum ; one was dedicated to the cat by a professional woman-mourner and displays two figures of cats, while the other shows two scribes adoring a cat and a swallow, on both of which they bestow the epithets of 'beautiful' and 'enduring' (see Lanzzone ; *Dic. Mit. Eg.*, p. 275 and pls. CVII and CXVIII). Reference has already been made to the murder of a Roman soldier for the sake

of a cat (Vol. VI, p. 559), a deed for which most commentators have found it hard to account, being led by the study of available documents to the belief that actual cat-worship did not exist; with regard to the swallow, Professor Newberry, in *Liverpool Annals of Archæology and Anthropology* (Vol. I, No. 2—"A Bird cult of the Old Kingdom") refers to a tomb of the Fifth Dynasty belonging to a priest of the Swallow goddess; he shows that she is mentioned in the earliest literature and that among her priests she had a king's son and daughter, and must therefore have enjoyed high consideration. After the Sixth Dynasty she disappeared from official records, having been thrown into insignificance by the swelling development of the solar cult; still her cult was doubtless maintained in lowly circles to reappear on the surface, for once at least, in the Turin stela. The scribes who erected this stela held no high rank and less so the woman who adored the cat, and we may reasonably conclude that among the less exalted of the people some very primitive forms of worship, though disfavoured by the high orthodox, never died out. After all, at the present day there is no religion, however exalted and pure, that has not behind it a large mass of ancient popular practice, once religious but now degraded to superstitions, though those who practise them may often believe that they have a religious tinge. Professor Newberry relates that to-day, in at least one part of Upper Egypt, swallows must not be injured, for they love men and live in their houses (reminding one of European ideas about the red-breast) and the souls of men may migrate into their bodies—could any idea be further removed from the orthodox tenets of the Muslim majority or Christian minority of the land? (*See note*).

Another animal whose cult has been recorded is the crocodile: a Greek papyrus shows us the instructions given to the governor of the Arsinoite nome, now the Fayum, bidding him provide a distinguished visitor with cakes for the sacred crocodiles, who were counted among the sights of the place with the Labyrinth, as Strabo also relates (*see note*). The later Pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom, who favoured the district of the Fayum, were markedly observers of the crocodile cult, as their names prove; but the cult, like that of the hippopotamus, was purely local and Sebek (the crocodile god) was not counted among the great national deities. The crocodile

affords a particularly interesting illustration of the connection between tribes—or clans—and animals, for in the *Pyramid Texts* (utterance 510) we read that “Sebek is the son of Neith” (the warlike goddess of a Libyan people on the west side of the Delta) and she is sometimes represented as suckling crocodiles (see Lanzone; *Dic. Mit. Eg.*, pl. CLXXV), an affiliation that surely means that the crocodile-worshippers of the Fayum were an offshoot from that Libyan tribe.

Much more might be said of the sacred animals, but what has been given will suffice to show the workings of a simple and primitive totemism in Egypt, uncomplicated, as far as we know, with exogamy or the other accompaniments of totemism that make it so difficult a question nowadays.

There is one case, however, of far higher importance than those mentioned above and calling for separate treatment, namely the cult of the Falcon whose name, in its Græcized form, was Horus, a being who maintained the highest position through all the developments of Egyptian theology. He appears first as the totem of the tribe of Upper Egypt which gained the mastery over its fellows in that region, bringing them under one rule, a first step towards the unification of the whole country (*see note*). Unification and strong central control are of the first economic importance for Egypt, to ensure the best use of the Nile flood as it enters and leaves the broad basins strung out from south to north, keeping the mud-laden water on each part of the land the length of time necessary for its fertilization. Struggles over water-supply must have been frequent just as till recent times were village fights over the distribution of water from the canals fed from the Nile. The action of the Falcon-tribe was therefore of the greatest benefit for the whole country and not merely a result of tribal ambition, and we may justifiably infer that its chief stimulus came from the constant internecine disputes over the water which is the very blood of life along the Egyptian Nile. The ultimate unification of the whole country, by conquest supported, apparently, by a marriage alliance, made possible the absolute central control and efficient administration to which reference has already been made (*see note*). The emblem of the conquering tribe was a falcon on a perch and it is significant that the determinative of divinity,

when hieroglyphs first appeared, about the time of the unification, was this emblem and not the *neter* sign described in Vol. VI, p. 556, which, though meaning 'a god,' did not supersede the falcon as determinative till much later. The king himself was identified with the falcon, as *Horus*, and an indispensable element of his royal title was his falcon-name, inscribed in a design representing a palace-front surmounted by a bird of that species; moreover his name, in writing, was followed by the divine determinative of the falcon and perch and we are thus led to conclude that the primitive heads of the Falcon-tribe were held to be incarnations of the divine Falcon-ancestor. This character descended, on the unification of the country, to their successors, the Pharaohs, gaining naturally increased impressiveness with the great increase of power and prestige resulting from the new political conditions which procured for the people a state of security and well-being which they had never imagined. An illuminating modern parallel to the falcon-cult is found among the Bakongo of West Africa (see E. Torday in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* Vol. I, LVIII, p. 236). These people, whose name may be connected with the word *ngo*, meaning a leopard, count that animal as their first ancestor. "Their king, or *ntotilu*, "is the totem incarnate, the leopard-man; every person "claims descent from Kongo (the first ancestor) and "whenever a woman bears a child she is delivered at "the same time of a leopard, for that is the name *ngo*, "by which the afterbirth, 'the brother born at the same "time' goes." (It is noteworthy that according to Miss W. Blackman in *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, p. 63, the Egyptian peasant of to-day calls the afterbirth 'the other child'). Here incarnation of the divine leopard-ancestor is attributed to the Chief, but the members of the tribe have also their share, vague though it be, in the nature of their ancestral totem. We may well conceive that this was the case also in earliest Egypt and in fact there is a fairly clear indication of it in the representation of the *ba*, or soul, as a human-headed bird of the hawk tribe which was depicted as flying down the tomb-shaft to rejoin the mummified body lying in the pit at the bottom, or as nestling to the dead man's breast as if in pathetic endeavour to re-enter it and in other characteristic attitudes. (See note—It has been suggested that the human-headed bird at the first represented only the king's soul and was depicted accordingly with the beard,

symbol of divinity and kingship, and that the attribution of the *ba*-soul to commoners was a later development).

The socio-religious system centred on the Horus-falcon belongs to an exceedingly primitive mental stage and was in no way adapted, in its original lines, to an organized society of agriculturalists rising to the civilization which Egypt, unified, was to evolve. It was well suited to a simple hunting people whose view of other creatures of the animal world has been outlined on p. 200 of the article, but with the advance of new conceptions had perforce to submit to modifications or else die out ; die it could not, being too firmly embedded in the social conscience, and so it accepted modification, but in such a way that the essence of the old remained under the aspect of the new. Thus, in all the theological systems that subsequently reigned in Egypt, the Horus-falcon had to be adopted as a member of the first importance and we shall find him in this position in connection alike with Hathor, Osiris and Re.

We come finally to the snake which held in Egypt a place of its own, in no totemic relation with man. It had a double aspect, on the one hand royal and beneficent and on the other malignant and very dangerous—a character common to its family in a great part of the world, notably in India, and which it owes to its striking peculiarities. It is brilliant, stealthy and quick ; it has terrible powers of darting death and, with its incalculable appearance and vanishings, would seem the very child of mystery ; it is a thing of the inner parts of earth and is accordingly often held to embody the spirits of the dead. Very naturally, then, the primitive mind approached it with special fear and judged it most meet for an almost abject worship ; the deadly serpent becomes accordingly a god and the symbol of kingly power as of divine, and as such we find him firmly established in India, as the *naga*. In Egypt the hooded cobra (*uræus*) was the reigning goddess of the Delta as the vulture was of the Upper country, and became a symbol of royalty, always worn in the crown, and, in writing, the determinative of goddesses in general : fiery serpents guarded the entrance to the Underworld in the West and may have been popularly believed to guard the temples, for I have been assured by inhabitants of the remoter parts to the south that the surviving temples are still protected by fire-spitting serpents and also that if the intruder can catch the sparks he will find them turned into

precious stones (*see note*). It is probable also that there was a popular veneration of the snake as a favouring genius, such as the Romans knew him, or the Greeks, with their agathodæmon, for the modern Egyptian, even in the towns, regards snakes in the house as protectors and calls them so (*harith el beit*) ; no harm must be done to such snakes and they are often fed with milk, as in many other parts of the world (I have known of the case of an old woman in the purlieu of Cairo who gave up all her time to the care of snakes of which many haunted the house). In the ancient story of "The Shipwrecked Sailor" the monstrous thunder-making serpent whose appearance freezes the hero's heart turns out to be very friendly, though he too can spit out fire. Recently a European who lived in a native house in a village of Upper Egypt, on returning to it in the autumn after a summer in his own country, found everything intact and was told that in his absence the house was guarded by a large black snake (doubtless of the dark harmless kind which grows to a considerable size). On the east bank of the Nile, in Upper Egypt, south of Qau, is the high hill of the Sheikh el Harîdî, where some kind of snake-cult is still practised but has not, I believe, been properly investigated or, at any rate, described.

Ancient Egyptian records give the names of many serpents, whether beneficent or otherwise ; some like Nehebkau, often associated with the goddess Bast, may have both characters, they may be fierce for evil as for good. Natural common-sense fear of the reptile finds expression in the numerous incantations against it which are embedded in the "Pyramid Texts" (they contain also charms against the crocodile which, god though it might be, was a very real terror in the waters). In the Underworld the great enemy of all was a huge serpent, Apophis, the dragon-fiend of darkness, dreaded even by the mighty Re, against whom all manner of incantations were devised of which we have excellent specimens in the "Book of the Dead" and on the walls of Seti I's tomb in the Valley of the Kings (among the vignettes adorning copies of this book is an amusing one representing the cat as a helping genius, chopping up the wicked serpent with a great knife).

Many parallels to Apophis may be found in the mythologies of the world and the double attitude towards snakes noted above is equally widespread, so that there

is no need for further explanations : the attitude must be a very primitive one, developed in the earliest stages of human history (*see note*).

NOTES.

p. 352. See C. G., B. L. Seligman ; "The Veddass" and their article in Hastings' *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, pp. 599-601.

Another point of interest is that while the names of *yaku* are remembered and used in invocations—that is, during two or three generations—they receive individual recognition, but after that die out or become vague and roving spirits, attached to woods or hills, a process that has probably taken place in most of all countries where such spirits are known.

p. 352. Besides the examples given in the text we may perhaps see another in the phrase 'sons of god' which occurs in a few passages in the Old Testament and has proved a stumbling-block to generations of strict monotheists. In Genesis vi. 2-4, they are recorded as mating with the daughters of man : in Job i. 6 and ii. 1, they present themselves before the Almighty, with Satan among them, and in xxxviii, 7, they shout for joy at the Creation. Many exegetists concur in the explanation that these are messengers or servants of God, that is 'angels,' but some, with stricter method, confine this explanation to the passages in Job, a much later book than Genesis, and admit that the text in the latter embodies a survival from earlier pagan beliefs. The Hebrew phrase is *bene elohim* ; the second word is the plural of a singular meaning 'a god' but is nevertheless used in a large part of the Old Testament, as is well known, as a title of the Almighty, to avoid utterance of the real Jewish name, held too sacred for general use. The plural is usually interpreted as that of honour (*pluralis majestatis*) and not, as the stricter scholars think, as a remnant of ancient polytheism.

In view of the instances given in the text and countless others like them, the latter interpretation seems the more reasonable and the 'sons of god'—or rather 'the gods'—would thus be the spirits of ancestors who, as we have seen, are thought by several peoples to cause the birth of their children. With the stiffening of monotheism among the Jews after the Exile, these spirits lost their original character and became 'angels,' as in Job.

It may be added that in ancient Egypt at least one instance is recorded of a woman addressing directly to her father in his grave a prayer for the birth of a child (see S. Schoff ; 'Die Bitte um ein Kind auf einer Grabfigur' in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. XVI—May, 1930—p. 23 and pl. X, 4).

p. 353. The African cases mentioned caused much difficulty to the Europeans sitting in judgment : in one a man was accused of killing an old enemy ; he admitted it but pleaded that it was in lawful revenge because his victim had turned himself into a crocodile which had devoured his son. In the other, two men quarrelled and one turned savagely from his opponent, crying "Get off ! I'll change into a lion and eat you" ; he then went to his hut and slept. Lions were rare in that land and man-eaters unknown, but the other man, on his way home that night, was killed by one. The survivor, brought before the

judge, could not plead 'not guilty' because, said he, he had gone to sleep and may well have changed into a lion without knowing it.

In civilized countries we meet such cases as that mentioned on p. 554 of vol. VI; another one is that of a little girl who, seeing a fox-terrier always accompanying her aunt, took it as one of the family and believed it to be the aunt's own offspring; on learning that the terrier's mother was in fact canine she was much surprised. (See "Man," Vol. XXXIII—Feb., 1938—No. 40).

These two cases belong to a very early stratum of thought which easily conceives of simple transformation; of the like nature is that of the supposed lion-transformation referred to, while in that of the crocodile the man was held to be a sorcerer, as with werewolves and all such transformations in the folklore of Europe; the latter belong to a later stage which no longer admits of the general possibility of the process but confines it only to witches and sorcerers. In China the self-transformation of animals into men is well established, centred mostly on foxes; there is no question of magical processes, the metamorphosis depends entirely on the will of the animal. A further illustration may be taken from Arabic-speaking countries where Jinns are commonly of animal form but can change it at will to that of men or women and also of monsters of every description, both kindly and evil.

All these cases point to a very early stage of mental development in man, when animal forms, including his own, were of a fluid nature, very dependent on the mind which, at that stage, was beginning to be directly aware of its powers. (Compare the remarks in Vol. VI, p. 556).

p. 858. Examples in abundance will be found in any book on Totemism, but the interpretations differ much. A concise and impartial survey is given by Sir E. Tylor in *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 229-246—a work which, though two generations old, deals in a clear and convincing fashion with most problems of primitive thought, with a plenitude of examples from life. A handy and interesting compendium of broad facts and conflicting theories, illustrated, is M. Besson's *Le Totémisme* (Paris, 1929).

(Psycho-analysts have their own interpretation of the widespread belief in metamorphosis, attributing it to dreams about animals arising from a very deep racial 'subconscious').

With regard to the suggested connection between the breeding of cattle and the discovery of the real facts of fatherhood, it is significant that the ancient Egyptian hieroglyph for a bull (*ka*) is followed by the determinative of an extended phallus. It has been suggested by some authorities that cows were first domesticated, or partly so, being given food to keep them by the camps, for the sake of the milk, and this would account for abstinence from eating their meat and the sacred rites attending dairy activities among some modern peoples, such as the Todas and, in a less degree, others in India and many in Africa who treat their cattle as semi-sacred. The bulls would mate with the cows at their season and the resulting calves would be taken by the camp-dwellers; they would thus soon learn the truth about paternity and apply it to their own kind. This stage may have been reached before the New Stone Age, for evidence appears to have been recently discovered in Palestine of the domestication of cattle in the Epipalæolithic age (*Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research*, No. 48, pp. 18-15). The hypothesis of the

priority of cows in domestication would account for a feature in primitive man's mental attitude to cattle that seems to have escaped hitherto the attention it deserves, namely the great difference between his outlook on cows and that on bulls : this will be very evident in the course of our examination of the bull, as totem and emblem, and the cow as identified with the mother-goddess.

p. 356. A similar explanation may account for the extreme veneration shown by Hindus to cattle. Scholars versed in the old Sanscrit writings which illustrate the religion of the Aryan conquerors of India find in them no trace of the beginnings of this veneration and conclude that it must be of comparatively recent growth. But it is reasonable to suppose that in pre-Aryan times a true cattle-cult existed of which survivals remain among the hill or jungle people untouched by Aryanism, such as the Todas, and that, though the orthodox have long since dropped all actual worship of the cow, their present use of her excrements can only denote an extraordinary degree of veneration which once was actual worship.

Similarly there is scarcely a village in India that has not its local goddess, or *mariamma* ; some of them are honoured with a kind of identification with the great goddesses of orthodox Hinduism, and some have Brahmin priests, but they are in reality vigorous survivals from a period long antedating Aryanism and belong to a very widespread class of religion which we shall presently meet with in ancient Egypt in connection with the mother-goddess. In China it is very probable that the goddess Kwan-yin, the Far East representative of the divine group of Mother and Child, is in the same case as the village *mariamma* though Sinologists do not seem to agree that evidence exists to that effect. Her original name, Kaung-shi-yin has the same meaning as that of the Buddhist saint Avalokiteshvara and the orthodox identify her with him—a strange proceeding for the all-protecting, kindly mother-goddess that she is, by far the most popular female deity of China.

Other similar survivals could be adduced but I will only mention the case of the *fravashi* in old Persia and the *daimon* in Greece, both of which, after being pressed into different forms by a superimposed orthodoxy, returned in time to very nearly their original condition (see my note on "the *Ka* in Ancient Egypt," 'I. C.' 1929, part iv).

p. 357. Another survival concerning animals refers not to totemism but to the hieroglyphs. In Upper Egypt the appearance of a fox may be greeted with the cry "Ya Cadi" (O Judge) and the tradition is that a fox thus addressed will stop and hear what may be said to it—now the ancient hieroglyph for a judge is a fox and the connection remains reflected in the popular mind till now. (We might be tempted to ask if the ancients attributed a fox-like character to their judges as did many a sculptor in Gothic churches to the priests).

Another popular belief in connection with birds still reigns among the Copts who teach their children not to harm doves because they are sacred to the Virgin Mary, a survival perhaps of the dove-cult mentioned also by Professor Newberry and connected with the association of those birds with the mother-goddess, who took in Egypt the form of Hathor and Isis and had doves as her companions, especially in her European form, as Aphrodite,

p. 357. Bk. XVII, ch. 1, para. 38. Par. 40 gives a list of animals worshipped by the Egyptians, including the shrewmouse, of which bronze figures were made in the Late Period, indicating its sacred character, as they were of bulls, dogs, cats, crocodiles, etc., all of which animals were mummified. Strabo also relates that dogs were kept as sacred at Cynopolis, the capital of the 17th nome of Upper Egypt, whose patron-god was the dog Anubis.

p. 358. It is possible that the falcon was the totem also of other Egyptian tribes, notably the one of which the capital was on the site of the modern Damanhour, in the Delta. Sethe, in his *Urgeschichte*, suggests that this was the original seat of the great Falcon-tribe and that it migrated later to Upper Egypt, but there are many difficulties in his elaborate series of suggestions of which this is a part.

p. 358. In the royal protocol Egypt was always termed "the two Lands," the king received a double title, crown and throne on account of the two parts of the kingdom, and all the royal ceremonies, such as coronation or reconsecration (*sed-heb*), were enacted doubly. The insistence on the recognition of the conquered equally with the conquering party was doubtless due to the unification having been completed by marriage, for kings were held as not completely legitimate unless their wives were of pure royal race as well as their mothers. With regard to the social organization Egypt was originally matrilineal and remained so till the latest times; the reasons for the obligation to marry royal wives will be explained later when the godship of the living king is discussed.

p. 359. Much use has been made in these pages of parallel cases from the practices of backward races of to-day, for indeed it is from them that we can gather some clear idea of the mental processes which produced the various Egyptian systems. Sir E. Wallis Budge has collected in the second volume of his work on Osiris a considerable number of such cases from the inner parts of Africa and Professor Sir W. Flinders Petrie has also made a useful collection in *Ancient Egypt* 1914, parts iii and iv, with some valuable remarks on their application. As a complement to the latter Professor C. G. Seligman published in the same magazine, 1915, part iii, a short article on "Multiple Souls"; he does not deal with instances in ancient Egypt but gives an account of African beliefs in the matter which makes the Egyptian ones understandable and is besides of value for psychologists.

If it be objected—as in the past it has been—that Egyptian civilization was too advanced to make such comparisons allowable, it can be pointed out that even so late as the Sixth Dynasty their literature bears sure proof of an early state of real savagery, incredible in a civilized people. The *Pyramid Texts*, which belong to the Fifth and, mostly, to the Sixth Dynasty, contain passages, of very ancient origin belonging to a starkly savage period; such are pars. 393-414, spreading abroad triumphantly, without the least trace of shame, the fame of the king's cannibalism (see R. O. Faulkner's interesting article in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. X, pp. 97-108). They relate that the king's entry into Paradise causes a terrible commotion, so great is his power, so fearful his presence, thereby, it was supposed, creating a charm by which his earthly prestige would accompany him to heaven, but greatly heightened, like a great modern Governor who looked forward to death to provide him with far wider provinces in

which to rule. Among his monstrous deeds are the capture, murder and eating of gods, recounted in disgusting detail—a strange treatment of gods, it might seem, but not so strange if we recall that the term ‘god’ probably refers to dead men who had attained to some degree of godship (see p. 352) and that in this series of utterances we may see the reflection, enlarged, of tribal battles in which defeated enemies were ceremonially eaten. This and still more savage practices have been discussed by me in *Man*, Vol. XXVII, No. 8 (Aug., 1927), pp. 150-173.

The theory has been advanced that the parallelism between certain features of African and Egyptian cults indicates a common origin; it has not been generally accepted and is opposed by two capital considerations. The first is physical: negro races are far removed from the “Mediterranean” or “Brown” to which the original Egyptians belonged and there is no trace of negro admixture with Egyptians till about the dynastic period and then only very little and in the further south (see Elliot Smith; *The Ancient Egyptians*, 2nd ed., pp. 78-80). Secondly, the more deeply essential ideas common to the races belong to an exceedingly primitive stage of human history, far earlier than any with which we are dealing in Egypt (see my remarks in Vol. VI, p. 559*), while those of not so essential a nature and more easily transferable belong to a later period when Egypt had risen to great power and authority, so striking in comparison with the negro’s condition that he must have counted it as of super-human origin. A great number of similar usages have been noted in Africa especially in the centre and west, whither there were two trade-routes from Egypt, one up the Nile and then westwards through Central Africa and the other by sea along the northern coast of Africa to the parts known later as the Barbary States and thence through the Sahara: a convincing example is that of the royal Mossi burials, in the country west of Nigeria, with their grave-pits, entrance-galleries and upper structures of the nature of *mastabas* or Pyramids and the seasonal offerings to the dead man in the pit; others, equally convincing, may be gathered in the book in which this is recorded, (L. Frobenius, *The Voice of Africa*, Vol. I, pp. 18-26). Now, the development of the tomb-structure of Egypt has been traced out very exactly from the primitive shallow pits of prehistoric times, corresponding to the development of religious and social ideas, and there can be no question of a derived origin, least of all from Africa: further, it is the weaker and more backward people that take over things of religion from the stronger and more civilized, simply because they believe the superiority of the latter to be largely due to their peculiar religious practices and are led to adopt them by a hope of greater strength and advancement for themselves. A good example of this proceeding is recorded by E. Torday in *L’Anthropologie*, t. XXXIX, 1929, pp. 440-1: the nation of Kongo, in the Congo region, had, in the second half of the sixteenth century, suffered great misfortunes, especially many defeats at the hands of their hereditary enemies, the Batéké; after some time the tide of fortune turned and the Kongo regained much of their old position, thanks, it was believed, to the adoption of idols, that is ancestral figures, from the victorious Betéké, whose successes were attributed to their possessing such potent things, formerly unknown to the Kongo.

* The point has been more fully developed by me in *Man*, Vol. XXXII (Dec. 1932), pp. 285—6.

p. 362. See Tylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 289-242, for a very concise and general review. In Hastings' *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, pp. 392-432 ("Serpent-worship"), a great fund of illustrations and opinions is provided.

G. D. HORNBLLOWER.

(*To be continued.*)

I'JAZU'L-QUR'AN

WE have already noticed two of the earliest commentaries, those of Tabarî and Qummî. The outstanding amongst the later commentators who have also dealt with our problem are the following :

1. Ar-Râghibu'l-Isfahâni (d. 502 A.H.) in the introduction to his commentary on the Qur'ân (published at the end of *Tanzihu'l-Qur'an 'ani'l Mata'in* by 'Abdul Jabbâr al-Asadâbâdî (d. 415 A.H., Cairo, 1329 A.H.).
2. 'Umar b. Muhammadi'n-Nasafî (d. 537 A.H.) in his commentary on the Qur'ân (MS. Berlin Mf. 41).
3. Mahmûd b. 'Umar az-Zamakhsharî (d. 538 A.H.) in his commentary on the Qur'ân (published Calcutta, 1865 A.D.)
4. Ibn 'Atî'a al-Gharnâtî (d. 542 A.H.) in his commentary on the Qur'ân (MS., Berlin Spr. 408).
5. Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Qurtubî (d. 671 A.H.) in his commentary on the Qur'ân (MS. Berlin Spr. 436,).
6. Muhammad b. Juzayy al-Kalbî (d. 741 A.H.) in *Kitabu't-Tashil li 'Ulumi'l Qur'an* (MS. Berlin Lbg. 85).
7. Ismâ'il b. 'Umar ibn Kathîr (d. 774 A.H.) in his commentary on the Qur'ân (published Cairo, 1924 A.D.)
8. Muhammad b. 'Abdillâhi'z Zarkashî (d. 794 A.H.) in *Al-Burhan fi 'Ulumi'l-Qur'an* (The book exists in Medinah). See *Ma'arif*, Vol. 18 No. 6, Dec. 1926 p. 411 ; see also introduction to Suyûtî's *Itqan*.
9. Majdu'd-dîn al-Firozâbâdî (d. 817 A.H.) in *Basairu dhawi't-Tamyiz fi Lata'ifi'l-Kitabi'l-'Aziz*. (There is no trace of the existence of this book). See Cat. Berlin I, p. 289.
10. Jalâlu'd-dîn as-Suyûtî (d. 911 A.H.) in *Al-Itqan fi 'Ulumi'l-Qur'an* (published Cairo, 1344 A.H.).

(c) *In the System of Kalam.*

We have already noticed the book of 'Alī b. Rabbān at-Tabarī. It is said that Ash'ari (d. 324 A.H.) also wrote on the subject in some of his innumerable books but unfortunately most of them are lost and there is no mention of this question in the existing ones. Some of his views on the matter have nevertheless reached us through other writers. Another famous Mutakallim, whose work has not reached us, was Abū Ishāq-al-Isfarāīnī who is better known by his surname of Al-Ustādh (The Master). d. 418 A.H. He dealt with this question in his book *Jamī'u'l-Jalī wa'l-Khafi fi Usulī'd Dīn wa'r-raddi 'ala'l-Mulhidīn*.^{*} The other dogmatists who made this question a part of their systems and whose works still exist are :—

1. 'Abdu'l-Qāhir b. Tāhiri'l-Baghdādī (d. 429 A.H.) in *Kitabu Usulī'd-Dīn* (published Istanbul 1928 A.D.).
2. 'Alī b. Muhammad al-Māwardī (d. 450 A.H.) in *Al-lamū'n-Nubuwah* (published Cairo 1315 A.H.).
3. 'Alī b. Ahmad ibn Hazm (d. 456 A.H.) in *Kitabu'l-fisal fi'l Milal wa'l Ahwa'i wa'n Nihal* (published Cairo 1899-1903).
4. 'Abdu'l-Malik b. 'Abdillāhi'l-Juwainī (Abū'l Ma'ālī. Imāmu'l-Haramayn, d. 478 A.H.) in *Kitabu'l-Irshad fi Usulī'l-I'tiqad* (Leid. 1983. Br. Mus. 1628/2).
5. Abu Hāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505 A.H.) in *Kitabu'l-Iqtisad fi'l-I'tiqad* (published Cairo 1916 A.D. MS. Berlin Lbg. 279).
6. Al Qādi 'Iyād (d. 544 A.H.) in *Kitabu'sh-Shifa* (published Cairo 1911; MS. Berlin Spr. 460).
7. Muhammad b. 'Abdi'l-Karīm ash-Shahristānī (d. 548 A.H.) in *Nihayatu'l-Aqdam fi 'Ilmī'l-Kalam* (MS. Berlin Pm. 579) published Oxford 1931.
8. 'Alī b. Abī 'Alī-i'l-Amidī (d. 631 A.H.) in *Abkaru'l-Afkar* (MS. Berlin Pet. 233).
9. Taqīu'd-Dīn ibn Taymiyah (d. 728 A.H.) in *Al-Jawabu's-Sahih li man baddala Dīn al Masih* (published Cairo 1323 A.H.).
10. Hibatu'llāh-il-Bārizi (d. 738 A.H.) in *Tauthiqu 'Ura'l-iman fi Tafdili Habibi'r-Rahman*. (MS

^{*} See H. Kh. under *Jamī'*.

Berlin Spr. 127).

11. Badru'd-Dîn b. 'Umar b. Habîb (d. 779 A.H.) in *An-najmu'th-Thaqib fi Ashrai'l-Manaqib* (MS. Berlin Pet. 342).
12. Sa'du'd-Dîn at-Taftzânî (d. 791 A.H.) in *Sharhu Maqasidi't-Talibin fi Usuli'd-Din* (published Istanbul 1277 A.H.).
13. Ash-Sharîf ul-Jurjânî (d. 816 A.H.) in *Sharhu'l-Mawaqif* (of Al'ijî d. 756 A.H.). Published Leipzig 1848. MS. Berlin Mf. 152.
14. Abû'l-Huseyn Sa'id b. Hibatillah* ar-Râwandî (al-Qutb d ?) in *Kitabu'l-Khara'ij wa'l-Jara'ih* (MS. Berlin Pm. 113).

The whole book is incorporated by Muhammad Bâqir al-Majlisî (d. 1011 A.H.) in his encyclopædic work *Biharu'l-Anwar* (published Tehrân, 1303-15 A.H.).

15. Yahyâ b. Hasan al-Qurashî az-Zaydî (d. in *Minhaju't-Tahqiq wa Mahasinu't-Talfiq* (MS. Berlin Glas. 93).
16. Rahmatu'llâhî'l-Hindî in *Isharu'l-Haqq* (published Cairo 1309 A.H.).

5. THE WORD IJAZ AND THE IDEA BEHIND IT.

Before proceeding further it is necessary to discuss what the word *ijaz* means. Literally it means incapacitating or rendering powerless. From this is derived the word *al-mu'jizah* which is a technical term of Kalâm for a miracle performed by a prophet. The idea behind the word which is not difficult to discern, is that everybody else except the prophet is powerless to perform a miracle. In the Qur'ân neither the word *al-mu'jizah* is used for "miracle" nor any other derivative from the same root. The words which are very common are *al-ayah*, the sign, or *al-burhân*, the proof. The idea behind these words is not the same. These words stop short after saying that a certain phenomenon is the sign or the proof of the prophethood of a person. Here begins the province of the word *al-mu'jizah*, which is an adjective and in it underlies

In the Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts, Berlin II, p. 624, the name is Sa'dullah but that is a mistake. See *Muntaha'l-Maqal* by Abu 'Ali al-'Amili, Tehran 1800 A.H. p. 148, and also his '*Tadhkirat ul Mutabadhirin*, Tehran 1802 A.H. p. 55. Further *Bihar* Vol. 25 p. 7.

the assertion that the phenomenon is special to the prophet and to him alone.

It is not easy to ascertain when this word was first used in its technical sense. The discussion of the question of prophethood had already begun in the first century A.H., but it is not at all certain that the word *al-mu'jizah* is as old as that. On the contrary, we find an author like 'Ali b. Rabbân at-Tabarî, who wrote his book somewhere between 232 and 247 A.H., still using the word *al-ayah* and not even once employing the word *al-mu'jizah* or any other derivative from the same root. We cannot, of course, assert on such slight evidence that till then the word had never been used in its technical sense, but we shall have no fear of being far from the truth if we say that up to the middle of the third century this word had not become dominant enough to exclude its predecessors *al-ayah* and *al-burhân* as it later did. As an evidence of this we find Ahmad b. Hanbal (d. 241 A.H.) using the word *mu'jizah* not only in relation to the prophets but other holy persons also.* Later on the word *Karamah* began to be used for the second meaning. We know that the first book with the name *I'jazu'l-Qur'an* was written sometime in the latter half of the third century A.H. After that time, in discussions on the question of the prophethood, the words *ayah* and *burhân* are very seldom used. The words *i'jaz* and *mu'jizah* now take their place.

It is fascinating work to trace the process by which a certain word acquired a particular meaning, but at the same time it is an extremely difficult task; and especially in this case, on account of the scantiness of the available material, it is difficult to decide conclusively what the process has been. We can only say that the technical meaning of the word *i'jâz* has in some way or other been taken over from the ordinary use of the word. Now it is known that in the Islamic circle in Syria the particular question of the prophethood of Muhammad was being discussed long before the system of *Kalâm* sprang up and the general problem of prophethood, as such, began to be discussed. It is also known that the chief argument in favour of Muhammad was that he was the recipient of a revelation. The *Qur'ân* claims its own composition to be beyond the power of human beings or the Jinn. The phrase there used is لا يأتون بمثله. If we paraphrase

* See Tor Andr  : *Die Person Muhammad in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde*. Upsala 1917 p. 101.

it, we can only say *ويعجزون عنه* as we find Ibn Jarîr at-Tabari actually doing in his commentary.¹ When talking of the Qur'ân, the causative form (*أعجز*) must have been used in order to show that the Qur'ân has, in fact, deprived human beings of producing anything like it. In compressed language it is quite natural to avoid all other forms except the infinitive or the verbal noun, which in Arabic is the name. So we come to the expression I'jâzu'l-Qur'ân.

But very soon the word must have acquired a broader sense so that not only the Qur'ân was said to be Mu'jiz (*معجز*) but also the miracles of the other prophets. For this general sense a special noun was formed by adding the feminine-particle viz. (*العجزة*) the miracle.

The standing definition of the word mu'jizah in the books of Kalâm is :—²

امر خارق للعادة مقرون بالتحري سالم عن العارضة

In the books of Kalâm we find pages devoted to the discussion of a comprehensive definition of al-mu'jizah. A representative one will suffice here. M. B.A. al-Qurtubî, in his book *Al-Jamî' li Ahkamî'l-Qur'an* prescribes five conditions without which no act could be called a mu'jizah :

- (1) The act must be such that only God could have performed it.
- (2) It should break the law of Nature.
- (3) The claimant should declare beforehand that such and such a thing is going to happen.
- (4) The actual happening should conform exactly to his declaration, and
- (5) Nobody else should be able to call the same phenomenon into action.³

This in short is what the Mutakallim means when he uses the words i'jâz or mu'jizah. We need not enter into details⁴ because here we are not chiefly concerned with miracles as such but with the miracle of the Qur'ân. Our business ought to be to classify the arguments brought forward in favour of the thesis that the Qur'ân is supernatural.

(1) Cairo 1821 A.H., Vol. I, pp. 126-129.

(2) See : *Itqan* II, p. 116.

(3) MS. Berlin Spr. 486.

(4) For a more detailed treatment see Tor Andræ, pp. 100-108.

6. CLASSIFICATION OF THE ARGUMENTS.

We have already seen that in the Qur'ân the claim of supernaturalism is made in answer to those who did not believe in the prophethood of Muhammad. The Mutakallim also begins his arguments at the same point. First he proceeds to show that the miracle of the prophethood of Muhammad is no other than the Qur'ân. So says Bâqillâni :—¹

“The fact which requires complete attention in recognising the miracle of the Qur'ân is that the prophethood of our Prophet is based on this miracle although he was supported, afterwards, by many other miracles. While these other miracles were performed at particular times, in particular cases and on particular persons....., the miracle of the Qur'ân is such as prevails over human beings as well as the Jinn..... and the force of its arguments is the same from the day of its appearance to that of the Resurrection.” Bâqillâni quotes many verses from the Qur'ân to prove his contention. One of them is: “They said, why then does he not receive a sign from his Lord? Tell them, the signs are with God and I am merely a plain warner. Is it then not enough for them that We have sent down the Book to thee, which is read to them ?”²

Then he proceeds: “So He states that the Book is one of his signs and distinguishing marks, and that it is sufficient as a proof and corresponds to the miracles and signs of other prophets.” To the same category belongs the Hadîth, already mentioned, in which the Prophet is said to have declared that the Qur'ân is the only sign (Ayah) he has received.

The later Mutakallimîn go still further back and formulate five premisses, namely: (a) that Muhammad did exist (b) that he did claim to be a prophet (c) that he performed a miracle, (*i.e.* produced the Qur'ân) (d) that he challenged others to produce a similar thing and (e) that nobody could bring anything similar to it. They say that if these five premisses are established the conclusion necessarily follows that Muhammad was a true prophet :³

“The first two premisses, they say, are most obvious and do not require any proof; because nobody denies the

(1) p. 18.

(2) Qur. XXIX, 50-51.

(3) Al Amidi, Yahya b. Hasan az-Zaidi, Al Qutb ur-Rawandi.

existence of Muhammad or that he declared himself to be messenger of God.¹

Now the third premiss is the chief one, because here it is to be proved that the Qur'ân is really a miracle. Most of the Mutakallimîn have turned the last two premisses into arguments in favour of the third. The fact that Muhammad did challenge the people to bring something like the Qur'ân is beyond dispute because more than one verse of the Qur'ân itself bears witness to it.² It is also certain that nobody did produce anything like the Qur'ân because, if it were the case, we should have received the pieces so composed as we have received the pre-Islamic poetry or Khutab.³ There is no reason why they should have been concealed or lost. On the other hand, it should have been the greatest concern of the disbelievers to preserve them.⁴ The believers too could not have ignored them because, if any attempt to rival the Qur'ân did succeed, the whole basis of their belief would have been lost.⁵ The very fact that all through the ages so many people have believed in the supernaturalism of the Qur'ân is enough to prove that nobody succeeded in producing the like of it.⁶

The pieces reported to have been composed by Museylimah are so ridiculously poor in style that nobody could seriously compare them with the Qur'ân.⁷

It is also quite evident that the easiest and the most convincing way of refuting the claim of Muhammad would have been to show that others too could compose something like the Qur'ân and that there was nothing supernatural in it. But we see the Arabs doing everything in their power except this. They resorted to war and so underwent all the privations one could imagine. If it had been in their power to rival the Qur'ân and so destroy the whole structure of Muhammad's claim, is it not reasonable to expect that they would have preferred that method? So the only conclusion one can draw is that, in spite of the fact that the Arabs were masters of style and composition, it was beyond their power to produce anything like the Qur'ân.⁸

(1) Al Amidi, Yahya b. Hasan az-Zaidi, *Al Qutbu'r-Rawandi*.

(2) Bâqillâni p. 18 ; 20-22.

(3) *Mawaqif Minhaj ut Tahqiq*.

(4, 5 & 6) *Minhaj ut Tahqiq*.

(7) Bâqillâni p. 25.

(8) Bâqillâni 252,

This is the general argument. Now comes the question : What in the Qur'ân is supernatural ? Here we do not find a unanimous opinion. From the very beginning there has been a difference of opinion on this question. Together with the formulation of the dogma arose the problem whether the style of the Qur'ân was supernatural or the subject-matter. The orthodox view is that both of them are supernatural,¹ but there have been many exponents of only one of them. Very early did Nazzâm assert that there was nothing extraordinary in the style of the Qur'ân. If the Arabs were left alone they would have been able to compose pieces like those of the Qur'ân. But they were deterred by God from attempting to rival the Qur'ân and in this lies the miracle. This is, technically, called the argument of Sarfah. (Sarafa to deter). The other thing that he found supernatural in the Qur'ân was prophecies about future events.² After him came Jâhiz who emphasized more the point of style and wrote a book to prove the thesis.³ From that time on the chief argument has always been the miraculous style of the Qur'ân.

That the question of style was a controversial one in early times is clearly shown by the introductory words of 'Alî b. Rabbân at-Tabarî.⁴ "When I was still a Christian I used to say, as did an uncle of mine who was one of the learned and eloquent men, that eloquence is not one of the signs of prophethood because it is common to all the peoples ; but when I discarded (blind) imitation and (old) customs and gave up adhering to (mere) habit and training and reflected upon the meanings of the Qur'ân I came to know that what the followers of the Qur'ân claimed for it was true. The fact is that I have not found any book, be it by an Arab or a Persian, an Indian or a Greek, right from the beginning of the world up to now, which contains at the same time praises of God, belief in the prophets and apostles, exhortations to good, everlasting deeds, command to do good and prohibition against doing evil, inspiration to the desire of Paradise and to the avoidance of hell-fire as this Qur'ân does. So when a person brings to us a book of such qualities, which inspires such reverence and sweetness in the hearts and which has achieved such an overwhelming success and

(1) See Ibn Hazm, Vol. III, p. 16.

(2) *Maqalat* I, p. 225-26 ; *Firaq* p. 128 ; *Milal* p. 39.

(3) For a fragment of Jâhiz see *Itqan*, Vol. 2, pp. 117-118.

(4) *K, ud-Din wa'd-Daulah* p. 44.

he is (at the same time) an illiterate person who did never learn the art of writing or rhetoric, that book is without any doubt one of the signs of his prophethood."

Here another element is added to the previous two. The fact that Muhammad did not know how to read and write becomes a third argument in addition to the style and the subject-matter of the Qur'ân. Then comes Ar-Rumâni who says :*

"The miracle of the Qur'ân lies in (1) the fact that nobody rivalled it in spite of the plenty of motives and the intense need and the general challenge, (2) the *Sarfah*, (3) the eloquence, (4) the prophesying of future events and (5) the breaking of the established rule, and (6) its analogy to all the other miracles. Now the breaking of the established rule is that (up till then) the well-known established forms of speech had been *Shi'r*, *Saj'*, *Khutab*, *Rasâ'il* and the prose which was current in conversation. But the Qur'ân opened a new path, unique and different from the established ones. It has a degree of beauty which surpasses that of all the other forms and excels even verse which is the best form of speech. Its analogy to other miracles lay in the fact that it was similar to the parting of the sea and the transformation of the rod into a snake, or other miracles of the same kind, in so far as it broke the established rule and so hindered the creatures from rivalling it."

It is remarkable how Ar-Rumânî puts together the two arguments of the Style and *Sarfah* which were originally meant to exclude one another. The point of controversy is lost through the passage of time and two contradictory arguments can be put side by side.

Now, with the question of Style, arose the problem of a standard or criterion. How can one find out that the Style of the Qur'ân is supernatural? The first answer to this was that it depended on personal taste. Only those who had got a right taste for Arabic style could be sure of it. Common people amongst the Arabs themselves or the foreigners could not be certain of the fact and had to depend on expert opinion. We find Al-Qummi asserting that the nature of the miracle of the Qur'ân could only be realised, and it was impossible to describe it just like a good piece of poetry or the beauty of a face. Anybody who asserted the contrary and tried to show

* *Itqan* Vol., II p. 122.

that the miracle lay either in *Sarfah* or departure from the established forms of speech or freedom from contradictions or even the prophecies was absolutely wrong, in his opinion.¹

But Al-Khattâbî opposed this view. He said : " Most of the speculative theologians are of the opinion that the reason why the Qur'ân is supernatural lies in (its) eloquence, but it has proved difficult for them to explain it and they are inclined towards the judgment of taste only. But the fact is that the forms of speech differ and rank high or low when considered from the point of view of rhetoric. (The words) are either eloquent, sedate and solid or chaste, soft and easy or correct, copious and flowing. These are the three classes of good and praiseworthy speech. The first is the highest, the second the middle one and the third the lowest and the easiest. The eloquence of the Qur'ân partakes of all the three classes and has, by merging them into one, created a style of its own which contains solidness as well as sweetness although, put separately, these two qualities are contrary to one another..... So the combination of the two qualities in spite of their contrariety is a qualification given specially to the Qur'ân by God so that it might be a clear sign for his prophet."²

Al-Khattâbî adds another argument which, he says, had been neglected : namely, the effect that the Qur'ân produces on people. He says : " No words, be they poetry or prose, when heard by the ear, produce on the heart sometimes the effect of sweetness and sometimes that of awe as the Qur'ân does."³

Now appeared Bâqillâni who collected all the arguments as yet put forward and added his own to them. We have already given a short sketch of his book. In the second chapter he argues at length why the Qur'ân should be termed a miracle.⁴ The gist of it we have given under the general arguments. He is also against *Sarfah*. In the third chapter⁵ he puts forward three arguments at the start.

(1) On the margin of Tabarî's *Tafsir* Vol. I, p. 181. See also *Suyuti* II, p. 120 where he quotes As-Sakkâkî. As-Sakkâkî uses the very words of Al-Qummi but adds also the analogy of music.

(2) *Itqan* Vol. II, p. 121.

(3) *Itqan* Vol. II, p. 121.

(4) pp. 20-35.

(2) pp. 36-58.

1. The Qur'ân contains prophecies about future events and this is beyond the power of man.

2. It is well known that Muhammad was an 'Ummî (one who could neither read nor write). It is also known that he was not conversant with the books of the ancients or their tales and biographies. Nevertheless he recapitulated all the important events that had happened from the creation of Adam down to his own call. So there is no other way but to conclude that he received all the information direct from God through revelation.

3. The Qur'ân surpasses the limit man can reach in composition, style and eloquence.

These are the arguments which his predecessors had already put forward but his business is to enlarge upon them. So he proceeds to enlarge upon the third argument and draws the attention of the readers to ten points :

1. The first point, which is a general one, is that the style of the Qur'ân, with all its different phases and aspects, goes beyond all the known styles and is special to the Qur'ân alone.

2. That the Arabs have got no piece of composition which can rival the Qur'ân in its eloquence and chastity of style and is at the same time so long as the Qur'ân is.

3. That the style of the Qur'ân retains its high level in all the phases of expression. For example the Qur'ân contains tales and sermons, arguments and exhortations, promises and threatenings, ethical teachings and so many other things. In spite of these different aspects the style never degenerates, as is the case even with the best of poets and orators. They excel only in one class of subjects while the Qur'ân excels in all of them.

4. That in the composition of the best authors (even on one subject) one part does not compare with the other. It is particularly the case where the author shifts from one idea to another. But in the Qur'ân, on the other hand, we see that the most divergent topics are treated in such a way that they appear to be one whole.

5. That the style of the Qur'ân is not only superior to that of men but also to that of the Jinn. It might be said that this is a claim about which we cannot be sure because it is beyond the range of our knowledge. We can be sure at least about this: that the style of the Qur'ân is superior to the style of those compositions which the Arabs believed to be the compositions of the Jinn.

6. That all the different forms of expression, like dilation and elision,¹ collection and distribution,² metaphor and explicitness,³ etc., which are found in their compositions are to be found also in the Qur'ân. Moreover these forms in the Qur'ân excel their forms in every respect.

7. That it is more difficult to coin words for new ideas than to coin words for current ones. In the Qur'ân we find such words which express the new Quranic ideas about Sharî'ah in a way which is beyond the power of man.

8. That the excellence of a composition and the height of its eloquence is established when one takes out a word from it and puts it in another sentence or verse and if this word catches the attention of the reader or hearer. This is exactly the case with the words of the Qur'ân. Its words when used in other compositions shine like jewels or pearls.

9. That the letters of the alphabet on which the Arabic language is based are 29, and the chapters of the Qur'ân which begin with letters of the alphabet number 28, and the letters of the alphabet so used are 14 or exactly the half. This is to show that the composition of the Qur'ân is based on the very alphabet which they use. Then again the letters of the alphabet have been classified in different categories by different people, as, for example, soft and hard,⁴ guttural and non-guttural,⁵ straining and non-straining,⁶ covering and open⁷ letters. The remarkable fact is that half the letters from all these classes are used at the beginning of chapters of the Qur'ân. The classification dates long after the appearance of the Qur'ân and the fact that exactly half the number from every class are used is a proof of the knowledge of the future and this is possible only to God.

10. That the language of the Qur'ân is simple and easy and its meaning is quickly understood. It does not contain uncouth words or expressions. Nevertheless it is impossible to rival its style.

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- الاستعارة والتصريح (3) الجمع والتفريق (2) البسط والاقصار (1)
 حروف الحلق وغير الحلق (5) الحروف المهموسة والجهورة (4)
 الحروف المطبقة والمنفتحة (7) الحروف الشديدة وغير الشديدة (6)

These are the ten points of Bâqillânî. The rest of his book is devoted to the amplification of these points. The whole force of these points can only be realised by going through the book from one end to the other. It is impossible here to enter into details. The book of Bâqillânî is the central link in the whole chain of arguments brought forward to prove the dogma of I'jâzu'l-Qur'ân. All the arguments put forward by his predecessors converge in him and then flow again from him into different channels. By now we have reached the end of the 4th century, when most of the Islamic dogmas had acquired a sort of rigidity which can be traced up to the modern times. The structure of Kalâm was completed at this time and the efforts of the later Mutakallimîn are confined to the decoration of the building already erected.

The argument of Sarfah got another champion in As-Sayyid Ash-Sharîf Al-Murtadâ, and he was perhaps the last man who saw the miracle of the Qur'ân only in Sarfah. We are quite in the dark about all his arguments because his book is lost ; but, as he himself mentions in one of his letters,¹ the chief argument he brought forward was that the difference between the small pieces in the Qur'ân and the best compositions of the Arabs is not evident to everyone although the difference between the good and bad compositions of the Arabs is quite evident. So the only sure way of proving the miracle of the Qur'ân is to establish that the Arabs did not produce the like of it or, in other words, that they were deterred by God from doing this.²

Much does not remain to be said regarding the arguments. After this time the merit of a Mutakallim lies not in bringing new arguments but in putting the old ones in an original way. This can be judged only by reading the works of the authors themselves and cannot be put briefly in another language. We see, for example, Al-Mâwardî counting twenty arguments in favour of the I'jâz but only one seems to be new viz., that the Qur'ân can be committed to memory so very easily³ by everybody

(1) MS. Berlin Pet. 40. Fol. 4 b.

(2) The argument of Sarfah is to be found more in the Kalâm of the Shî'a than of Ahlu's-Sunna. See Al-Qutbu'r-Râwandî (Arabic Texts, pp.). This incidentally proves the connection of the Shi'ite dogmatists with the Mu'tazila, especially the earlier ones.

(3) No new argument surely, since the fact is mentioned repeatedly in the Qur'ân itself. Editor "Islamic Culture."

even by the Persians and the Copts. ¹ Then another thing which the later Mutakallimûn have done is that they have expanded and elaborated the arguments. We find for example Al-Qâdi Iyâd 'Alî al-Amidî and Shahrîstânî writing pages after pages to make one argument clear. Al-Amidî has got a further peculiarity viz., that he puts questions which might arise in the mind of a reader and answers them, but strangely enough the questions are put in a finer way than the answers.

The name of Ar-Râghibû'l-Isfahânî should also be mentioned here for the very fine style in which he writes and the original way in which he begins the arguments. The article of Ibn Hazm is more remarkable for the invectives he uses against those who differ from him than for the arguments he puts forward.

7. REPORTS OF OPPOSITION AND REFUTATION.

In the first section we have already noticed some of the comments on the Qur'ân offered by the people of Mecca which are quoted in the Qur'ân itself. In the life-time of the Prophet there appeared certain persons who either claimed prophethood for themselves or tried to produce something like the Qur'ân. One of them who lived in or about Mecca was Nadr b. al-Hârith. ² He did not claim to be a prophet, but he used to relate stories of the Kings of Persia with intent to rival the stories about the old prophets or peoples mentioned in the Qur'ân. We can take him as a representative of those who said that Muhammad was merely a story-teller and the Qur'ân nothing more than the tales of the past (أساطير الاولين). Nothing either of the words or the contents of his stories has reached us.

Then come a number of persons who claimed to be prophets themselves. The most famous of them was Museylima b. Habîb of the tribe of Banî Hanîfah of Yamâmah. He appeared in the last years of the life-time of the Prophet and is said even to have written a letter to him which ran :—" Verily, I have been made a partner of thine in this world. Half of the land belongs to us and half to the Qureysh. But the Qureysh are a rebellious people....." ³ After the death of the Prophet he

(1) *A'lamu'n-Nubuwwah* pp. 40-53.

(2) Ibn Hishâm, *Sirah*. Göttingen 1850 Vol. I, p. 191.

(3) Tabarî, *Tarikh*. Leyden 1889 Vol. I, pp. 748-50.

succeeded in getting quite a good following, and Abû Bekr had to send an army against him. He was killed in the battle which followed. Some of his sayings have reached us but they are mostly imitations of verses of the Qur'ân and have no literary worth. It is very likely that they are later fabrications for the purpose of exposing Museylima to the ridicule of later generations.¹ The others were: 1. 'Abhala b. Ka'b (better known as Al-Aswad ul-'Anasî)² 2. Sajah, bintu'l-Hârith of the tribe of Banî Tamîm³ and 3. Tulaiha b. Khuweylid of Banî Asad.⁴ Of their utterances only a sentence or two has reached us and it is not possible to form any opinion.

About the middle of the second century there lived a number of people who were more or less freethinkers. The most prominent of them were Ibnu'l-Muqaffa',⁵ Bashshâr b. Burd⁶, Sâlih b. 'Abdi'l-Quddûs⁷ and Abdu'l-Hamîd al-Kâtib.⁸ All of them were well known writers or poets. The report goes that they used to sit together and criticise the Qur'ân or tried to excel it in composition and style. The report is particularly persistent in the case of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa'. It is a most remarkable phenomenon in Arabic literary history that many of the best prose writers and also some poets of the early times are accused of trying at one time or other to rival the Qur'ân. But the stories always end on the same note, namely, that they were obliged to abandon the attempt finding it beyond their power. In the same category fall also Abû't-Tayyib al-Mutanabbi (d. 354 A.H.),⁹ Qabûs b. Washmgir¹⁰ (d. 403

(1) For an account of Museylima, see :

(i) Tabari, *Tarikh* Vol. I, p. 1737-38 ; 1795-98 ; 1915-20 ; 1929-49.

(ii) Ibn Hishâm, *Sirah* p. 945-46 ; 965. For his sayings, see Appendix No. 2.

(2) See Tabari, Vol. I ; 1795-98 ; 1853-68 ; 1870-71 ; 1997-2001 Ibn Hishâm p. 964.

(3) See Tabari, Vol. I, pp. 1900 ; 1911-21 ; 1930.

(4) See Tabari, Vol. I, 1805-88 ; 1890-93 ; 2258-65 ; 2372-29 ; Ibn Hishâm p. 452.

(5) See (i) *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, article *Bashshar* and the bibliography thereunder also. (ii) *Bashshar b. Burd* by Mansûr Huseyu—Cairo..... (iii) Nicholson's *Literary History*, p. 373.

(6) See I. Goldziher :—*S. B. A. Qund das Zindiktum* (Transactions of the 9th Or. Conf. London, II-104-129) 2. Nicholson p. 374.

(7) Ibn Khallikân (De Slane) Vol. II., p. 173, Mas'ûdi *Muruju'dh-Dhahab* Vol. VI, p. 81.

(8) Nicholson, p. 804-812. Brockelmann I, p.86-88.

(9) See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, article *Ibnu'l-Muqaffa* and the bibliography thereunder. Also 'Abbâs Iqbâl Ashtyâni—*Sharhi Hali Ibni'l-Muqaffa* Farsi—Berlin 92 F.

(10) See *Qabus Washmgiri* (Berlin, publications of Translator No. I).

A.H.) and Abû'l 'Ala al-Ma'arri¹ (d. 449 A.H.) In the case of Mutanabbi the surname itself shows that he was said to have claimed prophethood. The stories sound very circumstantial; firstly, because these people are known, without doubt, to have been not very orthodox in their beliefs, and secondly, and perhaps chiefly, because they were unquestionably masters of style. Popular imagination is at all times very fertile, and it is common knowledge that the passage of time turns vague rumour into established history and fiction into fact. Especially in case of those persons who oppose the popular beliefs it always happens that as time goes on additional sins are added to their charge-sheet. The evidence at our disposal does not warrant a summary judgment one way or the other. The age in which Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' and his companions lived was an age in which the process of the formation of dogmas had just begun. There were bound to be serious differences of opinion on every subject. We have already seen that approximately during the same period the question of I'jazu'l-Qur'ân was being discussed for the first time. Actions and reactions were inevitable. These people, as forming a group of intellectuals, must have had opinions of their own, which were more likely than not to have differed from the common view. The popular mind always thinks in extremes. Either a person believes in everything or he believes in nothing. If he does not believe in one thing the chances are ten to one that he does not believe in the other also. That is popular logic, and that is how persons are judged by the tribunal of public opinion. Why should there have been any exception in the case of these persons?

Against Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' there is a more serious charge: that he wrote a book against Islâm and criticised especially the Qur'ân. There is only one evidence in favour of the charge. Among the writings of Al-Qâsim b. Ibrâhîm Ar-Rasi² (d. 246 A.H.), one of the Imams of the Zeydiyya, there is a treatise which is named *Kitab'ur-raddi-'ala'z-Zindiqli'l-la'in ibni'l Muqaffa'*.³ He quotes from the book of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' which was in his hands and then proceeds to refute the arguments. It has been fairly well

(1) i. *Ency. of Islam*, article Abû'l-'Ala.

ii. Taha Huseyn. *Dhikra Abi'l-'Ala*. Cairo, 1922 (2nd Ed.)

iii. 'Abdul 'Aziz al-Meyman Ar-Rajkoti—*Abu'l 'Ala ma lahu wa na 'alaih*, Cairo.

(2) S. Lane-Poole *Moh. Dynasties*, London 1894, p. 102.

(3) Ed. Guidi, Rome, 192 F.

discussed, and established almost beyond doubt, that this treatise is the work of Al-Qâsim,¹ but what is very doubtful, and has not been yet discussed, is the question whether the book of which this is the refutation could have really been written by Ibnu'l-Muqaffa'. The external evidence against this is that from no other source is Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' known to have written any such book. His works are well known and, although not all of them have reached us, at least their names have been preserved. Also, from what we know about his life, manners and temperament, it seems very unlikely that he indulged in such controversies. There is also internal evidence against this. The passages quoted by Al-Qâsim do not speak much for the ability of the author either in style or in argument. Al-Qâsim himself remarks that the style of the book is un-Arabic (A'jamî ul-Beyân).² Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' on the other hand was one of the best writers of Arabic, and also a clever and learned man. We have no reason to doubt that a book criticising the Qur'ân and Islam in general did reach the hands of Al-Qâsim, and that it was written by one of the Thanawîya and also that Al-Qâsim was made to believe that it was the work of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa'. But Al-Qâsim lived far away in Yaman and about a century after the time of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa'. At that time the Thanawîya literature was spreading and was mostly anonymous. The authors had good reasons to keep back their names. Speculation must have been rife about the authorship of such books and it is not to be wondered at that one of them was attributed to Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' who was a well known writer, had been accused of Zandaqah in his own time, and was also known to have translated some of the religious literature of his own people. Al-Qâsim, who was every inch a zealous preacher, took this for granted and began to refute the book. To him it was naturally a secondary question as to who had written the book. The primary thing was that it was against orthodox Islâm, and whosoever the author might be he was a *Zindiq* and *la'in*. He had no time and no need to examine the question of authorship.

In the reign of Mâ'mûn (198-218 A.H.), when liberalism was not only preached but also forced upon people, the one problem of the day was the question of Khalqu'l-

(1) See Nybergin *O. L. Z.* 1922 p. 425 ff. and Bergsträsser in *Islamica* 1930 p. 294 ff.

(2) p. 8.

Qur'ân. The question of I'jâzu'l-Qur'ân must have been either pushed aside or discussed only as subsidiary to the big problem. But a very remarkable thing happened at that time. A certain courtier of Mâ'mûn, who was also related to him and who is known as 'Abdullâh b. Ismâ'il al-Hâshimî, wrote a letter to a friend of his, who had also been once a courtier of Mâ'mûn, but was a staunch Christian and is known as 'Abdul Masîh b. Ishâq al-Kindî. In his letter he asked his friend to accept Islam, and gave his reasons for the superiority of Islam to Christianity. One of the arguments in favour of the prophethood of Muhammad was, naturally, the miracle of the Qur'ân. The Christian, Al-Kindî, wrote back a long letter refuting all the arguments of Al-Hâshimî and especially his argument concerning the Qur'ân. In this he passes some very strong remarks on the way in which the Qur'ân was collected, and on its subject-matter, its language and its style. In short, he tries by every means at his disposal to disprove the Muslim belief in the supernaturalism of the Qur'ân. This is very interesting reading, and is perhaps the best of the very few original documents written against the Qur'ân in the early times which are still preserved.¹

Not long after this appeared a person whose name was Abû'l Huseyn Ahmad b. Yahya and who is better known as Ibnu'r-Râwandî (d. about 250 A.H.). His chief work seems to have been criticising the doctrines of orthodox Islâm and especially the Qur'ân. He is said to have written many books having this theme. The one in which he confined himself only to criticism of the Qur'ân was called Ad-Dâmigh. It is said that he wrote this book for some Jews while he was staying with them in hiding, having much to fear from the hands of justice. He resembled somewhat the so-called free-lance journalist of these days and could write for and against the same cause without any scruple. He changed his opinions as often as he thought fit, and wrote in favour of everyone of them with the same amount of zeal and gusto. Some partial quotations from his writings are all that we have received from the great mass of books and treatises that he is reported to have produced.²

(1) Published in Cairo :

W. Muir summarised this book in an Essay, published in London in 1880.

(2) See Introduction to *K. ul-Intisar* by Khayyât, edited by Nyberg, Cairo, 1925, and Ritter in *Islam* 1930, p. 1, ff. (Bd. XIX).

The criticisms of the Qur'ân offered in the course of ages by non-Muslims and freethinkers, and what has been written by the Muslims in answer to their criticism, is a subject by itself. It is a vast subject, concerning which a lot of material is to be found scattered in the books of Kalâm. The Mutakallimîn almost invariably devote some pages of their books to the answer to such criticism after they have dealt with the question of I'jâzu'l-Qur'ân. Abû'l-Hasan Abdu'l-Jabbâr al-Hamudânî al-Asadâbâdî (d. 415 A.H.) felt even the need of writing a separate book on this subject which he named *Tanzîhu'l-Qur'an 'ani'l-Mata'in*.* It would be very instructive and of great value to students of the religious history of Islam and of the literary history of the Arabic language if all these criticisms, together with their answers, were collected and arranged systematically ; but this is not the place for it. It ought to be dealt with separately and thoroughly.

* Printed in Cairo, 1329 A.H.

ABDUL ALEEM.

(Concluded.)

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN MODERN PERSIA

I. CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS.

THE government of a country exists for its people and not the people for the government. A well-ordered State must, above all things, assure the personal liberty and civil rights of its citizens. In the articles of the Supplementary Constitution of 1909 (VIII-XXV), devoted to the Rights of the Persian Nation, all the best ideas of the age are emphatically expressed.*

“The people of the Persian Empire are to enjoy equal rights before the law. All individuals are protected and safeguarded in respect of their lives, property, homes and honour from every kind of interference, and no one may molest them save in such cases and in such ways as the laws of the land determine. No one can be summarily arrested, save *flagrante delicto*, in the commission of some crime or misdemeanour, except on the written authority of the presiding officer of a court of justice (*rais-i mahkama-i 'adaliah*) given in conformity with the law. Even in such case the accused must immediately, or at the latest in the course of the next twenty-four hours, be informed and notified of the nature of his offence. No one can be forcibly removed from the tribunal which is entitled to give judgment on his case to another tribunal. No punishment can be decreed or executed save in conformity with the law. Every person's dwelling and house is protected and safeguarded, and no dwelling-place may be entered, save in such case and in such way as the law has decreed. No Persian can be exiled from his country, or prevented from residing in any part thereof, or compelled to reside in any specified part except in such cases as the law may

* The passage that follows has been taken, with slight modification, from Professor Browne's translations of the Persian Constitution. The Persian text will be found in *Musawwibat-i Majlis*, Vol. 1, pp. 2-45.

determine. No property shall be removed from the control of its owner save by legal sanction, and then only after its fair value has been determined and paid. The confiscation of the property or possessions of any person by way of punishment or retribution is forbidden, save in conformity with the law. The acquisition of all sciences, arts and crafts is free, save in case of such as may be forbidden by ecclesiastical law (*shari'at*). All publications, except heretical books and matters hurtful to the perspicuous religion (of Islam) are free, and are exempt from censorship. If, however, anything should be discovered in them contrary to the Press Law, the publisher or writer is liable to punishment according to that law. If the writer be known, and be residing in Persia, then the publisher, printer or distributor shall not be liable to prosecution. Societies (*anjumans*) and associations (*ijtima'at*), which are not productive of mischief to religion and the state, and are not injurious to good order, are free throughout the whole Empire, but members of such associations must not carry arms, and must obey the rules laid down by the law on this matter. Assemblies in public thoroughfares and open spaces must likewise obey police laws. Correspondence passing through the post is safeguarded and exempt from seizure and examination, save in such exceptional cases as the law lays down. It is forbidden to disclose or detain telegraphic correspondence without the express permission of the owner, save in such cases as the law lays down. Foreign subjects may become naturalised as Persian subjects, but their acceptance or continuance as such, or their deprivation of this status, shall be determined by a special law."

These are splendid echoes of the great constitutional statutes of the West, from the English *Magna.Charta* to the *Rights of the German Nation*. But constitutional declarations of principles are as good as useless unless the legislature embodies them in proper laws : and these laws in their turn will be 'mere words and breath' unless there is an efficient, impartial and independent judiciary to enforce them. The framers of the Constitution were not ignorant of this patent fact and proceeded in another set of articles (CXXI-XLI) to lay down the principles of judicial organization and procedure.

"The Supreme Ministry of Justice and the judicial tribunals are the places officially destined for the redress of public grievances, while judgment in all matters falling

within the scope of ecclesiastical law (*umur-i Shar'iah*) is vested in just *mujtahids* possessing the necessary qualifications. Disputes connected with political rights belong to the judicial tribunals, save in such cases as the law shall except. The establishment of the civil tribunals depends on the authority of the law, and no one, on any title or pretext, may establish any tribunals contrary to its provisions. No tribunal can be constituted save by the authority of the law. In the whole kingdom there shall be only one High Court (*Diwan-i 'Ali Tamyiz*) for the decision of secular cases (*umur 'urfia*), and this Court shall not deal with any case of first instance, except when the Ministers are concerned. All proceedings of the tribunals shall be public, save in cases where such publicity would be injurious to public order or contrary to public morality. In such cases the tribunals must declare the necessity of sitting *clausis foribus*. In cases of political or press offences, where it is desirable that the proceedings should be private, this must be agreed to by all members of the tribunal. The decisions and sentences emanating from the tribunals must be reasoned and supported by proof, and must contain the articles of the law in accordance with which judgment has been given, and they must be read publicly. In cases of political and press offences, a jury must be present in the tribunals. The president (*ra'is*) and members of the judicial tribunals shall be chosen in such manner as the judicial laws determine, and shall be appointed by Royal Decree. No judge of a judicial tribunal can be temporarily or permanently transferred from his office unless he be brought to judgment and his offence be proved, save in case of his voluntary resignation. The judge of a law-court cannot be assigned other duties except with his own consent. The appointment of the Public Prosecutor (*Mudda'i 'umumi*) is within the competence of the king, subject to the approval of the ecclesiastical judge. The appointment of the judges of the law-courts shall be determined in accordance with the law. The judges of the law-courts cannot accept any post under the government, unless the post is honorary and its acceptance not opposed to the law. In every provincial capital (*kursi iyalat*) there shall be established a Court of Appeal (*Mahkama-i Istinaf*) for dealing with judicial matters in such wise as is explicitly set forth in the laws concerning the administration of justice. Military tribunals (*Mahkama-i Nizami*) shall be established in the whole kingdom according to special laws. Arbitration in cases of dispute

as to the limitations of the functions and duties of the different departments of government shall, agreeably to the provisions of the law, be referred to the High Court. The High Court and other tribunals shall only give effect to the orders and *Nizamnamas*¹ of the central government, and of the provincial, district and municipal authorities when they are in conformity with the law."

II. ORGANISATION OF THE LAW COURTS.

Between the conception and the realisation of an idea, Humboldt remarks somewhere, there extend immense distances of space and time. The principles of the Supplementary Constitution bore no fruit during the twenty years which followed, and it was not till June 18, 1928, that the 'Law of the Principles of Judicial Organisation' was promulgated by the Judicial Commission.² This law sketches in 181 clauses the plan on which the law-courts of Persia have been instituted. It has been supplemented by other laws and the inevitable *Nizamnumas*; but its principal provisions are likely to remain in force for some years to come, and deserve to be considered.

The work of the Ministry of Justice is divided among five different offices, each responsible for distinct duties: (a) Correspondence and general supervision, (b) Personnel and departmental supervision, (c) Accounts, (d) Preparation of draft laws, translation and statistics (*ihsaia*), (e) Registration of Properties and Documents (*Sabt asnad wa imlak*). The detailed organisation of these offices is left to supplementary laws and *Nizamnamas*.

The law-courts of the country are divided into two kinds, 'general' and 'special.' 'General courts are those courts which can hear and determine all cases, except those specially exempted by the law.' Special courts are debarred from considering any cases except such as the law has explicitly assigned to them (2, 3, 4).³

The general courts, according to the Law, are of two grades—(a) Courts of First Instance (*Mahkama-i Ibtidai*) and (b) Courts of Appeal (*Mahkama-i Istinaf*). But to

(1) Persia like France confines her laws (*qānūn*), which are passed either by the Assembly or the Judicial Commission, to a bare enunciation of principles; the details necessary are provided by Regulations or *Nizamnamas* framed by the Cabinet, the Ministry or a Commission of the Assembly.

(2) *Musawwibat-i Majlis*, Vol. III, p. 184; also printed separately.

(3) The figures in brackets give the clauses of the laws referred to.

facilitate the decision of disputes (c) Small Cause Courts (*Mahkama-i Sulhiyah*) may be established at places considered necessary. Lastly, (d) the High Court (*Diwan-i 'Ali Tamyiz*), established by the Supplementary Constitution, stands at the head of the system and its powers are superior to all the law-courts (general or special) of the country. The Courts of First Instance, Courts of Appeal and Small Cause Courts can hear and decide cases in accordance with the law, but the powers of the High Court in this matter are limited. "Except in so far as the law explicitly requires, the High Court may not directly interfere in the decision of cases (*i.e.* act as a Court of First Instance) but shall confine itself to revising the orders of subordinate courts and to supervising the enforcement of laws and their proper administration by all the law-courts of the country." 'The soil of Iran' (*Khak-i Iran*), according to this scheme, is divided into a number of territorial jurisdictions (1) Jurisdiction of the Small Cause Courts (*Hanza-i Sulhiya*), (2) Jurisdiction of the Courts of First Instance (*Hanza-i Ibtidai*) (3) Jurisdiction of the Courts of Appeal (*Hanza-i Istinaf*). The jurisdiction of the higher courts naturally consists of a number of subordinate jurisdictions, while the jurisdictions of the High Court extends over the whole territory of the State (2-11). The language of the Constitution seems to imply that the jurisdiction of a Court of Appeal will coincide with the area of the administrative province (*iyalat*) and the jurisdiction of a Court of First Instance with the area of a district (*wilayat*). But owing to the illogical character of the present administrative divisions, the duty of defining the territorial jurisdictions of the law-courts has been left to the Ministry of Justice.

Investigators (*Mustantiq*)* are appointed for inquiring into cases of felonies and misdemeanours (*junah wa junayat*) and a Department of Public Prosecution has been organised to work along with the law-courts. If an investigator is absent, his duties may, at the request of the public prosecutor, be performed by his substitute ('*azwi 'alal badal*), or a Justice of the Peace (*Amin-i Sulh*). The following persons (whose detailed duties have been left to supplementary legislation) are placed under the orders of the law-courts—office clerks, registration officers, executive officers for carrying out the orders of the court,

* Literally, *mustantiq* means a 'cross-examiner.' *Istintaq* is 'cross-examination.'

the State medical officer, a translator (if necessary) and *vakils* or pleaders (12-14).

Small Cause Courts may be instituted in cities (*shahr*), towns (*qasbah*) and village-unions (*buluk*) at the discretion of the Minister of Justice. They are competent to hear all civil cases not involving a claim of more than Ts. 500 and criminal cases of minor misdemeanour or mere infraction of the law (*khilaf*).^{*} A single judge, the Justice of Peace (*Amin-i Sulh*) presides ; he may, within the limits of the law, hear cases at any place in the territory under his jurisdiction but is required to have a permanent office to which litigants may resort. In case the Justice of Peace is ill or absent, his duties may be temporarily performed by a neighbouring Justice in such manner as has been previously arranged between them ; or, in the alternative, a temporary officer may be appointed in his place in accordance with the *Nizamnama* of the Ministry of Justice. It was not to be expected that either men or money would be available for filling up all the posts contemplated by the Law of Judicial Organisation and provision has, consequently, been made for cases where either the Small Cause Court or the Court of First Instance has not been established. A Justice of the Peace, who has no Court of First Instance above him may hear civil cases up to Ts. 1,000 ; conversely, if no Justice of Peace has been appointed for a territory, his duties are performed by the Judge of the Court of First Instance, either personally or through his 'substitute.' Appeals against the decisions of the Justice of Peace can, in accordance with the law, be taken to the Court of First Instance within the territorial jurisdiction of which the Small Cause Court is situated ; but where the duties of the Justice of Peace have been performed by a judge of the Court of First Instance, appeals are permitted to one of the neighbouring First Instance Courts specified by the *Nizamnama* of the Ministry. The Justice of the Peace is required to perform the duties of the Investigator in all cases of felonies and grave misdemeanours if a court of First Instance has not been established over the territory, and to send the *dossier* to the public prosecutor of that Court of First Instance which is competent to try the case (15-24). The Persian Justice of the Peace unlike his English namesake, is not a respectable local gentleman with plenty of leisure

^{*}The value of the Persian Tuman has been changing from time to time. Roughly an English pound sterling is seven Tumans at their silver value.

appointed by the government for the performance of important but honorary duties ; he is a junior member of the Judicial Service, who has received a legal training and has still his spurs to win.

The Ministry of Justice may also establish Local Petty Courts (*Mahkama-i Sulhiha-i Nahiya*) at such places as it deems necessary. These Courts can try all criminal cases involving mere infraction of the law (*khilaf*) and all civil cases in which the property in dispute, whether movable or immovable, does not exceed Ts. 20.* Their decisions are final and unappealable. If no Small Cause Court or First Instance Court has been established over a territory, the Petty Courts may hear civil cases up to Ts. 100 but their decisions are appealable provided the value of the property involved is more than Ts. 20. Conversely, where either the Small Cause Court or the Court of First Instance performs the duties of a Petty Court, no appeal against its decision is permitted in disputes involving less than Ts. 20. With the agreement of both parties, the Petty Courts can hear cases of any value (15-30).

The Courts of First Instance can try both civil and criminal cases. A judge, a substitute judge and an investigator are necessary for the constitution of every First Instance Court ; but the Ministry may, where the number of cases is large, provide for more judges and other officers, and divide the Court into sections (*shu'bas*) for trying different kinds of cases. Every section will then have one judge (*hakim*), and the judge of the first section will be considered the senior judge of the Court (31-36).

The Courts of Appeal are competent, under the conditions laid down by the law, to hear appeals from the Courts of First Instance in civil, criminal and commercial cases. The bench must consist of at least one senior judge and two ordinary judges, but substitute judges may also be appointed. Where the Court is divided into two or more sections, the presiding judge of the first section is considered the senior judge of the whole court. The Court of Appeal, when trying cases of felony, is known as the Criminal Court, it has then a bench of five judges—three ordinary judges of the Court or of its criminal section, and two additional judges selected by the Chief Judge from

* The Persian term *khilaf* comprises all 'crimes'—if they may be so called—which are a violation of the law but do not involve any moral turpitude, *e. g.*, driving on the left side of the road, or not wearing European dress and the Pahlavi cap.

among the judges of the other sections, the substitute judges or judges of the Courts of First Instance (35-37).

The High Court must consist of at least two, and, if necessary, of three sections and every section must have one Senior Justice (*Ra'is*) and three ordinary Justices.* But since only three justices sit at one time on the High Court Bench, one of the ordinary Justices is, by rotation, appointed 'additional member' by the Senior Justice, the 'additional member' can only occupy a place on the bench when there is a vacancy owing to the absence of one of the Justices. The Senior Justice of the first section is the Chief Justice of the High Court. Two Assistant Justices may also be appointed to fill up, at the direction of the Chief Justice, temporary vacancies on the benches of the three sections (38-39). A judgment of the High Court is always delivered by a Bench of three Justices and the posts provided for by the Statute are in practice always kept full.

An Executive Officer with necessary subordinates is put under the direction of every court. Help from the police and the administrative officers may be demanded when necessary (83).

Four kinds of 'Special Courts' are recognised by the Law of Judicial Organisation—(1) Ecclesiastical Courts (*Mahakim-i Shari'a*), (2) Reconciliation Officer (*Hukkam-i Sulh*), (3) Commercial Courts (*Mahakim-i Tijarat*) and (4) Administrative Courts (*Mahakim-i Intizami*).

The Reconciliation Officers and the Ecclesiastical Courts are closely allied. The Ecclesiastical Courts can only hear such cases as are specially assigned to them by various laws—of which more presently—and are sent to them by an ordinary court of law through a Reconciliation Officer. No litigant may go directly to an Ecclesiastical Court. 'The Ecclesiastical Court is presided over by a *Mujtahid*, fulfilling all qualifications, and one or two assistants, who have attained to the status of a *Mujtahid*, may also be appointed if necessary.' The *Mujtahids* are paid officers, appointed and dismissed by the government. As to the Reconciliation Officers, the Statute says very generously that 'they shall be kept at such places and in such numbers as may be deemed necessary.' (40-42).

Before we proceed to examine the remaining provisions of the Law of Judicial Organisation, a few words must be

* There are four sections at present.

added to explain the present position of the Ecclesiastical Courts. "The Supreme Ministry of Justice and the judicial tribunals," article LXXI of the Supplementary Constitution declares, "are the places officially destined for the redress of public grievances, while judgment in all matters falling within the scope of the Ecclesiastical Law is vested in just *Mujtahids* possessing the necessary qualifications." The scope of the Ecclesiastical Law, as is notorious, may be strained to cover the whole of human life. But in this case 'the law' has been bolder and wiser than 'the Constitution,' and successive decrees of the Judicial Commission have gradually circumscribed the sphere of the Ecclesiastical Courts.¹ These courts still exist, but their existence is more akin to death than to life. The comparatively more generous provisions of the Code of Civil Procedure were first repealed by a Law of January 1, 1929,² by which the ordinary courts were directed not to transfer any cases to Ecclesiastical Courts except in the following instances:—(a) cases of marriage and divorce involving principles of law; (b) cases, which according to a *special law*, can only be decided by personal affirmation (*iqama-i bayanah*) or oath on the Qur'ân; (c) cases in which, under special laws, an administrator or *mutawalli* (manager of a charitable endowment) has to be appointed. These provisions were further modified by a Law of May 4, 1929, which declared that cases involving proof by personal affirmation would be specified by a *special law*; and that, till this law was promulgated, no such cases were to be transferred to the ecclesiastics. It was provided, moreover, that all cases transferred from the ordinary courts to the Ecclesiastical Courts before the law of January 1, 1929, were to be brought back to the ordinary courts on the written application of one of the parties, unless the cases were such as the ecclesiastics alone were competent to decide. These amendments confined the authority of the ecclesiastics to questions of purely religious doctrine, such as modes of ablution and forms of prayer, and to decisions of legal points in cases of marriage and divorce. It is not for the State, as a State, to meddle with the former, but the Judicial Commission has passed a 'Marriage Law' of twenty clauses which came into force on September 24, 1931.

(1) The Judicial Commission consists of eighteen persons elected by the National Legislative Assembly (*Majlis-i Shura-i Milli*) from amongst its member for a period of six months. It is empowered by a law—which the Assembly has been renewing every six months—to make laws without any reference to the Assembly itself.

This law refrains from prohibiting polygamy and temporary marriages. But it provides (among other things) for the registration of marriages and divorces, lays down the mutual rights of husband and wife, declares the ordinary courts competent to try all cases between them and empowers the Minister of Justice to enforce the provisions of the law by a supplementary *Nizamnama*. In order to win over the clerical elements, the Supplementary Constitution placed the Ecclesiastical Courts on a constitutional footing; and the public opinion of to-day is not opposed to their continued existence so long as they do not meddle with any practical issues of life. Rules of procedure prevent them from recording anything more substantial than the oaths and affirmations of parties who are unable to produce any evidence; in the judicial administration of the country they have ceased to be a factor that counts.

The Ministry of Justice may institute Commercial Courts (*Mahakama-i Tijarati*) at such places as it deems necessary, the territorial jurisdiction of these courts being the same as of the First Instance Courts. Where a Commercial Court has not been established, the Court of First Instance can hear all cases arising under commercial law. The parties have the right of 'introducing' a commercial representative (*Musdiq-i Tijarati*), who sits on the bench with the judge when a commercial case is being tried either by a Commercial or a First Instance Court. If one of the parties fails to introduce a representative, he is deemed to have accepted the judge as his representative and the case is proceeded with. In case of a difference of opinion between the commercial representative and the judge, the opinion of the latter prevails. The privilege of introducing a commercial representative also belongs to the parties when a commercial case is being heard by a Petty Court or a Court of Appeal; but in case of an equality of votes in the latter court, the opinion of the judge prevails. Appeals from the judgments of lower courts to the Court of Appeal and the High Court, subject to the provisions of the law, are permitted in commercial cases (43-47). The Commercial Courts, wherever they exist, are really Courts of First Instance for hearing a special class of cases; the appellate courts are the same for both commercial, civil and criminal cases.

III. DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC PROSECUTION.

A very peculiar and interesting feature of the judicial

administration of the country is the Department of Public Prosecution or *Parkah*, which, under the control of the Minister of Justice, is invested with powers denied to it in other countries. "Public prosecutors," says the Law of the Principles of Judicial Organisation, "are officers who, in accordance with the law, perform their duty of protecting public rights and supervising the enforcement of law. In criminal cases, the public prosecutor is the representative of the community; in civil cases he is an impartial observer except in so far as the law has given him a right to interfere. The public prosecutors supervise the administration of justice in the courts to which they are attached and must see to it that the provisions of the law are not infringed. In case of a violation of the law or a miscarriage of justice, they must submit their reports to the Minister of Justice. The Department of Public Prosecution is under the control of the Minister of Justice and consists of three sections—the High Court Section, the Courts of Appeals' Section, and the Section of the Courts of First Instance. The *Parkah* of the High Court shall consist of the public prosecutor of the High Court and one or, if necessary, two Assistants. The *Parkah* of the Court of Appeal shall consist of the public prosecutor of the Court with one government pleader (*vakili-'umumi*) for every section of the court; the *Parkah* of the Court of First Instance shall have a public prosecutor and the government pleaders he may stand in need of (49-56)." No section of the *Parkah* is attached to the Small Cause Courts. Sufficient office staff is to be given to the *Parkahs* of all the courts; and the *Parkah* of the First Instance Courts is even required to keep a store-room for instruments that have been used in the perpetration of crimes, lost and unclaimed articles and the like (58-59).

The public prosecutor of every court is responsible for the proper conduct of his office. "The allotment of duties in every *Parkah* is the privileges of the public prosecutor; his assistant and the government pleaders are required to perform their duties under his supervision and direction (57). He shall, at his discretion, allot them to the various sections of the court to which he is attached; and they shall, when appearing before the court, speak and plead in his name (61)." The government pleader should, in all important cases, place his personal opinion before the public prosecutor; but if the latter is unwilling to accept his advice and the former persists in his opinion,

the public prosecutor has the right of entrusting the case to a pleader who is prepared to conduct it according to his wishes (62). In case the public prosecutor is ill or absent, the senior government pleader takes his place. To prevent government cases failing for want of someone to conduct them, detailed provisions have been laid down to enable the administration to appoint substitutes for officers of the *Parkah* during their absence. The 'government pleaders' of Persia, it must be remembered, belong to the permanent judicial service of the State; they are not members of the legal profession to whom the conduct of government cases has been assigned.

In cases of crimes and misdemeanours, public prosecutors are bound to make all necessary investigations and to prosecute the accused in accordance with the Code of Criminal Procedure and other laws (89-90). In civil cases, their power of interference is confined to the following 'occasions':—(1) issues involving *public benefit* and public rights—public roads, canals, etc.—whether the case be between inhabitants of the same or of different places; (2) *Government cases*, whether appertaining to the revenue of the State or to public endowments, etc.; (3) *Moneys or other things to which the public has a right*, e.g., bequests for public charities etc.; (4) Cases appertaining to minors, madmen, idiots and persons who cannot be traced (*maqfudu'l-asr*). These occasions are collectively known as *Iblagh*—i.e. cases in which the *Parkah* interferes for the promulgation and justification of the law (96).

In the first three of the occasions mentioned above, the public prosecutor has a power of 'real' or 'official' interference (*mudakhila asliyah*). He cannot start litigation, for that is the privilege of the parties, whether private individuals or government departments, who have a specific interest in the matter (75). But once a case is started, his power of interference begins. If the case has been started in a Small Cause Court, the public prosecutor may not interfere till the Court has given judgment or the case has been compromised; but the court is required to send him a copy of its judgment or of the deed of compromise;* and thereafter the public prosecutor has the right, if dissatisfied, of appealing as a party to the cases (77). The same right will also belong to him if litigation is started in the Court of First Instance. "On all occasions

* It must be remembered that the Small Cause Court has no *Parkah* or Public Prosecution Department attached to it.

of real interference (60, a, b and c), the public prosecutor can appear as a plaintiff or respondent in a case. If the parties, who have a special interest in the case, come to a compromise, their compromise cannot deprive the public of its rights, and the public prosecutor, as the representative of the public rights, can proceed with the case. If the court gives its judgment, and the public prosecutor is not prepared to accept it, he has the right of objecting to the judgment and appealing against it in accordance with the rules of Civil Procedure. Whenever the parties who are specially concerned accept the judgment of a court, the public prosecutor has, in spite of their acceptance, the right of objecting, appealing, asking for arbitration and applying to the High Court (83-85)." In the fourth occasion mentioned above—i.e. in the case of minors, madmen, idiots and persons who cannot be traced—the public prosecutor has a 'natural' or 'moral right' of interference (*mudakhila-i tab'i*). The police is bound, in all cases of deaths, to inform the public prosecutor whether the deceased has left any minors, and he has also to be informed of all cases of lunacy, idiotcy and prolonged absence without news. He may, thereupon, move the court for the appointment of such guardians or trustees as he may consider necessary (37-72). But where proper legal guardians exist, the public prosecutor must be content to advise and watch. In a case of 'moral interference,' the public prosecutor gives his legal opinion as an adviser. If the parties, who have a special interest in the matter, come to a compromise or accept the judgment of the court, the public prosecutor is not entitled to object to it and cannot proceed with the case (84). Lastly, whenever judgment has been given in a Civil Case by a lower court, and neither of the parties appeals against it, the public prosecutor of that court may, if in his opinion the law has been wrongly interpreted, bring the matter to the notice of the public prosecutor of the High Court to enable the latter to obtain the decision of the High Court upon it. Such a decision, however, does not upset the judgment of the lower court and is only intended to secure the correct interpretation of law (87).

The Department of Public Prosecution has done excellent work since its reorganisation and contributed considerably to the cleansing of the Augean Stable. It is associated very closely with the police, on the one hand, and with the investigation officers of the government departments on the other. In a country full of charitable

endowments, which had been dishonestly administered for several generations, its power of interference in civil cases seemed to be both reasonable and necessary. In Persia, moreover, whole communities are dependent for their existence on the proper adjustment of water-rights ; in every canal and *karez* of the country, the claims of communities and individuals are hopelessly entangled. The law is new and not generally known ; and the help of a ' legal adviser ' cannot be easily dispensed with. But the relation of the public prosecutor to the judge of the court raises grave issues. They are not only members of the same service but belong to about the same grade of that service. Officially, the public prosecutor, the government pleader and even ordinary lawyers are subordinate to the judge, and the law often allows him to issue orders to the public prosecutor about the conduct of cases in his charge. Nevertheless, if the public prosecutor thinks that a decision has been unfair, he can report the matter to the Minister, who has the promotion of all judicial officers in his hands and to whom the public prosecutor is much nearer than the judge. " The public prosecutor," the law declares, " must side with truth in all cases, and must support with his opinion the party which he considers to be entitled under the law (86)." But, human nature being what it is, a public prosecutor's opinion of the honesty of a judge will be coloured by the latter's attitude towards the cases he conducts—cases in which the executive is deeply interested. Persia has not at present a competent Bar from which permanent High Court Judges and the Government Advocates may be selected, and it will require several generations before her legal profession, which has only just begun to sprawl in its cradle, develops that sense of respectability and honesty combined with a sound knowledge of law, on which, in the last resort, depends an educated community's hope of justice. The present relation of the judges and the public prosecutors is based on a principle which can hardly be expected to stand the test of time and experience. Peter is to look after Paul and Paul is to look after Peter—and the hope of the Minister of Justice is that both of them will not be drunk at the same time or with the same wine. Perhaps a new judicial service with meagre experience, low salaries, considerable temptations and no strong Bar to keep it straight, is in need of such a supervision. But the sooner it can be changed, the better. If not reformed, it will lead only to one unfortunate result—a terrorising of the judges by the

agents of the central executive. It should not be a part of the public prosecutor's work to supervise the decisions of the judge.

MOHAMMED HABIB.

ANNALS OF THE DELHI BADSHAHATE

(Continued from our last issue)

RAJA MAN SINGHA OF AMBER SUBJUGATES BENGAL

40. *The Mogul Empire on the accession of Jahangir*

Salutation to Sree-Krishna. On the death of Humayun his son Shah Akbar became the Padshah. On Akbar's demise his son Jahangir became the Padshah. Akbar had two Wazirs, Nazahat Khan and Mâtamad Khan. On the accession of Jahangir to the Badshahate, Nazahat Khan Wazir was removed from office, and Sayid Khan appointed in his place. The Padshah conducted the affairs of the State with Mâtamad Khan and the newly appointed Wazir.

Jahangir Padshah one day asked his two Wazirs, "Let me know the names of the countries with their Rajas and Padshahs who paid homage to Emperor Akbar but have refrained from doing so during my reign." The two Wazirs consulted the records and said,—"You have lost sovereignty over the following chiefs and territories,—Muhammad Murad Khan Padshah of Hussain-âbdâl, Shâhdul Padshah of Piran, Raja Bitholdas of Bund, Mohan-Madhur Singha of Rameswar-Bandar; Achinta Zemindar of Jaleswar-Bandar; Kiledar Khan,—Nawab of Benares Sarkari; Hussain Khan Padshah of Gaur in Bengal, and the kingdom of Bengal with their Rajas and Zemindars." The Emperor commanded that Subhas with forces be despatched against the refractory rulers with the object of subjugating them.

The Wazir said, "We have only two tanks of coins, one of gold mohurs and the other of silver, accumulated during the period from the reign of Timurlanga to Akbar Padshah. The gold and silver mohurs of the two tanks should now be extracted, with which alone you will be able to conduct the wars in all quarters simultaneously

by maintaining a large army of sepoys and officers. Akbar Padshah was very prodigal in expenses. We have searched in the treasury and have found there only seven crores of rupees, besides one more crore representing your own earning. With these eight crores of rupees it will be difficult to carry on the campaign in all the theatres of war at the same time."

Jahangir Padshah then replied, "It will bring disgrace to my father if the money from the tanks be raised and spent. People will say Akbar Padshah was bankrupt as his son had to carry on his Padshahship with the help of ancestral wealth. This report will gladden the hearts of our enemies."

41. *Proposal for the invasion of Gaur.*

The Wazir then said, "Let the campaign against foreign enemies be postponed for the present; specially because the Rajas and Padshahs of those territories live at a considerable distance from us. At present there is Hussain Shah Padshah of Gaur, a highly refractory chief. Kiledar Khan Nawab of Baranasi and the Zemindars and Rajas are also of a hostile disposition. They are not very far from Delhi. After their subjugation you should take up the subjugation of Hussain-âbdâl, Piran-Maluk and others. Bengal is an extensive territory where you will acquire a vast amount of wealth and property, with which you will be able to subdue other countries. Besides, in a dish of rice, one can eat up the whole pile without burning his fingers if he commences from the four corners. If, in a hurry he thrusts his hand right into the very middle of the platter, he will only scald his fingers and his tongue. There is Mândhâtâ, Raja of Amber, a commander of 8,000, whom you have deputed against the countries of the Sultans, which he has accordingly invaded and subdued by this time. Summon him back, and despatch him to the war against Hussain Shah, who has impregnable forts and garrisons. None but Mândhâtâ will be able to subjugate him."

42. *Man Singha starts on his expedition.*

The Emperor agreed to the proposal of the two Wazirs, summoned Mândhâtâ from his campaign, honoured and rewarded him with rich presents, and despatched him to the Gaur war. Mândhâtâ first visited his own principality

of Amber where he collected the Rajputs to whom he said, "My kinsmen who are deputed to the wars under the orders of the Padshah do not get any time to build up their strongholds ; and it transpires, that for doing so, they will have to wait for a period of time intervening the planting of a mango sapling and the enjoyment of its fruits. He is afraid lest, in a period of recess, I construct my forts and assume independence. I am despatched to all the wars, and I do not get any time to rest ; my soldiers are harassed and they curse me."

Then Raja Mândhâtâ, marched to Bengal, at the head of an army consisting of 70,000 imperial soldiers, 22 Omrâos of senior and junior ranks, his own contingency of 20,000 Rajput warriors, as well as his brothers and nephews. He paid his respects to the image of Kesavrâi Gosâin at Mathurâ where he arranged for the construction of a temple ; he also ordered the erection of a brick house at Brindâban for the shelter of the monkeys. He performed Srâddha at Gayâ, after which he reached Benares.

43. *Subjugation of Benares.*

Mândhâtâ despatched two Rajput envoys to Kiledar Khan of Benares with the following message, " You have eaten the salt of Emperor Akbar, but you have turned your face against his son Jahangir Padshah, a monarch of great prowess and valour. You will not know any peace in your life here and hereafter. If you desire your welfare, come and offer your submission to me, and I will protect you in the hands of the Padshah. If not, remember you are but the husk of corn before my army."

On the receipt of this letter Kiledar Khan thought within himself, " It will be disastrous if I court the friendship of Mândhâtâ, the Padshah will surely kill me. And if I flee I will not be able to escape. Mândhâtâ has come with an army befitting a Padshah. Under these circumstances, death in fighting is preferable." He did not send any reply : on the other hand the two messengers were turned out with blows and the letter torn to pieces.

The two messengers cried out, " The Musalmans dare to turn us out with blows ! We shall prove the mettle of Rajputs." During the scuffle the Ukils killed a number of nobles and also rushed at the Nawab with a view to kill him ; but they were inflicted with spear wounds of which they died. On receiving report of this tragedy,

Mândhâtâ became furiously incensed, and despatched Thâkur Amar Singha, Thâkur Kesor Singh, Thâkur Rahirâman and five Nawabs. They marched towards the fort, and their troops surrounded it on all sides.

Kiledar Khan then collected seven thousand sepoy with whom he waged a furious battle with the invaders. The Nawabs said to the three Thakurs, "Ask Mândhâtâ to send us some muskets like those of Kiledar Khan, we have too many big guns. We shall gain victory if we fight with small guns." The three Thâkurs replied—"We have a numerous army, and it may be possible to achieve victory with the help of muskets. But such a fighting will be uncustomary and unjust. Fighting with elephants and horses will be advisable."

A battle then ensued between the two forces. The Nawab lost a large number of his soldiers. Thâkur Kesor Singh fought with Nawab Kiledar Khan on horseback for a considerable time. Kesor Singh killed the Nawab by piercing him with a spear. His two sons were killed by gun-shots. The children and dependants as well as the belongings of the Nawab were despatched to Delhi. The remnant of his forces surrendered to Mândhâtâ who enlisted them in his army. The general after creating confidence in the hearts of the people of Benares, appointed a Nawab as Subha of the place, after which he marched against Hussain Khan.

44. *The fortifications of Gaur.*

Mândhâtâ then reached the territory of Sobhâchând Thakur, situated on the east of Muger. Mândhâtâ had married the daughter of the Raja of Jaintapur which had been renamed by the Bengals* as Adamâbâd. As a mark of this relationship Raja Barish-sâl came with precious presents and submitted to Mândhâtâ. Mândhâtâ honoured the Raja with presents and said, "As commanded by the Emperor, I have come to subjugate Gaur. How can I successfully attack its forts? What is the number of strongholds in Gaur? How impregnable are the forts? What is the strength of the army?" Raja Barish-sâl replied,—“One will be amazed at the splendour of the soldiers and the arms and weapons. The forts are made

* The ward *Bangal* is applied by the Assamese to all people outside Assam proper. Even a European is called a Bagâ Bangâl, or a white Bangâl.

of stone and brick and are extremely insurmountable. There are three passages leading to the fortifications ; one runs along the entrance of the fort, this is one path leading to the first fort ; there is another on the left by the route through Sikarpur ; there is a third way on the right through Purâ-Perganâh which will lead you to another fort. The stronghold of Hussain Shah can be reached after crossing these three fortifications. There is a zemindar at Dacca named Ise-Khan-Masandali. He is a very influential potentate and poses as the Padshah of Bengal. I can also arrange his submission to you."

Raja Mândhâtâ then despatched Nawab Pardal Khân with eight thousand sepoys and camp-followers by the Sikarpur route. Nawab Ayâz Beg and Uzbeg proceeded by the route through Purâ-Perganâh, in the company of twelve thousand sepoys, and Thakur Bitholdas and the son of Raja Barish-sâl. The general Raja Mândhâtâ with Raja Barish-sâl marched by the middle route with all his army.

45. *Message to Ise-Khan-Masandali.*

Then letters were despatched to the zemindar Ise-Khan Masandali by the followers of Raja Barish-sâl's son, one from Raja Mândhâtâ through the retainers of Ayâz Beg, another from Raja Barish-sâl himself through Thakur Bitholdas. The message ran as follows : " We have come to fight against Hussain Shah Padshah ; and you should come and join us."

Raja Barish-sâl wrote, " As there has been long friendship between yourself and me, I have spoken well of you to Raja Mândhâtâ. The Raja is a great warrior, and has subdued many countries. You should come and be friends with us, otherwise you will be subjected to misery in future."

46. *Ise-Khan's reply.*

Ise-Khan then sent a wakil with a reply, as well as precious gifts, " I am a zemindar, and hence unconcerned with wars. For the present please accept my friendship conveyed through this note. On Raja Mândhâtâ's arrival at Dacca, I will offer my submission in person." He wrote to Barishtha-sâl, " If I meet the Raja personally now, I shall also be commanded to take up arms, which is a bad thing for the future. We are zemindars, and war-complications are not safe for us."

Mândhâtâ permitted the messengers of Ise-Khan Masandali to depart after having bestowed on them rich presents, and asked them to send with Ayâz Beg and Bitholdas men who were acquainted with the routes and interiors. The request was accordingly communicated to Ise-Khan Masandali by his messengers. He despatched large quantities of rice, pulse, mûg for Ayâz Beg and Bitholdas, as well as a man who was versed in the knowledge of the routes and defiles.

47. *Man Singha's ultimatum to Hussain Shah.*

Proceeding by the central route Raja Mândhâtâ sent a Wakil to Hussain Shah of Gaur with the following message, "Your forefathers were on friendly terms with the Emperors of Delhi. Now, what pride has prompted you to turn your back against the Emperor Jahangir? Specially I am Mândhâtâ, Raja of Amber. I have borne in my armpit dozens of Padshahs like yourself; I have caused the death of many, while others have been released through me. So you should come and offer your submission to me. Our family has never been known to have harmed anybody: still if any one persists in being unfriendly I shall certainly destroy and exterminate him."

Hussain Shah despatched the following reply, "Jahangir is the Padshah of Delhi, and so am I of Gaur. There was friendly interchange of embassies before. He had discontinued sending men, and so have I. Mândhâtâ is only an Omrão; why should I, a Padshah, pay my homage to him? What touch of genius has led him to pen such a letter? If he has come for war, let him come." The letter of Mândhâtâ was torn to pieces and his envoy expelled. On this Raja Mândhâtâ rushed to the attack of the advance fortifications; by mere display of valour he caused the soldiers of the garrison to flee back to Hussain Shah.

48. *First encounters.*

There were battles at the forts situated on the way through Purâ-Perganah by which Ayâz Beg and Bitholdas had marched. There were severe massacres at these encounters, when many soldiers of the garrison of Gaur were killed. Then the soldiers of Ayâz Beg and Bitholdas riding on Tâzi and Sujarnis ponies scaled the forts and took possession of them. The remnant of the garrisons

made good their escape and joined Hussain Shah Padshah. The soldiers at the forts situated on the Sikarpur route, through which Nawab Pardal Khan had marched, strenuously opposed the attack of the imperialists for three days, after which they also took to their heels. Pardal Khan encamped on the northern side, well prepared to face the attack of the enemy ; Ayâz Beg and Bitholdas halted on the east, while Raja Mândhâtâ stood in readiness on the western side. The artillery were posted as follows : rows of cannon on the front, then of muskets, and *chandravans* and *rai-bahs*, then the sepoys and spear-men, by which they encompassed the enemy on all sides. Hussain Shah in person stood in front of the forces of Raja Mândhâtâ ; while his son Jalal Hussain was posted in front of the army of Pardal Khan ; and his nephew Paris Muhammad against Ayâz Beg and Bitholdas. Sporadic encounters, lasting for two or four days continued for six months.

49. *Hussain Shah seeks the support of Rajas and Zemindars.*

Hussain Shah Padshah sent the following message to Ise-Khan Masandali, to the Zemindar of Sala, to the Raja of Jharkhanda, to the Raja of Morung on the north, to the Raja of Cooch-Behar and Raja Raghunâth: " From ancient times Gaur and Delhi have been ruled by separate Padshahs. It is unjust on the part of Jahangir Padshah to despatch Mândhâtâ. The imperialists have besieged Gaur for six months in order to occupy it, blocking the passage of our traders and retainers, for which my subjects are in great distress for food. So I want to attack the intruders by issuing out of our garrisons. You should all support me in the project. We shall fight from the front, and you should march by the three routes and kill the imperialists, with the object of repulsing and driving away Mândhâtâ. Otherwise, having attacked me to-day he will proceed to attack you the next day."

To this Ise-Khan Masandali replied, " I am a zemindar to whom wars are not proper. Whoever may wield the sovereign power I am his subject. It is befitting for you Padshahs to engage in mutual conflicts." The Raja of Jharkhanda and other Rajas deputed messengers to say, " All right, we shall fight from the rear ."

50. *Victory of Raja Man Singha.*

On the receipt of these assurances, the forces of Hussain Shah came out of the fortifications on the three sides and fell upon the imperialists. A furious contest ensued. Hussain Shah lost a large number of his soldiers who were killed by the cannon-shots of Mândhâtâ. War-elephants armed with huge iron clubs rushed at the soldiers and destroyed many of them. Soldiers were also killed with *Chandravans* and *dabas*. Then ensued a terrible fight on horseback attended by heavy massacres and losses on both sides. Neither did the imperialists nor did the troops of Hussain Shah prefer to retreat from the fight. Raghunâth Raja, the Cooch-Bihar Raja and others who promised to fight from behind did not turn up, saying, "Mandhâtâ is a great Raja. It will be disastrous to us if we fight with him and thereby assume the designation of rebels."

In the evening engagement Hussain Shah fought mounting on an elephant. Thakur Chandravâl, uncle of Mândhâtâ, who was riding on a Sujarnis pony, whipped his steed and spurred him on. The horse following the hint lifted its two legs and placed them on the forehead of the elephant. Thakur Chandravâl then struck Hussain Shah with his spear, and threw him down, and thus perished the Padshah of Gaur. Thakur Dipsing riding on horseback severed the head of the elephant, which died. The garrisons on the north were also defeated. His son perished in the battle, the army on the eastern route were vanquished. The nephew of Hussain Shah fled. Raja Mândhâtâ won victory in the battle.

Hussain Shah's wives and children fled. After collecting the belongings of Hussain Shah, Mândhâtâ made an inventory of the articles seized, and after sealing them properly, he submitted his waqâyâ to Delhi. He then retired to Dacca. Ise-Khan Masandali came and submitted his homage to Mândhâtâ. Raja Raghunâth, and the Raja of Cooch-Bihar as well as other chiefs paid tributes to the Padshah and established friendly terms with Mândhâtâ, who renamed Dacca as *Jahangirnagar*, and appointed Ise-Khan Masandali as zemindar, to whom he made suitable presents. Mândhâtâ then returned to Delhi.

51. *The recital of Markendya-Chandi.*

On his way Mândhâtâ saw Brahmans reading the *Chandi* on the bank of the Ganges,

The Raja enquired,—“ What is this book that you are reading ? ”

Brahmans—“ It is *Chandi*, a portion of the *Markhandeya Purana*. ”

Mândhâtâ,—What is the result of the recital of this book ? ”

Brahmans—“ The man who hears the recital of three rounds of *Chandi* goes to Kailâsa or heaven. If it is recited more, the result is unmentionable. ”

Mândhâtâ—“ Then please, recite three rounds of the book in my name. ”

Saying thus, the Raja offered to the priests a reward of one thousand rupees. During his march, the Rajas who resided near about interviewed Mândhâtâ with presents for himself and the Padshah. Mândhâtâ also offered presents to them, and assured them of his protection and aid.

52. *Man Singha's eulogy of Hussain Shah.*

After subduing Bengal and the territories around it, Raja Mândhâtâ proceeded to Delhi and paid his respects to Emperor Jahangir who bestowed on him high honours and costly presents. He was retained in his former mansab of the rank of a commander of eight thousand, and was given a cash reward of three lakhs of rupees for eating *pan* and *tambul*.

The Padshah then said to Mândhâtâ, “ From your experiences of military operations in diverse localities, tell me of the magnitude of Hussain Shah's heroism as a warrior. ”

To this Mândhâtâ replied, “ Hussain Shah is the greatest of all the soldiers I have encountered in my military engagements in different places. His courage is indomitable, and he fights without caring for his life. He has been killed only through the prowess of the Emperor. He is peerless in heroism. ”

JAHANGIR'S CONQUEST OF SECUNDERABAD.

53. *A short sketch of Secunderabad.*

Salutation to Sree Krishna. On the death of Humayun Shah Akbar became the Padshah. On the death of

Akbar his son Jahangir assumed the title of Padshah. The Emperor Jahangir after ascending the throne went out on tour to visit places being accompanied by 500,000 soldiers. After some time he marched towards the Deccan. Some *bairagis* or itinerant mendicants who had travelled in various places said to the Emperor, "There was a king named Sekendar Padshah. He constructed a city and a bazaar named Secunderabad with beautiful stones of diverse colours by engaging lapidarists. That place is fit for the Emperor. The kingdom is now ruled by a monarch named Nasir Muhammad Padshah. He does not pay tribute to anybody, and with regard to the peace and prosperity of his kingdom he is unrivalled."

54. *Jahangir's expedition to Secunderabad.*

On hearing this from the bairâgis the Emperor Jahangir marched towards Secunderabad, and from a distance of three days' journey he despatched a courier to Nasir Muhammad with a letter to the following effect: "The city of Secunderabad which has been built by Sekendar Padshah is fit for us, and not for you. So please move to some other quarter. I will establish a camp at Secunderabad. If soft words cannot move you, you will be afflicted with distress when I invade and occupy your territory."

On receiving this letter Nasir Muhammad Padshah sent the following reply, "Jahangir Padshah has become mad. Such a letter should be addressed to bondsmen and slaves. He is a sovereign, and I am also a sovereign. He thinks that I will desert this place out of fear; such an idea should never find quarter in his heart."

55. *The imperialists cross impassable dikes.*

The reply seriously infuriated the Emperor and he proceeded towards the capital of Nasir Muhammad, and came upon a huge ditch which was as broad as a river. It was impossible to cross the ditch there being no place to moor the boats. Being amazed at the sight of the ditch, the Emperor said to some of his swift horsemen, "Let the horses first attempt to cross the ditch being fitted with howdah-like seats, and they will be followed by Potla, Suluf, and Batel boats carrying soldiers who will attack the hostile fort." In obedience to the command of the Emperor, horses harnessed with seats were made to swim over the ditch. Crocodiles and sea-horses had been let

loose in the ditch, and they seized and devoured many of the horses and soldiers of the Emperor, and dragged down others beneath the waters. The Padshah seeing their sad plight asked the wazir of the reason of the disappearance of the soldiers under water, to which the minister replied that they were eaten up by the sea-monsters roaming about in the ditch.

The Padshah enquired of the means by which the dike could be crossed, and Sabrê Khan Uzir replied, "There are two huge cannon at Delhi, named *Killa-shikist* and *Koh-shekan*. Let us fetch them from Delhi, and place the guns on the sides of the ditch on a mound constructed at a higher level than the hostile fort. If we fire the two guns towards the rampart of Nasir Muhammad by loading them with stone-balls, his fort will be destroyed, his soldiers killed, and on hearing the roar of the guns the crocodiles and sea-monsters will disperse ; then our men will be able to cross the ditch safely."

In accordance with the suggestion of the wazir, the two big guns were brought from Delhi and mounted on a mound higher than the elevation of the hostile fort. They were loaded with stone-balls and splinters of bricks and potteries, and then fired. The men and soldiers of the enemy's camp were blown off. The guns roared with a terrific blast which rent the earth into chasms, broke down the trees and produced waves on the waters. Many of the alligators and sea-horses perished, while the rest dipped below the waters. The soldiers of Jahangir Padshah now crossed the ditch without any difficulty, and attacked and occupied the fort.

56. *Jahangir establishes a court at Secunderabad.*

Then the King Nasir Muhammad retreated with the remnant of his army to another fort, and remained in preparedness for a contest. Jahangir after occupying the first fort marched against the next, in the precincts of which he secretly laid powder mines and covered them with grass. During the darkness of night Nasir Muhammad issued out of his fort with an army intending to inflict a surprise attack on the Emperor's camp. Jahangir also came out and set fire to the mines. The soldiers of Nasir Muhammad were burnt to death. Being victorious in war the Emperor captured the fort of Nasir Muhammad and occupied the throne of Secunderabad. He then gave suitable presents to all the nobles there, including the

revenue officials, such as Chaudburis and Pâtwaris, and firmly established his suzerainty at Secunderabad. The Emperor also appointed a Court there with Sher Khan Bahadur, Amir-ul-Omrão, a Commander of seven thousand, at the head of the following Nawabs : Hasan Khan, Dasil Khan, Sarif Khan, Latif Khan, Yusuf Khan Siparsalâh. He also established a garrison there with eight thousand soldiers, having the usual quota of Ek-hazaris, Do-hazaris and Tin-hazaris. The total strength of the imperial detachment left at Secunderabad, including the seven thousand soldiers of Amir-ul-Omrão Sher Khan Bahadur came up to 15,000. The Emperor then returned to his capital Delhi.

CONQUEST OF SECUNDERABAD BY SILIMAN PADSHAH.

57. *Description of Secunderabad.*

Salutation to Sree-Krishna. There was a vast wilderness in the midst of the sea covered with dense forests. Sekendar Padshah who was formerly in the country of Irân, went and settled there, from which he earned an income of rupees forty lakhs and fifty thousand. He named that country Secunderabad. After living in that place for some time Sekendar Padshah came back to his throne at Irân, leaving Muhammad Galib Khan Nawab, a commander of 9,000, in charge of Secunderabad.

Secunderabad measured 220 *kos* in length, and 103 in breadth. The town was built with stone and brick and renamed Hirânagar or the city of Diamonds. It was situated at a distance of three months' journey from Delhi. In the shops were sold pearls, coral, rubies, emeralds and other precious articles. Aquatic horses came out of the sea in winter to bask on the sands. Men used to capture and tame them. They used to be called *Dariaighoras* or sea-horses, and their price ranged from rupees 1,000 to rupees 1,500 each. The pigs of that country were of the size of horses, their hoofs and feet being like those of horses. All the inhabitants there are Musalmans, there being no Hindusthani person there. People lived on maize and eggs of china ducks. There was no paddy or rice. It could be had only when some merchants from this part placed it on the market ; its price used to be rupees three or four per seer.

58. *Siliman Padshah intends to conquer Secunderabad.*

There was a port named Faranga, where lived Siliman Padshah. One day the Padshah said to his wazir: "Secunderabad is a beautiful place, fit for the residence of a Padshah. There is a Nawab there named Muhammad Galib. It is reported that Sakendar Padshah is now dead. So I intend to attack and occupy Secunderabad. What means do you suggest?"

The wazir replied: "That country can be conquered only by the most dexterous expedients. It was formerly a forest in the midst of the sea, full 220 *kos* in length and 103 *kos* in breadth. Sekendar Padshah had brought men from all quarters and settled them there. It has an army of 60,000 soldiers, who use Turki, Tâzi, Sujarnis, Arbi and Dariâi ponies. The kingdom is surrounded on all sides by sea water. Its three sides can be traversed by boat in one-and-a-half *prahar* and ten *dandas*. We have the sea on one side, where we have expert soldiers trained in the art of fighting by boats, such as Batel (Patil), Suluf (Salb) and other kinds of war-boats. The country has four forts on the east, west, north and south, all made of bricks and stones. It has, besides, a rampart of trees, which have been planted close to each other, so that they have now assumed the shape of a compact wall, the trunks touching one another. There is another rampart of thorny bamboos whose trunks have also become compact. There is besides an encompassing ditch in the shape of a circle studded with floating batteries. There is also the wall of the sea. In the heart of the kingdom is situated the capital of the Padshah, which has walls and forts made of stone and brick. Big cannon resembling the trunks of plantain trees have been mounted all round the wall at intervals of twenty-five cubits. Hence the place is very impregnable and dangerous. It can be conquered only by the employment of diplomacy and tact. The kingdom is so invincible that no one has been able to conquer it. You will not also succeed in occupying it unless you take recourse to diplomatic stratagems."

59. *Siliman Padshah's plan to conquer Secunderabad.*

Siliman Padshah convened a meeting of his counsellors and said, "I want to invade and conquer Secunderabad. Do confer, and let me know the means by which we shall be able to achieve success." The ministers assembled

came to the following conclusion after a prolonged deliberation: "Secunderabad can never be conquered by open warfare. Let five hundred of our most clever and trustworthy soldiers proceed to Secunderabad and live there in the service of the Nawab. They should study the strength and position of the soldiers, and forts and other military resources of the place. Let some of our merchants proceed there with ships loaded with merchandise, and let them live there, being engaged in peaceful commercial pursuits. Let a damsel in disguise be palmed off on the Nawab as the grand-daughter of the Padshah, with instructions to kill the Nawab somehow or other. Then fight, and occupy his territory."

60. *Siliman Padshah's diplomatic proposal.*

After hearing this device suggested by the wazir and other ministers, Siliman Padshah despatched the following message to Muhammad Galib Khan, Nawab of Secunderabad :—

"We live in the country known as Farang, and Muhammad Galib Khan lives at Secunderabad, almost in our neighbourhood. We are designated as Padshahs and he as Nawab, this is the only difference between us. On the other hand he has a larger assortment of war-materials and weapons. I have no influential friend and ally. If the Nawab has no objection I wish to establish friendly relations with him. This has been necessitated by the report that the Pathans are contemplating to invade his territories as well as mine. I will stand by him when his kingdom is overrun by the enemy, and he will do so when my kingdom confronts such an unfortunate plight."

The messengers of Siliman Padshah proceeded to Secunderabad and handed over the letter to the Nawab who became highly delighted, and honoured the ambassadors with rich presents. The Nawab presented his daughter named Gul-Makhmal to the son of Siliman Padshah with a dowry of precious robes and articles.

61. *Nawab Galib Khan's reply.*

He sent her with his envoys who also carried the following message to Siliman Padshah :—

"I am extremely delighted to receive your message. You have written about the establishment of cordial

relations between the two States. This desire has been cherished by me for a long time. I wish the friendship which existed before between Saiyid Padshah and Arbal Khan Padshah should now be re-established between you and me. You are far from the truth when you assert that there is no difference between a Nawab and a Padshah. A horse is thin and slender in body, yet it flits in war with the speed of hurricanes ; the Telengi bullock is of enormous bulk and handsome features, but can it stand comparison to a horse. The horse is a horse and the ox is an ox. How do you expect that you and I will be each other's peers ?."

Siliman Padshah became extremely delighted on the receipt of this reply accompanied by the gift of the Nawab's daughter. She was admitted and kept with due honour and dignity. The Padshah in his turn sent with his messengers one Lolin, very handsome and ingenious in all things, who was palmed off as the Padshah's niece intended for the Nawab, who believed her to be really a beautiful and clever scholar and married her.

62. *Farangi spies at Secunderabad.*

The Padshah then deputed five hundred soldiers to live in disguise. They went to the advance fort of Secunderabad, and informed the inmates that they had come to see the Nawab with the intention of employment in his territory as underlings. The soldiers living at the forts informed the Nawab accordingly who invited the supplicants to his presence. The soldiers were all young men, and properly trained in the wielding of arms and weapons. As they looked smart and handsome, the Nawab employed them as servants on good pay. They soon won the confidence of their master.

After this the Padshah sent five ships loaded with valuable merchandise for carrying on trade. The captain of the boats presented precious articles to the Nawab and earned his estimation, who then permitted the merchants to trade in his dominions. The Padshah also prepared a fleet of Jalia, Batel and Suluf boats and equipped them with arms of war. The Jalia boats were harnesssed with quilts of straw looking like deer-skins ; they were then stuffed with fish-scales and attached to the sides of the boats, leaving sufficient space for the oarsmen to ply the vessels. The Batel boats were constructed to accommodate elephants and horses.

63. *Murder of Nawab Galib Khan.*

Then Lolin, who was presented to the Nawab, spread a sheet of poison-cloth on the body of the Nawab at the time of sleep. The Nawab died. The miscreant then escaped early next morning and took shelter in the ships of the merchants. The news was communicated to Siliman Padshah, who came post-haste in boats attended by soldiers. The soldiers of the advance fort came to inform the Nawab, but they found that the Nawab had already breathed his last. The brothers and sons of the Nawab, hearing the report, asked the informants not to allow the invaders to proceed.

64. *Siliman Padshah occupies Secunderabad.*

There was hard fighting between the forces of the Nawab and of the Padshah. First, there was an engagement on boats. The soldiers of the Nawab hurled arrows and gun-shots, but they produced no effect as they were small and struck only the quilts stuffed with the scales of fish. The oarsmen pursued the Nawab's boats and came near them. Many soldiers of the Nawab perished by the arrows and bullets of the Padshah. The Nawab's army saw that arrows and bullets could not retard the advance of the enemy; and this time they met the latter with long spears as the enemy approached the precincts of the fort. There was severe fighting attended by heavy casualties on both sides, but neither of the belligerent forces turned their face.

When Siliman Padshah discovered that the fort could not be captured though he had fought in so many ways, he deputed some reliable emissaries to instruct his own soldiers and the merchants of the ships and boats as follows: "This is the opportune moment, and they should act in whatever way they think proper." On this, the five hundred Farangi sepoys who had accepted service under the Nawab, acting in concert with the men of the boats, set fire to all the places, including the bazaar and the fort, and cut down the enemy on horseback. They created a confusion inside the fort; where also they massacred a large number of the Nawab's men. The soldiers posted at the fort fled of their own accord.

Then the Padshah, winning a victory in the naval fight, got on land and conquered all the forts. The kinsmen

of the Nawab all perished in the battle. Siliman established his court at Secunderabad and lived there, protecting the subjects. From that time till now (say 1682 A.D.) Secunderabad has continued to be the territory of Siliman Padshah. Some time afterwards his son was placed in charge of the Faranga country.

65. *Muhammad Ali, the narrator.*

From this territory of Siliman Padshah, Delhi is situated at a distance of three months' journey. Muhammad Ali is a Mogul of that place. He is a very great scholar, and knows all the *loghats* or languages, Arabic and Persian. He taught the sons of Mansur Khan, and for this he received an honorarium of full rupees one hundred per month. The above incidents have been taken from his mouth.*

JAI SINGHA'S SUBJUGATION OF EASTERN INDIA.

66. *A slave sits on the throne of Delhi.*

Salutation to Sree-Krishna. Jahangir Padshah of Delhi had four sons, Shah Jâhân, Shah Alâgzâhâ, Sultan Khuram and Muhammad Jâhân. Shah Jâhân became the Padshah of Delhi by killing two of his brothers by a stratagem. Muhammad Jâhân fled in the guise of a faquir, and on the death of the Turki Padshah in an island, he married the widowed queen and became Padshah of that kingdom. Turki ponies breed in the kingdom of the Turki Padshah.

Shah Jâhân sat on the throne of Delhi. Once a slave of Nawab Sââdullâ Khan, named Muhammad Sayid, visited the Padshah's court as an attendant of the Nawab. The slave possessed marks of a future Padshah, which were noticed by the Emperor, who said to the Nawab, "Give me your slave Muhammad Sayid, and I will give

* For Muhammad Ali, see *Islamic Culture*, October 1928 pp. 546-7. Mansur Khan remained at Gauhati from March 1679 to September 1682, till the battle of Itakhili when the Ahoms reoccupied Gauhati, and Gargayan Sandikai Bar-Phukan was appointed Ahom Viceroy at Gauhati. A Chronicle mentions that the Ahom Viceroy employed Muhammad Ali in supplying information about Delhi, etc., for being recorded by Assamese chroniclers. The list of the Kings of Delhi was compiled from the records in possession of Muhammad Ali.

you two slaves in return." To this the Nawab replied. "I am a slave of your majesty ; what objection can a slave have ? "

The Nawab returned to his residence with the slave to whom he said, "The Padshah wants you as you are endowed with the marks of a sovereign. He will kill you. Make good your escape by some means or other ." The slave said, "If I flee, the Emperor may cause you some harm." The Nawab replied, "Whatever may befall me, you should save yourself anyhow." The slave fled accordingly and took shelter with Shah Bhramarâ, literally the Prince of Vagrants.

Shah Bhramarâ said, "Who are you ? Why have you come here ?" The slave replied, "Shah Jahân intends to put me to death as I have the marks of a sovereign. So I have fled and sought your protection."

The faquir said, "I will give you three crores of rupees. Go and become a Padshah." The slave, with the help of this money, raised and maintained an army, and encountered Shah Jahân Padshah in a terrible contest. Shah Jahân, being defeated, escaped to Rum and took shelter with the Padshah of that kingdom.

When Muhammad Sayid Golam ascended the throne, Shah Bhramarâ conferred on him the name of Shah Muhammad. The faquir said that the new monarch had only three years more to live and not an hour more. Having heard this prophecy of the faquir, the usurper wrote to Shah Jahân Padshah at Rum, "Come back and become Padshah. I am renouncing the throne." The Padshah of Rum gave to Shah Jahân a number of soldiers and attendants who re-installed him on the throne. The slave of the Nawab, after renouncing the throne, said with prayers and apologies, "I am a slave of your slave. I fled in fear of you, and became eventually the Padshah. The enjoyment of a Padshahship is not meant for me ; the Padshahship of your kingdom befits you alone." Shah Jahân Padshah came back to Delhi. The slave of the Nawab died, and the Emperor appointed his son a commander of 5,000.

67. *Shah Jahan's visit to Jai Singha's capital Amber.*

Seeing the influence and power of Raja Jai Singha, the Emperor Shah Jahân thought within himself, "How shall I kill Jai Singha ? If I can get rid of him the Kingdom of

Amber will fall into my hands, and my sovereignty will also be free from danger. Otherwise he may do me mischief some day. So let me visit his State and examine its strength and resources."

Thus thinking, the Emperor said to the Raja one day at Am-Khas, "Well, let me confer on you the honour of a visit to your State."

The Raja replied, "Grant me leave for a week."

The Padshah said, "Yes, all right, you may go."

The Raja then proceeded to his capital and conferred with his ministers and relatives, saying, "The Padshah, intending to invade and occupy our kingdom, is coming to examine its resources on the pretext of conferring a favour."

The Rajput counsellors replied, "Let the Padshah come, we shall seize his person and imprison him, and all the Rajput chiefs united will appoint you Padshah instead."

Jai Singha said. "It was never done by our family. Though the Padshah may do us wrong, being misguided, we should never act in a hostile manner as proposed. We have never been unfaithful to the Padshahs of Delhi."

The Raja then made arrangements for numerous varieties of food for the Emperor, and erected a raised platform for the Padshah, befitting the Emperor's position and dignity. The Raja then informed the Emperor of his readiness to receive him, and Shah Jâhân went to Amber as promised before.

Raja Jai Singha posted at regular intervals along the routes extending over a distance of eight *prahars*' journey, lengthwise and breadthwise as far as the eyes could see, soldiers attired in uniforms and ornaments of gold and silver and equipped with the five weapons, spears, swords and shields, jamdar, guns and arrows and bows, as well as horses and elephants harnessed with saddles and ornaments of gold and silver. The roofs and walls of the houses situated in the city and the market-place were covered with trappings of gold and silver, giving the appearance of continuous relays of ants. Along the route, at the interval of a distance of one *danda*, were established outposts with elephants, horses and sepoys and the Raja commanded that at every such station soldiers should be posted on the advent of the Emperor, as he in his travels was accompanied only by a limited number of soldiers.

On the approach of the Padshah, men were placed at the chowkis or stations. The Emperor was dismayed at the sight of the splendour and pomp of arms and weapons, of elephants, horses and sepoy.

On reaching Amber the Padshah turned back and saw that men were being posted at the Chowkis or outposts. Wherever he turned his eyes he saw only spears and weapons.* The Emperor was seized with fear and said to the wazir. "The Rajputs have by stratagem managed to capture me, and there is no remedy. Besides they have placed soldiers at the chowkis." The Raja received the Padshah with great hospitality, and pleased him with the presents of precious articles. The Emperor returned, having pleased all the nobles of the Raja by making gifts of numerous presents.

68. *Jai Singha deputed to Eastern India.*

During the confusion that followed the flight of Shah Jahân Padshah, and the occupation of the throne of Delhi by the Nawab's bondsman, there was anarchy in Bengal. The Raja of Orissa occupied the imperial fort by ousting therefrom the Mogul Nawab. The fort of Rajmahal was attacked and captured by Raja Chandrabhâl. The Rajs of Morung seized the fort and established his independence at Morung. Cooch-Bihar also asserted its independence, and the Rajas of Dacca, Chittagong, Sylhet, Gauhati and Arrakan committed ravages in the country and ruled in their own names. On receiving reports of the above, Shah Jahân said to Jai Singha, "Bengal has always been subdued by your family. So you should proceed there."

The Raja said, "All right, I will go. Please issue orders for supplying me nine Nawabs, five of our Rajput Rajas, and a few cannon." The Raja was given what he wanted, and despatched to Bengal.

69. *Cooch-Bihar's contribution to Nao-raja expenses.*

Jai Singha halted at Patna, and sent messengers to the rulers of the nine principalities, Dacca, etc., with letters to the following effect, "Have you heard of the might of the Emperor Shah Jahân? Have you also heard the

* Mannucci relates a similar experience of Shah Jahân when he proposed to pay Raja Chattrasal Rae a visit to his country. *Irvine*, II, p. 482.

rattling of my invincible sword as well as that of Mândhâtâ? If you have, then come promptly and become friends with us, or otherwise be prepared for war."

On receiving this message the Raja of Cooch-Bihar brought valuable presents to the Emperor and Jai Singha, and Nawab Galir Beg was despatched to settle the boundaries of Bengal and Cooch-Bihar.

The river Ghâghât was fixed as the boundary between the two territories. Rangpur became the thana of Cooch-Bihar on this side of the river, and the imperial outpost was established at Tâjhât on the other bank and placed in charge of Nawab Galir Beg. An ambassador of Cooch-Bihar was to remain at Dacca, and it was stipulated that he should hand over to the Nawab of Dacca one lakh of rupees as *selami* for presentation to the Padshah during the Nao-rozâ festival.

70. *Nao-roza Festivities.*

What is Nao-rozâ ? The Padshah amuses himself for nine days, from the seventh day of the white moon to the full moon day in the month of Kartick. The wives of the Nawabs, and Mansabdars, the begums of the merchant-princes, as well as of other commercial magnates, are to go to the inner apartments of the Padshah's palace. In the interior, a place is nicely constructed with marble stones. There are tanks, each of which is covered on all its four sides with flowers of all hues and colours, crimson, yellow, white and black, including the lotus and the lily, and on the water float ducks, herons, water-crows, chakra-vakas or ruddy sheldrakes, all made artificially of the eight metals. The birds are tied to strings by which their movements are regulated. Crackers, rockets, squibs, and scintillators, all made of explosives, are placed in a gala fashion on the site near about the water. Rose-water, *attar* and *argaza* waters are sprinkled on the decorated floor. The ladies attractively decorate the stalls where they display their articles for sale. Gorgeous white canopies are pitched at intervals. Mainas, parrots, bulbuls, shrikes, magpies, swallow-tails, all tamed at home, pour forth their melodious strain. The stall-owners and shopkeepers as well as the wives of the merchant-princes, all dressed in their finest apparel and ornaments, display their wares consisting of diamonds, pearls, topazes, rubies, coral, beads and other articles of gold and silver. The ladies of the Padshah's Begum-mahal and other ladies of

the palace, as well as the wives of the Nawabs and Mansabdars in their gorgeous dresses and ornaments, purchase articles offered for sale. The Emperor accompanied by music flowing from rubab, tambourines, syran-gis, flutes, timbals, brazen pipes, setaras, violins, trumpets, and other instruments proceeds to the place where the wives of the nobles and merchants are selling their articles. The Emperor indulges in mirthful laughter and jokes when he higgles about the price of the articles he intends to purchase. The articles are to be purchased at the price demanded by the amiable sellers. No man is admitted into the place ; of men only the Padshah has access. In this way the sales and purchases continue for nine days. The Padshah spends nine lakhs of rupees during the Nao-rozâ. The stipulation with Cooch-Behar was to the effect that it would contribute a sum of rupees one lakh every year towards the expenses of the Nao-rozâ. Masim Khan of Bengal came and offered his submission of his own accord.

71. *Subjugation of Morung.*

The Raja of Morung and other chieftains prepared themselves for war. Raja Jai Singha, being indignant, deputed Nawab Kilis Khan with seven thousand soldiers against Morung. The war with the Raja of Morung continued for three months. The Raja could not stand in the fight and he offered his submission. Hawks and kuhis are found in Morung in abundance. The Raja presented to the Padshah ten kuhis, ten hawks and ten murchulis* or peacocks' tails ; Raja Jai Singha was also given five specimens of each of the above birds as well as other precious articles. Nawab Kilis Khan remained in charge of the fort of Morung.

72. *Subjugation of Nepal.*

The Raja of Nepal surrendered voluntarily. Copper is found in abundance in his territories. The Raja presented to the Padshah ten big caldrons of copper, each capable of holding rice for one hundred men, and one hundred small pitchers ; to Jai Singha were given four caldrons and forty small pitchers and other articles. With this the Raja offered his submission.

* Murchilli, see *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 586.

73. *Subjugation of other territories.*

Nawab Adam Khan was placed in charge of Jahangirnagar, while Nawab Jâhid Beg and Nawab Ūzbeg remained at the Châtgâon thâna. Hostilities ensued with the Maghs. The insurgents were defeated, and some Maghs with their wives and children were removed to Dacca and made to settle there. There is still a place at Dacca called Maghar-bazaar. Chilim Khan was sent to the thâna at Sylhet, who occupied the place, and captured some Feringhis who were subsequently taken to Dacca, which has got a section still known as Feringhee bazaar. Raja Naranarayan* of Cooch-Bihar was at that time the monarch of Kamrupa. He continued to live in friendly terms with Raja Jai Singha.

Raja Jai Singha remained at Patna for some time. Having subdued all the Rajas of the place, he left Nawabs in charge of the various thânas, after which he proceeded to bathe in the Ganges. Chandrabhâl, the Raja of Rajmahal, came and offered his submission of his own accord, and Jai Singha pardoned him after extracting from him one lakh of rupees. He then distributed large charities in adoration to the Ganges, and constructed a tower at the Mâna-Mardana bathing ghat with stone and brick.

74. *Subjugation of Orissa.*

Jai Singha despatched Jabardust Khan against Oreshâ or Orissa. He failed to capture the fortress, though the hostilities continued for a length of time. In connection with this affair, and with the object of paying a visit to Jagannath, Jai Singha proceeded to Orissa. Raja Subal Singha of the line of Raja Indradyumna, was the king of Orissa. On Jai Singha's reaching Orissa Subal Singha died, as fate would have it, in his bed while asleep. His son Siva Singha succeeded his father. Raja Jai Singha deputed a wakil to Siva Singha with the message : "A princess of your family was married to our house some time ago. You are my nephew according to the relationship thus established. Both the families have been enjoying mutual friendship and affection to a very great extent. I have come here under the orders of the very

* Naranarayan, King of Cooch-Bihar, was a contemporary of Akbar and he died about 1584. It is not unusual to attribute the name of a famous king to his descendants as well. See my note on Hussain Shah, *Islamic Culture*, January 1929, page 29.

powerful sovereign Shah Jahân Padshah. After subduing Bengal I have come to see Jagannath. So you should arrange for my adoration of the Thakur or image and thus afford an opportunity of knowing each other. If not, be prepared for war. You have done wrong by attacking the imperial thânâs, which has made the Padshah highly indignant towards you."

Having heard this from the wakil, Siva Singha thought within himself, "My father is dead and my reign has not been properly consolidated. Besides, there exists an old relationship between the family of Jai Singha and ours. Jai Singha is a veteran warrior and he has subdued the whole of Bengal. I do not think I shall be able to successfully oppose him in strength. Under these circumstances submission will be the better course." Thus thinking, Siva Singha marched with his troops to welcome Jai Singha from a distance. He also offered hospitality to the soldiers and followers. Jai Singha worshipped at the shrine of Jagannath. He presented to the image a diamond of the value of one lakh of rupees, a cloth valued at one thousand rupees for fastening on to the standard, and an annual grant of twenty maunds of ghee for burning lamps; he also arranged for the payment of a monthly salary to the man entrusted with the charge of lighting the lamps daily.

75. *The title of Mirza-raja conferred on Jai Singha.*

After establishing friendly terms with the Raja of Orissa, Jai Singha appointed Jabardust Khan Subha of that place. He then halted at Rajmahal from where he submitted a despatch to the Padshah stating all the particulars about Bengal, and the names of the Nawabs posted at the various thânâs. The articles presented by the Rajas were also sent to the Emperor. The Padshah became extremely delighted, and sent some presents to Jai Singha and conferred on him the title of Mirzâ-râjâ. Similarly, presents and titles were also conferred on the other Rajas, Nawabs and Mansabdars. The Padshah wrote to Jai Singha, "The Rajas and Zemindars of Bengal and Orissa are rebellious in their disposition. You should remain at Patna until the thânâs are well consolidated or until I summon you to my presence."

76. *Jai Singha deputed against Kashmir.*

Jai Singha had a *bag* or estate at Patna yielding an income of one lakh of rupees per year, where he constructed

a magnificent residence. He also repaired the entrances of the fort of Muger, and established a market-place named Jai-Singha-pur.

After this the province of Kashmir became rebellious. Jai Singha was summoned from Patna and despatched against Kashmir. These are the details of the events.

SHAH JAHAN'S INTERVIEW WITH PRITHIVI SHAH.

77. *Shah Jahan's longing to see his peer.*

Sitting at the Roz-dewân. Shah Jahân once said to his wazir, "The Almighty God has blessed me with the Padshahship of Delhi, and has bestowed on me all the things necessary for the pleasure and enjoyment of a mortal. He has not withdrawn from me any favour. Yet my heart longs for seeing a man who is as great as I am, or is greater than myself. The men whom I see around me are all inferior to me in position and power. So you should make an attempt to find out my peer." Being thus commanded by the Emperor, the wazir, Asaf Khân Khân-Khânâ Sipah-sâlâr said, "With regard to the enquiry made by the Padshah-Hazarat, I am not in a position to give a reply at once. Give me time to investigate into past accounts, and I will place the information in time at the feet of the Emperor."

78. *Search for two equal sovereigns.*

Saying so, the wazir consulted the records deposited in the archives of the Padshah, the wazir and the Kâzi, and gathered the following facts and communicated them to the Emperor, "From the time of the Hindu King Judhithira to Bahram Shah Padshah, which covered a period of 2954 years, there were 58 sovereigns on the throne of Delhi. During this period we come across synchronous sovereigns of equal strength and position. From the time of the Hindu King Samudrapâl to Pithor Raja, covering a period of 112½ years, 1 month and 28 days, there were 62 sovereigns. From the reign of the first Musalman Padshah to that of Jahangir, during the period of 769 years, 4 months and 15 days, there were 51 sovereigns. The total number of Rajas and Padshahs thus comes up to 113, covering a total period of 1891

years, 6 months and 13 days. During this period we do not meet any two contemporary Rajas or Padshahs of equal strength and power."

79. *Raja Prithivi Shah of Kandor.*

With regard to the enquiries whether there is any great monarch whose kingdom is conterminous to that of the Padshah of Delhi, the wazir consulted the ancient records and ascertained the following facts, "The kingdom of Prithivi Shah, son of Chandra Raja of Kandor, to the south of Delhi, is contiguous to the kingdom of the Mogul Padshah. His men are more warlike than those of the Delhi Padshah; they are also of a superior *dil* or heart. The rulers of his family eat the powdered grains of burnt pearls. The distance between Delhi and the junction of the two States represents a journey of 35 days, and that between the capital of Prithivi Shah to the same boundary can be covered by a journey of 37 days; and it is very convenient to go there as there are villages and rivers on the way."

The wazir submitted the above details to the Padshah in response to the enquiry lodged by His Majesty some time before.

80. *Shah Jahan desires to see Prithivi Shah.*

The Padshah then said to the wazir, "Arrange to despatch an intelligent wakil of ours to visit the court of Prithivi Shah Raja with costly presents. Let him say to the Raja, "Shah Jahân Padshah desires to have an interview with you. If you also participate in the same desire then send men to fit up a place at the junction of the two territories." The messenger of Shah Jahân communicated to Prithivi Raja the intention of the Padshah.

Prithivi Shah then replied, "Shah Jahân Padshah of Delhi has expressed his desire to see me; similarly, I also cherish the desire of seeing him." Having said so he deputed a clever wakil to Shah Jahân Padshah with the following message, "When we see each other I will address him as 'Shah Jahân Padshah, my younger brother,' and he, in his turn should address me as 'Prithivi Shah, my elder brother.' If he agrees to this proposal, his men as well as mine will come and prepare a place on the boundaries of the two kingdoms. Both of us shall be

accompanied by a numerous train. A clever man should be entrusted with the task of preparing the venue of our interview so that there may not be any hitch on the occasion."

81. *Meeting of the Padshah and the Raja.*

The two wakils informed Shah Jahân Padshah. The Padshah said, "I bind myself to the proposal of Prithivi Shah Raja. I will address him as my elder brother. Asaf Khan Wazir will proceed to prepare the camping ground. The Raja will also send a competent man for the same purpose." Thus saying he despatched a wakil with precious presents who communicated to Prithivi Shah what Shah Jahân had said. The Raja deputed an efficient Pâtra or noble to prepare the place.

The Pâtra and the Wazir proceeded to the junction of the two territories. A camp was constructed for Prithivi Shah at a distance of one prahar's journey from the boundary, the Wazir also prepared a place for Shah Jahân at the same distance. There was a distance of two prahars on the east as well as on the west. The hollows and pools were filled up. A ditch was excavated at the boundary which resembled a half-moon. On the actual site of meeting between the Raja and the Padshah ditches were constructed at a distance of twenty cubits.

Prithivi Shah and Shah Jahân moved in the month of Agrahâyan and saw each other in Phâlgun. Shah Jahân had marched facing the south, and Prithivi Shah facing the north. Thus coming from both sides the two sovereigns met at the point where the ditch was the narrowest.

82. *Exchange of royal greetings.*

On seeing Shah Jahân, Prithivi Shah said, "I have received the highest pleasure possible for a mortal body."

On seeing Prithivi Shah, Shah Jahân said, "I have been blessed with the sight of a great man and the desire of the human body has been fulfilled."

Prithivi Shah replied, "Does my younger brother Shah Jahân Padshah of Delhi enjoy happiness of heart in all ways?"

Shah Jahân made the reply, "O my elder brother Prithivi Shah, Khodâ, the great God, has made me Padshah

of Delhi ; can anything be more gratifying to the heart than this, except the limitations springing from my birth and race ?

Prithivi Shah said, " You have said well by acknowledging that nothing is more glorious than the Padshahship of Delhi. You should not remember at all the limitation of your birth."

Shah Jahân said, " By seeing and talking with you all the uncleanness of my heart has been removed."

Prithivi Shah said, " The discrepancy which existed before between my eyes and ears has now disappeared after having a sight of the Padshah of Delhi attended by his army."

Shah Jahân said, " My eyes have been blessed with a great fortune by seeing Prithivi Shah with his men."

83. *Duel between two Rajput warriors.*

By seeing each other the two sovereigns feasted their eyes to the fill, and it knew no abatement.

Just at that moment a Rajput Raja of Prithivi Shah rushed forward with shield and sword, and he was faced by another Rajput Prince of the camp of Shah Jahân. The two warriors then stated their cause to their respective lords, " A Raja and a Padshah are here. We have cherished the desire of attaining paradise by dying in a face-to-face combat. Our pious resolve can be accomplished only if the two sovereigns be pleased to accord the necessary permission." The two monarchs then permitted them, saying ; " May your cherished wish be fulfilled." On obtaining the permission solicited the two warriors, armed with shield and sword, rushed to the presence of the sovereigns and their followers. Uttering the name Nârâyana, they at the same time inflicted blows on each other with their swords, and the bodies of each fell simultaneously severed into two equal pieces. A piece of fleece-white cloud descended from heaven and covered the lifeless remains of the combatants. After a while the cloud disappeared ; and nothing else was visible ; but the sound of tinkling bells could only be heard. The people assembled uttered shouts of praise and glory.

S. K. BHUYAN.

(*To be continued*)

**WAS IT RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION WHICH
COMPELLED THE PARSIS TO MIGRATE
FROM PERSIA INTO INDIA?**

While going to press we have received the sad news of the death of Mr. G. K. Nariman, who always described himself as a fearless seeker after truth, and fully justified the claim by his researches. His loss will be felt by Orientalists all over the world.—Editor—*Islamic Culture*.

WHEN the Arabs invaded Persia, in the middle of the 8th century, Persia was ripe for a fall. It was decadent mostly on account of the exclusive and overbearing Zoroastrian clergy. It is this clergy who are historically noted as the body which persecuted the Persians born to Zoroastrianism, so many of whom died martyrs to Christianity. Their lives are embodied in tomes like those of Assemani which, originally composed in Syriac and subsequently translated into Latin, are now available in European languages. The most accessible of them is *The Assyrian Church* by the Rev. Dr. Wigram. The Zoroastrian church had rendered the life of the ordinary Persian citizen almost unbearable. When Islam came, governor after governor of the Zoroastrian empire capitulated, embracing Islam and retaining the secular power on easy terms. Very soon, however, the unconverted mass which had remained loyal to Zoroastrianism became a thorn in the side of these magnates and it is these magnates, the Persian converts to Islam, who started persecuting their quondam brethren to adopt the new faith from Arabia. Many institutions of Shî'a Islam peculiar to Persia are unknown to the original or Sunni creed and many of the objectionable features in Shî'a Islam especially directed towards non-Muslims are a survival of Zoroastrianism. This is evident from a comparative study of Iranian jurisprudence. The rigours which the Zoroastrian ecclesiastics inflicted on the Christians and other "heretics" in the preceding centuries

were now set in operation by these new converts to Islam against their former brethren of the Zoroastrian fold. This in essence is the history of the persecution. Neither Islam nor the Arabs were wholly or chiefly responsible for it. There was indeed, extreme harsh treatment of the Zoroastrians, but not by the Islamic Arabs but by the new converts to Mohammedanism. And it certainly commenced only centuries after the exodus of the Parsis from Iran into India.

The very fact that there are about 10,000 Zoroastrian souls in Persia to this day, who have not been persecuted into Islam, ought to satisfy the unbiassed that it is not exclusively the aggression of Islam that has brought about the conversion of Zoroastrian Persia to Mohammedanism. To the authorities of Prof. Browne and Sir Arnold Wilson may be now added the authority of Miss Menant whose most authentic article on the Parsis in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* will prove an eye-opener. Then there are essays of the late Prof. Shibli especially on *Zimmis*, or protected communities in Islam. Any reader of Arab historians like Tabari, Bellasori, Ibn-ul-Asir, will bear out my statements, especially with regard to the convenient terms on which the Zoroastrians were allowed, and agreed, to live as "protected subjects." I would strongly recommend any disinterested seeker after truth to study the pages of the late Maulana Shibli, a very staunch friend of Persia, and read his life of Al-Fârûq (the Khalif Omar) under whom Persia was conquered by the Arabs. His book stands unchallenged and many of his co-related researches have elicited the endorsement of Prof. Browne and others.

Above all, I rely on the Zoroastrian scriptures themselves in Pehlavi, a semi-religious Iranian tongue. I refer to West, our greatest authority, and Prof. Christensen (*Les Keyanides*). West demonstrates that it was not persecution but neglect on the part of the most exclusive and secretive Parsi clergy which brought about the loss of their sacred literature,—an opinion which the late Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sanjana quoted with apparent acquiescence in his "Dinkard." Now comes forward Prof. Christensen to show that the Persian converts to Islam had only a thin veneer of the new religion. They had remained in all respects except rites, ritual and soul-devastating ceremonial, Zoroastrians. They had kept up the study of the Pehlavi literature, and it is most remarkable that some of the extremely rare texts which have survived

like the Bundahish were composed in the 9th and 10th centuries of the Christian era, not from any indigenous Zoroastrian material but just from the works in Arabic composed by the Persian converts who used Arabic, the language of the ruling powers. An astonishing proof of the fact that the Parsis for centuries lived as a semi-independent community under the Muslim conquerors is given by the semi-canonical texts of the Zoroastrians themselves. A reference to the epistle of Menoucher in the Sacred Books of the East will show that not only had they complete social and political liberty but they could raise armies of their own.

By this emigration under so-called persecution only an extremely small number out of the millions of the Persian Zoroastrians of the age abandoned their house and home. For when in the 17th century the Parsis of India attempted to resume communication with their brethren in Persia the latter were astonished that any Parsi had migrated from Persia into India. The Parsis were allowed to have religious discussions on equal terms with other religious heads in the courts of the Khalifas as is witnessed by the Pehlavi texts of Guzeshta Abalis. They were ruined by their own co-religionists as is recorded in the episode of Mahmud Ghaznavi and the Parsis of Herat. Even a writer last month in a Persian newspaper the "Shafaq-Sorkh," describing the province of Luristan, states that this original ruler was a Zoroastrian who had voluntarily accepted Islam. How the conquered Moslems treated the Persians is proved from historical records when Musalman rulers gave punishment to their own subjects for harshness towards the Zoroastrians. As against this evidence in historical works, surely the Parsis cannot plead that they are unable to bring forward their rebutting proofs because all their books were destroyed. This is a puerile pretext which cannot hold water.

On the other hand, a mere dipping into the Parsi records like the "Pehlavi Rivayets," translated by the famous Parsi scholar B. N. Dhabhar, shows in every page how superstitious the Parsi clergy had become and how mature the body spiritual was to fall to the first hostile forces from outside. In these days, when His Majesty Reza Shah is welding his Empire into a compact whole, the Parsis should forget their so-called persecutions and remember the disastrous dissensions and civil wars and the persecution of the heterodox which facilitated for the Arabs, a mere handful of desert "lizard-eaters" to overrun their mighty empire with

their lakhs of disciplined and devoted troops, and try to win the sympathy of the Arabs so many of whom are the subjects of His Majesty in a secular confraternity. History cannot obliterate the humiliating fact that the last Zoroastrian sovereign, Yezdegard III, in his ill-starred flight from province to province, was deserted by governor after governor till finally his own subordinate at Merv practically delivered him into the hands of a miserable subject of his, whose cupidity was aroused by the bijou of the unsuspected royal sleeper who had sought asylum in his mill. The last of the Sasanians was assassinated by his own subject. And, according to the historians including Firdausi, it was not the Zoroastrian Mobeds who gave their sovereign a decent burial. It was a compassionate Christian Bishop who saw to the last rites of the last of the Sasanians.

Finally, why did the Parsis leave their Iranian homes if a tolerable life was guaranteed them under the Islamic domination? As I said above, it was only a very few who migrated and the main reason was the natural mortification at having to submit to the laws, however mild, of an insignificant nation like the Arabs whom the mighty Sasanians had always held in scorn.

G. K. NARIMAN.

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF INDIA WITH ARABIA¹

ARABIA is surrounded on its three sides by seas. It is neither verdant nor fertile in proportion to its population. Such a country will be naturally a trading one. Luckily enough, great countries of the world are situated all around it. They are 'Irâq, Syria, Egypt, Africa, India and Persia. From ancient times the Arabs had direct relations with all these countries. Here we are concerned with India only. Bahreyn, 'Oman, Hadramaut, Yaman and the Hijâz are situated on the Red Sea, Indian Ocean, and Persian Gulf and naturally they were in a position to carry on sea trade. We have already mapped out the route by which the Arabs received Indian commodities. The ships, starting from the coasts of India, reached the ports of Yaman and from thence the commodities, having been loaded on camels, went via the Red Sea coast to Syria and Egypt from whence they went to Europe via the Mediterranean.

We find the Arabs as traders from the time when mankind is first known to have engaged in commerce ; and we find their caravans going to Syria and Egypt by the same routes described above. In the Old Testament, which is the oldest book on the international history of the world, we find in the days of Joseph, just two generations after Abraham, that this trading caravan passes by the same routes. This is the same caravan that took Joseph to Egypt. (Genesis, Chapter 37, verse 25).² Greek historians have also mentioned this route. In short, from the days of Joseph to the days of Marco Polo and Vasco de Gama, the Arabs were the captains of Indian commerce.

(1) Translated by Sayeed ul-Haq, B.A.

(2) The 25th verse of Chapter 37, *Genesis*, runs :—" And they sat down to eat bread ; and they lifted up their eyes and looked, and, behold, a company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt." (Translator).

When the Greeks conquered Egypt they captured this trade for themselves because the route from Egypt to Syria was quite safe for them. The writer of the article 'Arab' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, says :—

“The great prosperity of south-west Arabia at this time was due in large measure to the fact that the trade from India with Egypt came there by sea and then went by land up the west coast. This trade, however, was lost during this period, as the Ptolemies established an over-land route from India to Alexandria.” (Eleventh edition, Vol. II, p. 264).

It appears that the Greeks conquered Socotra and established colonies there, the remains of which were seen by Muslim Arab navigators at a later date.¹

But it transpires that this commerce did not go wholly into the hands of the Greeks, because, two centuries before Christ's birth, the Greek historian Agathrashedas آگاهترشیدس says, “Ships coming from India reach Sabâ (Yaman) and from thence they go to Egypt.”²

So also Artimedorus (آرتیمیڈورس) who flourished a hundred years before Christ says, “The ‘Sabas’ (a tribe of Yaman) buy commercial commodities from the neighbouring people and sell these wares to their neighbours. Thus these wares reach Syria and many islands.”³

Other statements of a like nature also prove that the Arab trade was not completely ruined and that the Arabs had transactions with the Greeks.⁴

The Persian Gulf route between Arabia and India was always open ; and the Arabs and the Persians living on the coast brought their wares by land or water routes. They passed the coasts of India and the isles in the Indian Ocean ; went to China via Bengal and Assam, and then again, came back to India by the same route.

The route between Europe and India has always been one of prime importance and it has occasioned many revolutions in history. It has been mentioned above that at first this route was entirely in the hands of the Arabs. When the Greeks conquered Egypt three centuries before

(1) *Safarnama-i-Abu Zeyd* p. 184 (Paris edition).

(2) Elphinstone's *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 189 (published in 1916 A.D.)

(3) Duncker's *History of Antiquities*, Vol. I, pp. 310, 312.

(4) Elphinstone also holds this view. Vide his *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 182 (1196 A.D.).

the birth of Christ, they became masters of this naval highway. Six hundred years after Christ the light of Islam dawned upon the world and soon the Arabs were in the heyday of their glory. The Arab arms were successful from Egypt to Spain. They became masters of the Mediterranean; Crete and Cyprus and other islands came within the ambit of their conquests. Thus this greatest highway of trade came into the hands of the Arabs who held their sway over it for centuries. In the fourteenth century A.D. the Christian nations of Europe did their best to drive away the Arabs from the Byzantine lands but just when they were successful in Spain and North Africa, the Turks popped up their heads in Asia Minor, and the Mediterranean remained in Muslim hands. This compelled the nations of Europe to look for some new route to India. They let alone the North-Africa-Mediterranean route and discovered India by the South African route (by rounding the Cape of Good Hope). The Dutch, the Portuguese, the English and the French tried to snatch away the monopoly of trade from the hands of the Arabs. In the trial of strength which followed between the East and the West, there was a furious naval war on the coasts of India. The East suffered a heart-rending defeat and this was but a prelude to the later defeats suffered by the East. In this naval war the Arabs, the Egyptians and the Deccanese (both Hindus and Muslims) joined hands and their combined fleets gave a tough fight to the European navigators. The upshot of this defeat was that from then till now all the trade of India and of the islands round about India passed into European hands. The Europeans completely ousted and ruined the Arab traders of Madras called Moplahs who commanded in those times the Indian trade and the trade of the islands round about.

Still the Europeans were busy thinking of possessing some route by the Mediterranean Sea. The narrow strip of land between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean was cut to make the Suez Canal. Then they thought of the possession of Egypt and Suez so that this important Indo-European route might be safe for ever.

These are the events which are found written in every history of India in connection with European commerce on the coasts and isles of India. These events throw full light on Indo-Arabic commercial relations.

The other trade route to India, which was connected with the Persian Gulf, generally remained in the hands of

the Arabs. But owing to changes of government in 'Omân, Hadramaut and 'Irâq and to the ruin of old and construction of new harbours, the commercial centre shifted from one town to another or from one part to another.

THE PORT OF UBLAH — أبله

Before the conquest of 'Irâq by the Arabs in 14 A.H. during the days of Iranian supremacy, the greatest and most remarkable port for Indian commerce was Ublah situated near Basrah. So much of the Indian trade passed through the port of 'Ublah' that the Arabs knew Ublah as a part of India. Ships from China and India came to anchor at this port and then sailed off.¹

The high esteem in which Indian products and wares were held by the Arabs can be gauged from the fact that when Hazrat 'Umar asked an Arab sailor his opinion about India, he replied in three sentences in a most rhetorical vein, *Bahrha durr wa jabalha yaqut wa shajarha 'itr* ("Its rivers are pearls, its mountains rubies, its trees perfumes.")²

After the conquest of 'Irâq, Hazrat 'Umar thought of annexing this port. So in 14 A.H. he ordered its annexation and wrote that it should be a Muslim trading town.³ This port remained in existence from that time to 256 A.H.⁴ In 256 A.H. it was completely ruined in the battle of Zangyûn (زنگیون). The Arabs had built another harbour called Basrah (بصره) in 'Irâq in 14 A.H. but it could not throw the trading fame of Ublah in the shade. Perhaps the reason was that Basrah became more a military and political centre than a purely trading town. Yet the Indian, Chinese and Abyssinian trade found its way to this port and, in spite of political revolutions, it was a flourishing trade centre. Particularly towards the end of the first century A.H., due to the conquest of Sind by the Arabs, it became a centre of Indian commerce. The duties levied on the entry of boats and

(1) Information about Ublah can be gleaned from *الاخبار الطوال* أبو حنیفه دینوری (dated 228 A.H., p. 133 (Leyden) and from *Mu'jamu'l-buldan* by Yâqût Rûmî, Vol. I., p. 88 and Vol. II., p. 192 (Egypt) and from *Tarikh-i-Basra* by Nu'mân 'Azamî of Baghdad (footnote of that book).

(2) *الاخبار الطوال* أبو حنیفه دینوری p. 326 (Leyden).

(3) *Mu'jamu'l-buldan* by Yâqût Vol. II., p. 196 (Egypt).

(4) *Tarikh-i-Basrah* by 'Azami (Baghdad) footnote on p. 11.

ships in that harbour reached such high figures that it became the financial emporium of the Baghdad Khilâfat. In 806 during the days of Muqtadar billah the total income from this port was 22,575 dinars.

SEYRAF.

Next to Basrah in importance on the Persian Gulf was Seyraf. It was situated within Persian boundaries at a distance of seven days' journey from Basrah. It was in the third century A.H. that the star of its greatness began to shine on the horizon. It became a halting-place for navigators and merchants. Ships starting from this port went to India and China ; and ships, laden with merchandise from those countries, came here. Abû Zeyd gives us a picture of its thriving condition in the 3rd century A.H. " It is a very large port in Persia, and a large town too. There is a continuous chain of buildings as far as eye can reach. Nothing is grown here by way of cultivation, but everything comes here by means of the sea trade."¹

When Bashâri Maqdisî saw it in the 4th century A.H. he wrote " I have not seen more handsome buildings anywhere in the Islamic world. They are made of bricks and of the wood of the ' Sal ' tree ; and they are very high. In many cases, one building has cost a hundred thousand dirhams."²

Astakhri, who saw it at about the same time, says ; " It is as large as Shîrâz. The buildings are made of ' Sal ' wood. This wood is brought from Africa by sea. There are many-storeyed buildings on the bank of the river. The inhabitants spend large sums upon buildings. Some merchants spend thirty thousand ' ashrafis ' (gold-mohurs) on one building. In front of the house is a garden. Water is supplied from the hills."³

Bashâri says that it was pulled to pieces by some revolutions in the kingdom of the Deylamis and that an earthquake brought about its ruin. Afterwards some people wanted to restore it.⁴ They were successful in the attempt and the port remained in a flourishing condition for some time. Yâqût Hamdî (ياقوت حمدي) who saw it

(1) *Mu'jamu'l-buldan* by Yâqût, Vol. V, p. 193.

(2) *Ahsanu'l-taqasim* (Leyden). p. 426.

(3) *M'jamu'l-buldan* by Yâqût Vol. V, p. 193. (Egypt).

(4) *Ahsanu'l-taqasim* p. 464.

towards the end of the 6th century records the following: "Nothing is to be seen except old ruins and rubbish heaps, of devastation. A few poor men live here. The reason of its decay was that Ibn 'Umeyrah threw it into the background by assigning greater importance to the island of Qeys (قیس).

QEYS (قیس).

Qeys or Keysh was an island in the Persian Gulf, near 'Oman. It threw Scyraf into the shade and commanded the Indian and the Chinese commerce. It was ruled over by the King of 'Oman. When Yâqût saw it in the sixth century A.H., owing to Indian commerce it had grown into a highly flourishing island. All the ships from India touched here, with the result that Yâqût writes: "The Arab ruler of this little island is held in great esteem by the Indian Rajahs, as he has in his possession plenty of ships and boats." Qazwîni (686 A.H.) says: "Qeys is the emporium of Indian commerce and is the harbour for Indian ships. Every nice thing found in India is brought here."²

PORTS OF INDIA.

We get to know of Indian ports in the first century A.H. and we find the names of numerous ports from that era to the third century A.H. The names of those ports persist in after ages. To the Arabs, next in importance to the Persian Gulf was the port of Teyz (تيز) in Baluchistan; then came the port of Deybal in Sind, Thâna, Khambayat (کھمبایت), Saubarah (سوباره), Jeymûr (جیمور) in Gujarat. Kolam Mali (کولم ملی) in Malabar and Cape Comorin in Madras were also ports of considerable importance. The Arab traders went either to the islands or to Kamrûp (Assam) via Bengal and from thence they proceeded to China. The names of these very ports occur in Arabic geography books. Ibn Hauqal, writing in the 10th century A.D. about the port of Deybal in Sind, says: "It is a remarkable centre of trade and various kinds of trades are carried on here."³

(1) *Mu'jamu'l-buldan* by Yâqût, Vol. VII, p. 126, (Egypt) and Vol. V, p. 198.

(2) *A'tharu'l-bilad* by Qazwîni (European edition), p. 161.

(3) *Safar Namah-i-Ibn-i-Hauqal*, p. 280. (Europe).

Suleymân the Merchant describes the routes of ships in the third century A.H.—“ All the wares and commodities come from Basrah and ‘Oman to Seyraf and here they are loaded on ships. The traders take drinking water with them and then they sail off. Then they anchor down at Maskat and here again they take drinking water with them. The ships leave Maskat for India and reach Kolam Mali (كولم ملي) in a month, from whence the ships bound for China sail off to China. At Kolam Mali there is a factory for the building and repairing of ships. Here also drinking water is taken. The duty levied on ships bound for China is one thousand dirhams and that levied on other ships varies from ten dinars to one dinar.”¹

Twenty-five years after Suleymân, Abu Zeyd Seyrafi relates :—

“ Ships from India reach ‘Oman ; from ‘Oman they go to Aden, from Aden to Jiddah, from Jiddah to Jar (Coast of Syria), and then to the Mediterranean Sea. Here the sea has reached its end. The sea takes a turning on the coast of Berber and advances towards Abyssinia. When the ships of the people of Seyraf arrive at Jiddah, they go no further. The ships bound for Egypt are kept ready here and the goods, having been taken off the ships of Seyraf, are loaded in these Egyptian ships which take the wares to the Mediterranean sea. The people of Seyraf are very well acquainted with the seas of India and China. Moreover, the income accruing from the sea trade with India and China is immensely larger than that gained from the Mediterranean commerce.”²

Ibn Khardazba who flourished towards the beginning of the third century A.H. praises Jiddah’s trade in these words : “ The commodities of Sind, Hindûstân, Zanjibar, Abyssinia and Persia are to be found here.”³ He details the route from Basrah to Hindûstân thus :—

From Basrah to Khârak (خارك) 50 farsangs.⁴

From the isle of Khârak to the isle of Lâwân (لاوان)
80 farsangs.

(1) *Safarnamah-i-Suleyman Tajir*, p. 15. (Paris, 1811 A.D. pp. 15, 16).

(2) *Safarnamah-i-Abu Zeyd* p. 136 (Paris, 1811 A.D.).

(8) *Kitubu’l-Masalik* by Ibn-e-Khardazbe p. 61 (Leyden).

(4) One farsang equals nearly eight miles according to modern reckoning—(Translator).

From the isle of Lâwân to the isle of Eyrûn (ایرون) 7 farsangs.

From the isle of Eyrûn to the isle of Khîn (خین) 7 farsangs.

From the isle of Khîn to the isle of Keysh or Qeys 7 farsangs

From the isle of Keysh to the isle of Ibn-Kâwân (ابن کاوان) 18 farsangs.

From the isle of Ibn-Kâwân to the isle of Hurmuz 7 farsangs.

From the isle of Hurmuz to Thârâ (ثارا) 7 days' journey

He says that 'Thârâ' is the line of demarcation between Persia and Sind and that ships go from this place to Daibal.

Thârâ to Daibal.....eight days' journey.

Daibal to the mouth of river 'Sind'.....two days' journey.

River Sind to Otgîn (اونگن) four days' journey.

He says that from Otgîn (اونگن) begin the frontiers of India.

Otgîn to Kôli (کولی) 2 farsangs.

Kôli to Sandân (سندان) 5 days' journey and 18 farsangs.

Sandân to Malî (ملی) 5 days' journey.

Malî to Buleyn (بلین) 2 days' journey.

Buleyn marks the parting of ways. The ships hugging the coasts sail from Buleyn to Pâpatan (پاپتن) a distance of two days' journey.

Pâpatan to Sanjîlî (سنجلی) and Kabshkân (کبشکان) 1 day's journey.

Kabshkân to the mouth of the Godavrî...3 farsangs.

From the mouth of the Godavrî to Keylkân (کیلکان) 2 days' journey.

From Keylkân to the sea.....10 farsangs.

From the sea to Urancheyn (اورنچین) 12 farsangs.

Other ships go from Buleyn to Śarandip and to Java ; some sail direct from Buleyn to China.*

* Ibn Khardâzbe pp. 61-64 (Leyden).

INDO-EUROPEAN COMMERCIAL ROUTES VIA ARABIA.

Even after the Arabs became masters of Egypt, Syria, 'Irâq, Persia, the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean, commercial intercourse between East and West did not cease. The Muslim traders did not go to Europe nor did the Romans come to the Muslim territories; but the Jews acted as intermediaries. The Jews were looked upon in Islamic countries as the custodians of a revealed book; while they knew Europe since the time of the Greeks. Trebizond, which lies on the coast of the Black Sea and marks the frontiers of Asia Minor and Russia, was the meeting-place of Muslim and Christian traders. They did not go further;¹ but the Jews very easily crossed the Islamic and the Christian worlds. Ibn Khardâzbâ writes that they (the Jews) speak Arabic, Persian, Latin, English, Spanish and the Slav tongues. They keep running from East to West, from West to East and scour both land and sea. They trade in slaves (male and female), silk, beaver fur and swords. They set sail from Europe and land on the Egyptian coast of the Mediterranean Sea. Here after disembarking they load their commodities on the backs of animals and take them to the Red Sea. Here they take ships which go to Jiddah. From Jiddah they go to Sind, India and China, and they come back by the same route. Another route which they take is this: Starting from Europe they reach Antioch via the Mediterranean and from here they go to 'Irâq by land. Here they will sail on the Euphrates and reach Baghdad. Here they take ships and by the Tigris route reach Ublah, from whence they go to Oman, Sind, India and China.²

Ibn Khardâzbâ has mentioned, besides the Jews, Russian merchants who travelled by land and water and claimed to be Christians. (The Russians were converted to Christianity in the 10th century A.D.). Ibn Khardâzbâ says that they were of Slav origin. Starting from the Slav land they set sail on the Mediterranean Sea. The Emperor of Byzantium took tithes from them. Then they landed somewhere on the coast of the Caspian Sea. Then they went on camels by land to Baghdad and here, as Christians, they paid the poll-tax (jizya).

Sometimes they took a land route. From Spain or France they went to North Africa, then to Tanjâ (Tangier)

(1) *Nakhbatu'd-dahr fi 'aja'ib-ul-barr wal bahr* by Sûfi of Damascus p. 146.

(2) Ibn Khardâzbâ pp. 158 and 154 (Leyden).

then to Algeria then to Tunis, then to Tripoli, then to Egypt, then to Damascus, then to Kûfah, then to Baghdâd, then to Basrah, then to Ahwâz (اهواز) then to Persia, then to Kirmân, then to Sind via Balûchistân, then to India and then to China.¹

Mas'ûdî, who came to India about 305 A.H. and passed through Balkh and Khorasân, records: "There is also a land route from Khorasân to China. Khorasân and India touch each other. It touches Sind at Multân on one side and at Mansûrah (منصوره) on the other. Caravans often go from Khorasân to Sind and India. This country merges into Zabulistan (Afghanistan).² Ibn Hauqal, who came fifty years before Mahmûd of Ghazni, says: "The Indian commerce finds its way through Kabul and Ghazni."³ "There were Muslim traders in Asîwân (اسيوان) too (called 'Asîfân by the Arabs) which was a Hindu Kingdom in the Punjâb."⁴

Mas'ûdî has calculated the time of high tides and low tides in the Indian Ocean and on the basis of this calculation, he has fixed the months for ships to start on their voyages. He writes, "Between our place (Baghdad?) and India there is a difference of seasons. When it is summer here, it is winter there. In the month of June (برماه) few ships leave for India and these few are very light and much merchandise is not loaded. These ships are called 'Tirmahi' ships or ships of June."⁵

Abû Zeyd Seyrafi says that ships do not sail in the rainy season. The Indians, during this season, cultivate their fields or follow other avocations. The rainy season provides them with their sustenance. Rice, which is grown abundantly, is their staple food.⁶

MARITIME TERMS OF INDIAN ORIGIN FOUND IN ARABIA.

The result of these maritime transactions of the Arabs with India was that some Indian maritime terms found their way into Arabic geography books and travel diaries

(1) Ibn Khardazbê pp. 158 and 154.

(2) *Muruju'dh-dhahab* by Mas'ûdî.

(3) Ibn Hauqal p. 328.

(4) *Futuhu'l-buldan*.

(5) *Muruju'dh-dhahab* by Mas'ûdî.

(6) *Safarnamah-i-Abu Zeyd Seyrafi* p. 126.

and on the tongues of Arab and Persian navigators. One of these terms is *barjah* (بارجه). Bîrûnî says that originally this is the Indian word *berah* (بیره) called *barjah* by the Arabs. Its plural is *bawârij* (بوارج). As the pirates on the Indian coasts used to assail these barges,¹ they began to be called by the name of *bawârji*, just as the pirates of the Mediterranean Sea were called *Qarsân* (قرصان). Nowadays in the Arabic language 'barjah' denotes a fleet of war-ships.

Another word is 'dunîj' (دونیج) whose plural in *dâwânîj* (دوانیج).² It is the Arabic form of the Indian word, *dôngi*. The third word is *Hurî* (هری) still spoken as *Hûrî* by the Bombay people.

Three more words owe their origin to India or the islands round about, but their origin is very obscure. *Balij* (بلیج) means the deck of a ship; *josh* (جوش) means the ropes of a boat and *kanir* (کنیر) means a rope of coconut bark used to bind ships and to join the planks of ships.

All these words are of Indian origin. One word is very interesting as it contains, in a nutshell, a short history of the international Eastern sea-trade of those times. This word in Arabic is *Nâkhûdhah* (ناخوذه) and its plural is *Nawâkhidhah* (نواخذه). But India is more familiar with its Persian form 'Nâkhoda' (نا خدا). This is really *Nâo khoda* (ناؤ خدا). 'Nao' is an Indian word, and *Khoda* in Persian means a master. Hâfiz says:—

ما خدا داریم و ما را نا خدا در کار نیست

(We have God on our side and we do not need a boatsman).

INDIAN PRODUCTS AND COMMODITIES.

An estimate of the things which these Arab merchants took from India and the Indian islands can be had from:

- (1) *Kitabu'l-Hind* by Bîrûnî p. 102 (London).
(2) *Mu'jamu'l-buldan* by Yâqût Hamawî, Word *Qais*, vol. VII; and *Aja'ibu'l-Hind* by Buzurg p. 69 (Leyden).

what an Arab traveller said to Hazrat 'Umar, "The rivers of India are pearls, its mountains rubies, and its trees perfumes." This shows that in the 6th century A.D. the Arabs carried pearls, jewels and perfumery.

An Arab sailor explains the reason why the ships of Seyraf do not go to Egypt via the Mediterranean, but go back from Jiddah to India. He says, "In the seas of China and India pearls and ambergris are found. In the mountains there are mines of gold and precious stones. Elephant tusks are found in plenty. The products are ebony, willow, 'ūd (an odoriferous wood), camphor, clove, nutmeg, jawzbawâ (جوزبوا), bakam (بكم), sandal-wood and perfumes of all kinds. Its birds are peacocks and parrots. Here are found musk and *zabad* (the sweet-smelling sweat of an animal)." ¹

Ibn-Khardâzba (250 A.H.) gives a list of the products and commodities of India which found their way to Arabia and 'Irâq. Odoriferous woods, sandal-wood, camphor, clove, nutmeg (jawzbawa), spices (cinnamon, etc.), cocoanut, jute, clothes, cotton, brocade, and elephants, every kind of precious stones, pearls, crystal; sambadhaj (سنباذج) (a thing used to round off pearls) comes from Sarandip; pepper from Malabar; lead from Gujerât; Bakam (بكم) and dâdhî (داذي) from the South of India; and Kut (a sort of medicine), bamboos, willow from Sind. ²

Mas'ûdî (303 A.H.) and Bashârî (730 A.H.) both have praised the shoes of Khambayat (Kathiawar) which are sent to many places outside. ³ The cloths of Thâna (Bombay) were noted and were woven either here or somewhere inside the country. Anyway they were exported from that port and were known as cloth of Thâna.

Mus'ir bin Mahlail (مسعر بن مهليل), who came to India in 331 A.H. and toured Southern India, while describing Kolam (situated in Travancore) writes, "It is here that the clay vessels ghadâ'ir (غضائر), ⁴ sold in our country as

(1) Abû Zeyd Seyrafi p. 135 (Paris edition) 1811 A.D.

(2) *Kitabu'l-Masalik wa'l-Mamalik* by Ibn Khardâzbâ, p. 71 (Leyden).

(3) *Taqwimu'l-buldan* by Abû'l-Fidâ p. 309.

(4) The singular of 'ghadâ'ir' (غضائر) is ghadârch (غضاره)

which means a sweet-smelling clay. But, perhaps, later on, it came to mean china. (Vide *Ma'jamu'l-buldan* by Yâqût Vol. 8, p. 348, word *Mahrwan*. (مهروان))

china porcelain, are made. But in reality they are not china, because the Chinese clay is harder than the Kolam clay and can stand fire for a longer time. The Chinese clay is whiter than the Kolam clay. Here teakwood is often as long as 100 cubits. There is plenty of 'Bakam,' willow and wood for the making of spears. 'Riwand-i-chîni' (ریوند چینی) and cassia leaves (kinds of spices) which are rare and are very useful for eye diseases, 'ûd (an odoriferous wood) camphor and frankincense or benzoin are carried by traders from this place."¹

A kind of poison named by Qazwîni bîsh (بیش) used to go from India to foreign lands. It is the corrupted form of 'bis' which is the Indian word for poison.²

CARDAMOM--İLEYCHI (الانچی)

Ileychi الانچی (cardamom) is as interesting in its philological origin as it is refreshing to the heart. The name of a cape between Coromandal and Malabar is *Ras Hili*. It is the treasury of cardamom. It is thought that the Sanskrit word 'il' for cardamom and the Persian word *Hil* هیل for it are derived from *Ras Hili*. This 'il' became known as 'îlae'chi' الانچی in Urdu. 'Ud عود (wood aloes) which used to go from Mandal مندل (Coromandal) became known among the Arabs as Mandal.

Towards the end of the tenth century Mas'ûdî writes :

"From 'Dip' (Maldivé, Laccadive and the islands of the Indian Archipelago) traders take cocoanuts, bakam wood, willow and gold.⁴ He describes the wealth of the islands of Mahraj in this way :— "There are different kinds of odours in these islands. It is from these islands that camphor, 'ûd (wood-aloes) clove, nutmeg, kabab chîni (a kind of spice), mace (جاوتری) and larger cardamoms are taken."⁵ Some people come from these islands on little boats made of a piece of wood and bring with them

(1) *Atharu'l-bilad* by Qazwîni p. 70.—Gottingen (1848 A.D.)

(2) *Atharu'l-bilad* by Qazwîni p. 85.—Gottingen (1848 A.D.)

(3) *Ibu Batûtah* Vol. II., and *Taqwîmu'l-buldan* by Abû'l-Fidâ, p. 354.

(4) *Atharu'l-bilad* by Qazwîni (Gottingen) p. 82.

(5) *Muruju'dh-dhahab*, Chap. 16.

(6) *Muruju'dh-dhahab*, Chap. 16.

cocoanuts, sugarcane, plantains, coconut-water and exchange them for iron.¹

Ibnu'l-Faqîh Hamdânî writes in 330 A.H. : " God has blest India and Sind inasmuch as odours, jewels (rubies, diamonds, etc.) rhino, elephants, peacock, a'ûd, ambergris, (عنبر) Spikenard (Sanbal سنبل), Khûlanjân² (خولنجان), cinnamon, coconut, 'Har' (هَر), blue vitriol (Tutia توتيا), 'Bakam' wood, willow, sandalwood, teak-wood and pepper are found there."³

EVIDENCE OF ARABIC DICTIONARY.

In order to know the things which the Arabs imported from India, we should look up the Arabic dictionary. Swords of Indian make were well known in Arabia and hence in the Arabic language Hindi (هندي), 'Hindûni, (هندوانی) and Muhannad (مهند) mean a sword. The following words are Indian in origin and they themselves point out their origin and birth. Most of them are for spices, perfumes and medicines. I have tried to track them down to their original Indian forms so that their countrymen (the Indians) may recognise them as their own relations.

English	Urdu	Sanskrit	Arabic
Sandal-wood ..	صندل	چندن	صندل
Musk	مسك	موشكا	مشك
Betel-leaf ..	تنبول	تامبول	بان (تنبول)
Camphor ..	كافور	كپور	كافور
Clove ..	لونگ	كنك پهل	قرنفل
Pepper ..	گول مرچ	پپلی، پپلا	فلفل
(perhaps the English word pepper may have been derived from pipli پپلی)			
Betel	قوفل کوبل	سپاری، ڈلی

(1) The logbook of Suleymân Tâjir p. 18.

(2) It is the Indian word, 'Kûlanjân' or the root of piper betel, used for cleaning the throat—Translator.

(3) *Kitabu'l-buldan* by Ibn-ul-Faqih Hamdânî p. 251 (Leyden).

English	Urdu	Sanskrit	Arabic
Ginger ¹	.. سونٹھ ادرك	زانجايرا	زنجبيل
Lotus	.. نيلوفر	نيلوهل	نيلوفر
Cardamom	.. الاچھی	ايل	هيل

MEDICINES.

Nutmeg	.. جائے پھل	جائے پھل	
Vitriol	.. توتيا	شکھ	شخيره
Deck	.. بهڑا	بهڑه	بليج
Myrobolan	.. هليله	هره	هليلج
(?)	.. بهلادھ	بهلاتکه	بلادر

A'ûd-i-hindî عودھندی 'Qust hindi' قسط ہندی (a sort of medicinal wood), Sâdhaj Hindî ساذج ہندی (cassia leaves) Qartum Hindî قرطم ہندی, Tamar Hindî تمر ہندی (Tamarind) all proclaim their origin. The Arabs called a'ûd by the name of Mandal مندل since it went to Arabia from Coromandal.²

KINDS OF CLOTH.

English	Hindi	Arabic
Muslin	.. کرپاس (ملعل)	قرفس
Chintz. ³	.. چھنٹ	شیت
A kind of 'kerchief'	.. بٹ	فوط

COLOURS.

Blue	.. نیل	نیلیج
Scarlet	.. کرماج	قرمز

(1) Vide the Etymology of the word 'ginger' in Chambers's *Twentieth Century Dictionary* (derived from sanskrit Cringaahorn, Vera ashape.) (Translator).

(2) *Atharu'l-bilad* by Qazwîni p. 82 (Gottingen) 1848 A.D.

(3) Originally plural of Indian chint, spotted cotton cloth. Vide Chambers's *Twentieth Century Dictionary*, under *chintz*—Translator.

FRUITS.

English	Indian	Arabic
Plantain	.. (کیلا) موشه	موز
Cocoanut	.. ناریل	دارجیل
Mango	.. آم	انباچ
Lemon	.. لیمو	لیمون

These words speak for themselves as to their original place and also how they changed appearance in another country.

SANSKRIT WORDS IN THE QUR'AN.

There has been much dispute among scholars whether there is any word of foreign origin in the Qur'ân. But the decision arrived at is that such words of foreign birth as had passed into Arabic phraseology and become part of the language, occur in the Qur'ân. Hâfiz ibn Hajar and Hâfiz Siyûtî حافظ سیوطی have picked out such words.

We Indians can boast that some words of our country were lucky enough to find a place in the Sacred Book. The statement of earlier Muslim scholars regarding some words being of Indian origin is unfounded. For instance to say that (ابلی) is of Indian origin and means 'to drink' or to say that (طوبی) is of Indian origin (as did Sa'id bin Jâbir) is baseless.¹ But there is not a shred of doubt that in praise of heaven three odoriferous things of India, 'the image of Paradise,' are mentioned مسك (Musk), زانجايرا- زنجبیل (Ginger), and کپور- کافور (camphor).

Having pondered over the above statements and philological researches let us look up some passages in the Old Testament. Two thousand years before Christ Arab traders going to Egypt took with them balsam, fir, and other odours.²

The presents which the queen of Sheba brought for Solomon to Jerusalem in 950 B.C. included spices, gold in abundance and precious stones, (II Chronicles, Chap. 9

(1) الاتفاق فی علوم القرآن نوع ۳۸

(2) Genesis Chap. XXXVII. Verse 26 (? 25).

Verse 12). The prophet Ezekiel carried steel, cassia and spices from Arabia to Syria. He says, "Bright iron, cassia and calamus were in thy market."¹ It is definitely known that frankincense, myrrh and odours were found in Arabia but India was and is still the home of bright iron, cassia and spices. It is obvious, then, that the Indo-Arabic commercial relations existed in 2,000 B.C.²

Of Indian fruits the cocoanut first attracted the notice of the Arabs. Abû Zeyd, an Arab traveller of the 9th century A.D. writes: "The Arabs of Oman go to the places where cocoanut is grown, with carpenter's implements. First they cut down the cocoanut trees and leave them to dry up. When they dry up, they cut down planks and twist the barks into rope. They make boats by joining the planks with these ropes and make masts and sails out of these ropes. When the boats are ready, they are packed with coconuts. The traders bring these boats to 'Oman and make large fortunes."³

Then the Arab traders mention lemon and mango with amazement. Ibn Hauqal (350 A.H.) says in the description of Sind, "There is a fruit here as large as an apple which they call *lîmûn* ليمون (lemon). It is very pungent. There is another fruit here which is like peaches. Its name is *anbâj* (انباج) or mango. It tastes like peaches."⁴

Mas'ûdî says; "Oranges and lemons are peculiar to India. They were taken from India to Arabia in the 3rd century A.H. They came to 'Oman, then to 'Irâq and Syria, till at last they were grown in every home in Egypt and in the coastal towns of Syria. But," says Mas'ûdî, "they have not the taste of Indian oranges and lemons."⁵

Ibn Hauqal describes the products of Sind and Gujrât thus:—

"*Mansûrah* منصوره—Its ancient name is *Brahmanâbâd*. برهن آباد. Lemons, mangoes and sugarcane are found here. They are cheap and there is plenty of verdure.

"*Alwar* الور. As large as *Multân*. It has walls around the city and is situated on the bank of the river 'Sind.' It is very flourishing and is a large trade centre.

(1) *II Chronicles*, chap. IX, verse 9.

(2) *Ezekiel*, Chap XXVII, verse 19.

(3) Abû Zeyd p. 181.

(4) Ibn Hauqal p. 228.

(5) *Murujûdh-dhahab* Vol. II, p. 438 (Europe).

“Deybal ديبال. It is situated on the ocean beach north of the river Sind. There are various kinds of trade here. It is a port. Cereals are also found here. Commerce has built it up into a large flourishing area.

“Kâmhal کامهل. There is the land of the Buddhists and Medes from Kâmhal to Makran. Two-humped camels are found here and they are highly valued in Persia and Khorasân for breeding purposes.

“Qandâbîl. قندابيل. It is the commercial town of the Buddhists. There are huts and houses of tile.

“Jeymûr and Khambâyet (جيمور-کهمبايت) —(in Gujerat and Kathiawar) Rice and honey are found here in plenty.

“Kalwân کلوان. There is an abundance of grain. There are few fruits. Plenty of cattle and live-stock.

“Keyz Kânân کيزکانان (capital of Qazdâr قزدار). Things sell cheap. Grapes, pomegranates and fruits with cold properties are found here. No date-trees.

“Qanjpûr قنچپور. The largest town of Makram. Sugar-canes and dates are found here and also fânîd فانيد (a kind of pudding) which is exported to all countries of the world.

“Qandâbîl قندابيل. A large mart of Indian grains.”

Bashârî Maqdisî بشارى مقدسى (375 A.H.) gives a very detailed account. He describes nearly every town at great length :

“Waihind ويهند. It is a larger town than Mansûrah. The sanitary condition is quite satisfactory. Good fruits and large trees are found. Rates are cheap. Honey was sold three maunds for a dirham, (the Arabic maund was much less). Bread and milk are dirt-cheap. Almond trees and walnut trees are found in plenty.

“Kanauj (near Multân)—It is a large town and has walls around it. Meat sells very cheap here. Plenty of gardens. Profitable trade marts. Bananas are cheap but not much wheat is found. Rice is the staple food.

“Multân. It is as large as Mansûrah. Here fruits are not more plentiful than in Mansûrah, but things are cheaper here. Bread sells here at the rate of 30 maunds per dirham, fânîdh (a sort of pudding) at the rate of 3 maunds for 1 dirham. Among the merchants there are no liars or cheats. Trade is in a flourishing condition.

“Fânîdh is exported from Tûrân طوران and rice and cloth from Sandân سندان. Very nice carpets are made in Sind. Fine cloths and cocoanuts are exported. Shoes of Khambayat make are exported from Mansûrah; and elephants, elephant tusks, valuable things and medicines are exported from Sind. Two products special to India are the lemon and the mango which is very sweet and tasty. The ‘Bakhti’ camels in Persia and the East are reared up from the breed of Sind camels.

“These camels of Sind, which are called pâlah or fâlaj بالاج and are two-humped, are so valuable that in other countries they are meant for royal riding. So also the shoes of Khambayat are valued.”¹

Mas’ûdî has praised Indian peacocks and has written, “Though peacocks were taken from India and their broods reared in ‘Irâq and other places, still they are not like the Indian peacocks in colour or stature.”²

The fine thin cloths of India have always been highly praised and the descriptions given by people of many nations go to prove that very fine slender cloths were woven here. It is said that the fine thin cloths in which Egyptian mummies are shrouded are of Indian make. However this is the merest guess work; but Suleymân, an Arab traveller of the 8th century, writes about a place in India. “Cloths the like of which are not woven anywhere else are woven here. They are so fine and thin that one whole thân or sheaf of cloth can be put in a ring. They are cotton cloths and I have personally seen them.”³

The Arabs took rhinoceros horns from India to China. Pictures were carved on them. Boxes were made of them and they were so highly valued that one box cost as much as two or three thousand gold-mohurs.⁴

A certain animal whose sweat yielded perfume was carried by Arab traders from India even to Morocco.⁵ Black salt also used to go from India to foreign lands.⁶ Among the Arabs Mas’ûdî has given a detailed account of pân پان تنبول or betel leaf. This account is now nine hundred years old. He says, “It is a kind of leaf grown

(1) *Ahsanu't-taqasim fi ma'rafatu'l-aqalim.*

(2) *Muruju'dh-dhahab* Vol. II, p. 488 (Ledyen).

(3) *Safarnamah-i Suleyman Tajir* p. 80 (Paris).

(4) *Safarnamah-i Suleyman Tajir* p. 81.

(5) *Tuhfatu'l-ahbab* by Abû Hâmid of Granada p. 49 (Paris).

(6) *Mafatihu'l-'Ulum* by Khwarazmî p. 259 (Leyden).

in India. When it is chewed mixed up with lime and betel, teeth become scarlet like the grains of the pomegranate. The mouth smells sweet and it refreshes the heart. The Indians dislike white teeth and those who do not chew betel leaves." However, the account of betel-leaves here is merely incidental. In those days a delicate thing like betel-leaf could not reach Arabia but betels did always reach Arabia. Mas'ûdî writes in 305 A.H., "Now in Yaman and Hijâz many people have begun chewing betels tremendously."¹ Nowadays betel-leaves have begun to reach Aden in a quite fresh condition. This is all due to the scrupulous and overprecise care of Indians. However, betels went from India to Arabia from very early times. In Arabia a'ûd (wood-aloes) from Cape Comorin was widely famed and used to go from Comorin.² Since they called 'Comorin' by the name of Qumâr قمار hence a'ûd qumârî عود قمارى was famous in Arabia. Musk was brought from Tibet.³ Diamonds came from the mountains of Cashmere.⁴

INDIAN IMPORTS.

All these were Indian exports; now let us see what were the things imported into India from Arabia. The people of the islands took what they needed: *i.e.* clothes. The Arabs have written that people of some islands remain naked and do not purchase clothes. But they buy iron.⁵

In the third century A.H. the gold coins of Sind were much in demand in India. One gold mohur of Sind was worth three of India. Emerald rings of Egyptian make used to come to India and were put inside little boxes with much care. There was much demand in India for coral and an ordinary stone known as Dhauj.⁶ Wine also used to be imported from Egypt.⁷ Silks and furs and swords came from Byzantium.⁸ Rose-water was imported into India from Persia.⁹

(1) *Muruju'dh-dhahab*, Vol. II, p. 84 (Paris).

(2) Travel diaries of Suleymân and Abû Zeyd, pp. 93 and 130 respectively.

(3) Travel diaries of Suleymân and Abû Zeyd p. 111.

(4) *Aja'ibu'l-Hind* by Buzurg p. 128 (Paris).

(5) Travel diaries of Suleymân and Abû Zeyd p. 9.

(6) Travel diaries of Suleymân and Abû Zeyd p. 145.

(7) Ibn Hauqal p. 231.

(8) Ibn Khardâzîbâ p. 153 (Leyden).

(9) Ibn Hauqal p. 213.

Dates were imported into the port of Deybal (Sind).¹ Arab horses were imported to the Coromandel coast.²

WERE INDIANS ALSO NAVIGATORS ?

There is no mention of the Hindus in any account of Indian foreign commerce whether by land or sea. Nor is the name of Hindus mentioned either as sailors or as navigators. You will look in vain for names of Hindus in the histories, geographies and travel-diaries from the time of the Greeks to that of the Arabs. Everywhere the Greeks, Romans and Arabs are mentioned as the sea-traders of India. Even in Marco Polo's travel-diary the Arabs are mentioned. Elphinstone has opined that, but for propelling little boats on the river of Sind and the Ganges and coasting from one port to another the Hindus never ventured to cross the seas. Even in the days of Alexander, the Greeks did not see either ships or navigators on the river of Sind, although they saw fishermen in little boats and barges. But the inhabitants of the Coromandel coast ventured out to the islands of Java.³

I, however, differ from these researches. I am personally inclined to think that at least the Hindus of Gujerât and Sind, if not all the coastside Hindus, should be excepted from such sweeping generalisations. There is a sentence in Manu's *Dharmashastra* which goes to show that even at that remote time there were some Hindu seafarers. Arrian, the Greek historian, while describing Alexander, says : "He had to get his ships built in India." But again he lays down : "The fourth caste of Hindus includes people who build or navigate ships and cross rivers."⁴

From a Greek statement it appears that in a certain island at the mouth of the Red Sea (perhaps Socotra) there were a few Hindus, too, together with Greeks and Arabs.⁵

There is no manner of doubt that there was a fairly large population of Hindus in Maldivé, Ceylon, Java and other islands of the Malayan archipelago. Their customs and even their language point them out as Hindus. Arab sailors and traders took them to be a portion of India and described them as such. Abû Zeyd, a sailor of

(1) *Taqwimu'l-buldan* by Abû'l-Fidâ p. 349.

(2) *Taqwimu'l-buldan* by Abû'l-Fidâ p. 355.

(3) Elphinstone's *History of India*, Chap. 10 (Commerce).

(4) Elphinstone Vol. I, p. 182.

(5) Elphinstone Vol. I, p. 183.

the 9th century A.D., says, "Capc Comorin was also conquered by the Maharaja of Java."¹ But it is worth noticing that the Arabs have always mentioned the king of Java as 'Maharaj' (Rajah of Rajahs) and those islands as his possessions.

What is more, Abû Zeyd Seyrafi, in the 9th century A.D., while describing the Hindu habit of not eating together, says :—"The Hindus come to Seyraf (a port of 'Irâq) and when some Arab merchant invites them to a feast, their number often approaches or exceeds a hundred. But a separate dish needs to be served before each, and none of them can eat off anybody else's dish."² This makes it obvious that the Hindus had begun to come in large numbers to and from the ports of 'Irâq at least during the time of the Arabs. The Arabs have mentioned that the Hindus sailed on the water from lower Kashmir (Punjâb) to the river Sind.³

Moreover, Buzurg bin Shahryâr Nahoda (sailor) mentions in his book '*Aja'ibu'l-Hind*' under the word bânânya بَانَانِيَه or banyâ (بَنِيَا) Indian merchants who were on board a ship together with other passengers. In one place he mentions two words 'bânanyâ' بَانَانِيَه and Tâjir⁴ separately, which mean Hindu merchants and Arab traders respectively. 'Banyâ' (بَنِيَا) in its singular form and, Bânânyah بَانَانِيَه in its plural form still denote in Arabia Hindu grocers and merchants.

In 'Irâq, Bahreyn (بَحْرَيْن), 'Omân, Sûdân, Port Said, and Cairo (Egypt) they still carry on their trade. I met these, 'Banyâs' (grocers and merchants) in my journey to Hijâz and Egypt.

They speak colloquial Arabic with such ease and grace that our learned Maulvis look at them in dumb astonishment. They are mostly Sindis, Multânis and Gujrâtis, who have had dealings in these countries from time immemorial. Even in 300 A.H. they are seen sailing near Aden in Arab ships.⁵

(1) Abu Zeyd, p. 97.

(2) Abû Zeyd, p. 146.

(3) '*Aja'ibu'l-Hind*, p. 104.

(4) '*Aja'ibu'l-Hind*, p. 165.

(5) '*Aja'ibu'l-Hind*, p. 147.

SHIPS OF THE INDIAN OCEAN.

There was a particular difference between the ships sailing on the bosom of the Indian Ocean and the ships ploughing the Red Sea. The planks of the ships of the Red Sea were joined together by iron nails while those of the ships of the Indian Ocean were joined by ropes.¹ We can guess how bulky these ships were by the simple fact that they had a two-storeyed deck. There were separate rooms, provisions of food and drinking water. In addition to passengers there were godowns of goods. The porters, captains and archer-soldiers who guarded the ships numbered a thousand.² Buzurg bin Shahryâr Nâkhodâ relates a story of 306 A.H. "In 306 A.H. I sailed for India in a ship from Seyraf. The ships of 'Abdullah bin Junad and of Seyyâh (سياح) were also sailing. All the three ships were very large and prominent ones. The captains and sailors of the ships were very famous. The merchants, captains and traders (Banyas) etc. numbered twelve hundred. The wares in the ships were beyond measure. After eleven days we saw the outlines of Thâna (Bombay)."³

Evidently these ships were so large that besides wares, porters and captains, four hundred persons could comfortably sail. The ships bound for China are so large that there were a thousand people directly connected with the ship—six hundred captains and four hundred archers and naphtha-throwers. The rest can be imagined. On every large ship there were boats for emergency.⁴

The wealth accruing to the Arabs and Indians from the Indian Ocean commerce can be only guessed from a few facts. Mahânagar, the capital of Vallabha Rai's kingdom, was known as the 'City of Gold.' There were numberless shops in Java, the capital of the Kingdom of Mahraj. There were good shops of money-lenders.⁵ There was a merchant of pearls in 'Omân. Once he found two peerless pearls for which the Khalifah of Baghdad paid one hundred thousand dînârs.⁶ A sailor says: "I went from India to 'Omân in 317 A.H. with my goods and wares.

(1) *Safarnamah-i-Suleyman*, p. 88.

(2) *Safarnamah-i-Ibn-i-Batutah*, Vol. II. (Vide Journey to China).

(3) *'Aja'ibu'l-Hind*, p. 165, 147.

(4) *Safarnamah-i-Ibn-i-Batutah*, Vol. II. (description of Calicut).

(5) *'Aja'ibu'l-Hind*, p. 187.

(6) *Aja'ibu'l-Hind*, p. 186.

Our ship was so heavily loaded that the governor of 'Oman exacted 6 lacs of dīnārs as duty for the goods. And this was in addition to a duty of one lac exempted by the Governor ; or perhaps many wares were concealed at the time of official inspection.¹ This very year another ship came from Sarandīp which paid a tax of six lacs.² There was a Jewish broker in 'Omān named Isaac. He quarrelled with another Jew, went to India and then to China and amassed such a large fortune in thirty years that he became the owner of many ships. At last, when he came back to 'Omān after thirty years, he bribed the Governor of 'Omān with one lac of dirhams to spare his goods an official inspection. He had such a large store of musk that he sold one lac of tolas (mithqāls) of musk to one merchant only and he sold musk worth 60 thousand gold-mohurs to another merchant.³ A certain person had gone away from 'Omān in extreme poverty. When he came back, his ship which was fully laden with wares and commodities, contained musk worth 10 lacs of gold mohurs and silks and jewels of the same value. Five lacs of dīnārs was exacted as tax for the goods."⁴

On the other hand the Rajahs of the Indian coasts made large profits on account of the Arabs carrying on their trade. That is why they revered the Arabs very highly.⁵ Ibn Batūtah, while touring the coast towns of Southern India, says that the Hindu Rajahs avoid displeasing the Arab sailors because the income of their kingdom largely depends upon the trade of the Arabs.

The Rajahs of Calicut and Coromandel built up an immense fortune from this sea trade. On the death of a Rajah of Coromandel a certain Muslim officer came to be the owner of his gold and jewels which were loaded on seven thousand oxen.⁶ When Malik Kāfūr, the commander of Sultān 'Ala'ddīn's forces, once conquered Coromandel, he got from the royal treasury, in addition to other things, 96 thousand maunds of gold,⁷ five hundred maunds of pearls⁸ and jewels. 96 thousand maunds of gold, let

(1) *Aja'ibu'l-Hind*, p. 130.

(2) *Aja'ibu'l-Hind*, p. 158.

(3) *Aja'ibu'l-Hind*, p. 108.

(4) *Ma'jamu'l-buldan* by Yâqût (word Qais).

(5) *Ma'jamu'l-buldan*, Yâqût (word Qais).

(6) *Jam'iu't-Tawarikh* compiled by Elliot Vol. I, pp. 69 and 70 and *Tarikh-e-Wasaf* (Elliot) Vol. 2, pp. 32 and 58.

(7) *Tarikh-i-Zeyn*, Barni p. 388 (published in Calcutta).

(8) *Khaza'inu'l-Futuh* by Amīr Khusrū (published in Aligad) p. 178.

alone pearls and jewels, must have been of staggering value. In the days of 'Ala'ddin a maund equalled thirteen or fourteen seers, the equivalent of 28 lbs. Hence that mass of gold comes to 26 lacs 88 thousand pounds.

Coromandel had commercial relations with the coasts of Arabia, 'Irâq and Persia.

THE ARABS HAD DISCOVERED A NEW MEDITERRANEAN SEA ROUTE TO INDIA.

It has already been mentioned how Portuguese navigators, having left the Mediterranean sea, rounded Africa and discovered the route to India. It is generally thought that this discovery was first made by these sailors. But it will be heard with amazement that, centuries before, Arab traders who navigated their ships in the Indian Ocean had discovered this route. The difference between ships of the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea has also been known.

One marked difference was this—that the planks of the Mediterranean ships were joined together by iron nails and the planks of the Indian Ocean ships were sewn together by ropes made of the bark of the date-tree or coconut tree.

Suleymân Tâjir, who flourished in 237 A.H. and who has been so often mentioned, writes somewhere in his, travel diary :—

“ One of the facts which look startling in our days, and which were not even suspected by men of earlier generations, is that formerly nobody suspected how the ocean which surrounds India and China joins the Mediterranean Sea. Nor had they any proof of this fact. But it is known in our days the rope-sewn planks of the ships which had foundered in the Indian Ocean went into the Mediterranean Sea *via* the White Sea. This clearly shows that the Indian Ocean, turning above China, joins the Mediterranean. Ships of rope-sewn planks were built only in Seyraf while the planks of the ships of Syria were joined by nails.*

WHO SHOWED VASCO DE GAMA THE WAY TO INDIA ?

There is no manner of doubt that the Portuguese sailors rounded Africa and entered the Indian Ocean. But they

* *Safarnamah-i-Suleyman* p. 88.

did not discover the route to India until an Arab sailor (and this fact is admitted by the unfortunate Arabs) showed the Portuguese the route to India.

The name of this Arab sailor was Ibn-Majid known as *Asadu'l-bahr* or Lion of the Sea. His numerous books in Arabic on the navigation of the Indian Ocean are preserved in the Paris Library. A few years ago Paul Gothner, published his books in two volumes. In the third volume there is a discussion of Arab navigation and of the implements of navigation. In this third volume it has been fully described, by referring to a history of Yaman at that time known as '*Albarqu'l-Yamani fi'l-fathi'l-'uthmani*' (البرق اليماني في الفتح العثماني). how the Portuguese were busy seeking a route to India and how Ibn-Majid 'Lion of the Sea,' in a state of drunkenness, showed these Portuguese foxes the route to India.

INDIAN PEPPER AND EUROPE.

The early European merchants who carried on eastern trade, and who began to pour into India from the seventeenth century onward, were mostly lovers of pepper and took it to Europe in their ships. But Zakariyâ Qazwîni (686 A.H.), the writer of a geography book in Arabic (13th Century A.D.), having seen the book of a preceding writer, writes in his description of Malabar: "Pepper goes from extreme East to extreme West. The people of Europe are mostly fond of pepper which they carry to the extreme ends of Europe."¹

Perhaps the Turks, after having conquered Constantinople and gained possession of the Mediterranean Sea, deprived the Europeans of the piquant taste of pepper. But, having risked their lives, they (the Europeans) came to India by another sea-route in order to be able to take this gift (pepper) somehow to their own country

I conclude this chapter with a patriotic song of an Indian Arab which he wrote in praise of Indian products as a reply to the carpings of a critic.² The name of that poet is Abû Zila' Sindhi (ابو ضلع سندھی) and he flourished before 686 A.H. It would be no wonder if he lived in the third or fourth century A.H., as that is the time when Arab supremacy came to an end in Sind.

(1) *Atharu'l-bilad* by Qazwîni Vol. III, p. 82. (Gottingen).

(2) *Atharu'l-bilad* by Qazwîni, Vol. III, p. 85 (Gottingen).

THE SONG.

لقد انكر اصحابي وما ذالك بالا مثل
اذا ما مدح الهند وسهم الهند في التمثل

My friends denied but it does not look well when praises were being showered in the battle-field on India and on Indian arrows.

لعمري انها ارض اذا لقطر بها يزل
يصير الدر والياقوت والدر لمن يعطل

By my life ! this is the land where, when it rains, milk, pearls and rubies grow into being for the use of those who do not possess them.

فمنها المسك والكافور والعنبر والمندل
واصناف من الطيب يستعمل من يتفل

Things special to India are musk, camphor, ambergris, a'ûd (wood-aloes) and different kinds of odours

وانواع الافاديه وجوز الطيب والسنبل
ومنها العاج والساج ومنها العود والصندل

and odours, nutmeg, spikenard, elephant tusks, teak-wood and 'ud' (wood aloes) and sandal wood.

وان التوتيا فيها كتل الجبل الاطول
ومنها البر والتمر منها الفيل والاغل

Vitriol is found here like a large mountain (viz., heaps of vitriol are found). There are lions, leopards, elephants and their offspring.

ومنها الكوك والبيضاء والطاؤس والجوزل
ومنها شجر الرايح والسام والقلقل

Of birds you get cranes, parrots, peacocks and pigeons and of trees cocoanuts, ebony and pepper.

سيوف ما لها مثل قد استغنت عن الصيقل
 وازمّح اذا اهتزت اهتز بها المخفل

Of weapons there are swords which do not need a polish
 and spears which, when they quiver, shake the whole
 , army.

فهل ينكر هذا الفضل الا الرجل الاخطل

Who but a fool will deny the merits of India ?

SULEYMAN NADVI.

THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM

26. TRADE

THE Near East, during the period wherein we are acquainted with it, is far removed from the division of labour which the natural forces suggest, and according to which the male should produce the goods and the female retail them. Only in Egypt did it attract the attention of Herodotus that retail business was carried on by women. It is reported of the north Iranian town Biyar that "the bazaar is in the houses, and women do the selling,"¹ and Marco Polo found that among the Tartars the women do all the trading.² Warlike nations successively and regularly looked down on trade with contempt. Tradition has ascribed to Omar I, the most thorough-going representative of the old Islamic community, the saying: No Muslim should be a salesman, as chattering in the bazaars draws men away from Islam.³ The Umayyad world had no sympathy with the salesman, not because of religious zeal, but as knights and feudal lords. The commercial class plays no part in their annals. In this matter also the 3/9th century produced a revolution, and in the 4/10th the wealthy tradesman has become the carrier of Muhammadan civilization, which by then had, from the material point of view, become very pretentious. Towards the end of the century a petty chieftain of Western Iran had not disdained to purchase a store in the city of Hamadhan, which belonged to a colleague, to conduct the business in his own name, which consisted in the sale of the choice products of his territory, and to obtain thence a profit of 1,200,000 dirhems. The local chieftain, fearing that the taxable wealth of the city would go "abroad," raided the agent of the merchant-prince, evicted him, and appropriated his money.⁴ The enterprise and energy

(1) Muqaddasi, p. 356.

(2) I. 4.

(3) Bukhari II, 4.

(4) *Wuzara*, ed. Amedroz, p. 478.

of the time had to some extent retreated into the bazaars and counting-houses; in these too there lived a good share of poetry with romantic possibilities and flutters. Since almost every trader was also a traveller, the prices of goods and the exchange of an immense variety of coinage got intricately mixed up with adventures in all countries, and with the most extensive experience of the world and knowledge of mankind. Muhammadan commerce in the 4/10th century was a proud spectacle. It had become master in its own house; its ships and caravans moved in all directions; it had taken over the lead in world trade; Baghdad and Alexandria fixed the prices at any rate for the luxuries of the contemporary world. As late as the 3/9th century Jews of Provence were designated simply "traders on the sea,"¹ who embarked in France with eunuchs, male and female slaves, brocade, skins of beavers and martens, other furs, and swords. They rode camels across the isthmus of Suez, embarked again at Suez, called at the ports of Medinah and Meccah, and then sailed to the Persian Gulf, India and China. For the homeward journey they took as freight musk, aloes, cinnamon, and other Oriental groceries, to bring to the Mediterranean; these they sold partly to the Greeks in Constantinople, partly in the capital of the king of the Franks. Often, too, they preferred the overland route from Antioch to the Euphrates, proceeding thence *via* Baghdad to the Persian Gulf. They spoke Persian, Roman, Frankish, Spanish, and Slavonic.² There is no mention in the 4/10th century of these successors of the Syrian traders, who up to the Middle Ages had been established on the Rhone. This can be no accident. The rise of Muhammadan marine commerce drove the foreign middlemen out.

The second great triumph of the fourth century A.H. was the opening of the Russian North to trade. We have a description of the route followed by "Russian," *i.e.*,

(1) *Ibn al-Faqih*, p. 270.

(2) Simonsen in *Revue des études juives* 1907, P. 141 foll., suggested the rendering of *Radhaniyyah* by "people of the Rhone," which seems plausible, but was not approved by de Goeje (*Verslagen en Mededeelingen*, Amsterdam, 1909, p. 253). I too regard it as improbable. Jewish ships in the Mediterranean are mentioned at this time (end of 9th cent., A.D.) by Notker balbulus in his tales of Charlemagne: "Ships are to be seen in one of the coast towns of Gallia Narbonensis, said by some to be Jewish, by others to be African or British merchantmen" (Book II, ch. 14).

(3) *Ibn Khordadbeh*, p. 158; *Ibn al-Faqih*, p. 270.

Norman traders belonging to the 3/9th century. "They are a Slav race, and bring beaver skins and hides of black foxes from the most remote regions of the Slavs to the Greek Sea, where the ruler of the Greeks takes from them his tithe. They frequently sail down the Don, which is the river of the Slavs, and proceed through Khamlij, the metropolis of the Khazars, whose ruler takes a tithe from them, to the Caspian Sea, where they disembark at any point they choose. They frequently bring their goods on camel-back from Jurjan to Baghdad, where the Slav eunuchs serve them as interpreters. They profess to be Christians, and as such pay poll-tax."¹ In the year 309/921 the Caliph entered into diplomatic relations with the king of the Volga region;² in the following year the inhabitants of this region adopted Islam,³ and it was of the greatest importance that now the Muhammadan North-east was united under a competent dynasty, which secured the frontiers, brought about prosperity and promised the foreign trader undisturbed profit. Most of the Arabic coins found in Northern Europe belong to the 4/10th century, and more than two-thirds of these are Samanid.⁴ From this time and throughout the period of the Crusades Russia was the road between Scandinavia and the Orient.⁵ As in the North so too in the East Islam won vast territories (See above, §1). In the year 331/943 the king of the Uigurs in Kan-chan enters into friendly relations with the Samanids in Bukhara, and this secures the route to China for the Muhammadan trader.⁶ And about 400/1000 vast portions of India, of the utmost commercial importance, were added to the "Empire of Islam." On the other hand in the 4/10th century there was much disturbance in the Slav North owing to the advance of the Normans, who sailed down the Volga into the Caspian in the years 270/883, 297/910, 300/912 (on this last occasion, it is said, with 500 vessels each containing 300 men), pillaged everything, and in the year 358/969 destroyed the metropolis of the Khazars.⁷ This is probably the reason why their friendly visits to Muhammadan territory cease at this time; only the Persian

(1) Ibn Khordadbeh, p. 154; Ibn al-Faqih, p. 271.

(2) By the mission of Ibn Fudlan, whose report is in part preserved.

(3) Mas'udi, II. 15.

(4) Heyd. *Levantienhandel*, I., 69.

(5) Schlumberger, *Epopée Byzantine*, p. 9.

(6) Abu Dulaf in Yaqut, s. v. *Sin*.

(7) Ibn Hauqal, p. 281. Cf. Dorn, *Caspia*, Mem. Acad. St. Petersburg, 1875.

trader continued to come as before¹ to the Khazars, who now became the agents for the northern goods. The only article of exportation which was the actual product of the land of the Khazars was isinglass ; everything else, honey, wax, felt, beaver skins, was conveyed by them from the North.² Jewish trade had a monopoly of the chief European commodity, slaves ; still in the year 356/965 Prague, the chief slave-market of Europe, was frequented by "Muslims, Jews, and Turks from the country of the Turks with goods and Byzantine gold coins, who exported thence slaves, tin, and beaver skins."³ With this development there corresponded the rise of Muhammadan colonies chiefly under governments of their own, as Khazars, Sarir, Alani in Gana and Kuga (Africa),⁴ as also in Saimur (India).⁵ The case was similar in China ;⁶ even in Corea there was a colony of Muslim traders.⁷ On the other hand Eastern traders were not allowed to remain more than three months in Byzantium ;⁸ the most important colony in the Byzantine empire was Trebizond.⁹

About the middle of the sixth century A.D. Cosmas Indicopleustes narrates how a Greek and a Persian trader disputed before the king of Ceylon which of their rulers was the more powerful. The Greek won ultimately by producing a fine Byzantine gold coin, which was current in the whole world, whereas the Persian could only produce a silver coin. There is this amount of truth in the story that there was a pact about coinage between Byzantium and the Sasanid realm whereby the latter might coin silver, but had to use the Roman solidus as its gold coin.¹⁰ In consequence of this a gold currency prevailed in the provinces of the Caliphate which had formerly been Greek, whereas the Persian countries reckoned by silver dirhems. According to Yahya ibn Adam (ob. 203/818) in Babylonia the dirhem counted as currency, but in Syria and Egypt the dinar.¹¹ In our period, however, and this is the surest

(1) Ibn Rusteh, p. 281.

(2) Ibn Hauqal, p. 281.

(3) Westberg, *Ibrahim ibn Ya'qub's Reiseberichte*, pp. 53 and 155.

(4) [The original here is somewhat obscure. Transl.]

(5) Ibn Hauqal, p. 227 ; *Merveilles de l'Inde*, pp. 142, 144, 161.

(6) See next §.

(7) Ibn Khordadbeh, p. 70.

(8) Vogt. *Basile*, I, 893.

(9) Muq., p. 123.

(10) Gelzer, *Byzantinische Kulturgeschichte*, 1909, p. 79. Byzantium had a similar pact with the Frankish king Chlodwig.

(11) *Kitab al-kharaj*, ed. Juynboll, p. 52.

sign of the unification of Muhammadan trade, the gold currency makes its way eastward. At the commencement of the 3/9th century all the gifts of the Caliphs are reckoned in dirhems; at the commencement of the 4/10th century the gold currency has been introduced into Baghdad, and the central government reckons by dinars. The decisive step was taken between 260/874 and 303/915; in the budget of the former year the tribute of Babylonia is still given in dirhems,¹ in the latter in gold.² Together with the silver currency—and this is an interesting point—payments in kind ceased; in 260/874 such payments still figure in the budget of Babylonia, but no longer in 303/915. A rule issued by the heads of the Babylonian Jews in the year 787 A.D. further indicates that more property was in the form of purely liquid assets. This was to the effect that personal and not only real estate might be seized for a testator's debts.³ Still in private life the two sorts of coin were not yet reckoned together; thus the savant Tha'lab, who died in Baghdad in the year 291/904 "left 21,000 dirhems, 2,000 dinars, and shops at the Damascus Gate worth 3,000 dinars."⁴ Only presents, such as those to poets, are still given in the old fashion in dirhems.⁵ Doubtless this looked less like a matter of business. We are besides acquainted with the different sentiments attached to the old and new currencies. The Eastern provinces of the empire adhered to the silver dirhem even during the 4/10th century; "In Transoxiana the dirhem is familiar, the dinar not in use,"⁶ or current only in the chief towns,⁷ and "in Persis (Fars) all trade is carried on with the dirhem."⁸

The petty chieftains who sprang up at this time and struck coins either independently of or under the Caliphs saw to it that the greatest possible variety of both sorts was in circulation, and the tables of exchange-rates kept by the great bankers looked interesting enough, as is suggested by the lists of coins in Muqaddasi.⁹ At the beginning of the 4/10th century the dinar was worth

(1) Qudamah, p. 289.

(2) Kremer, *Einnahmebudget*.

(3) Gratz, *Geschichte der Juden*, ed. 4, V. 196.

(4) Yaqut, *Irshad*, II, 158.

(5) *Wuzara*, ed. Amedroz, p. 202.

(6) Istakhri, p. 814.

(7) Istakhri, p. 828.

(8) Istakhri, p. 156.

(9) See also Hamadhani in *Rasa'il*, Const. 1298, p. 11.

about 14 dirhems.¹ Owing to the separation of the West (which alone held gold) from the Eastern empire the value of gold in the latter region rose enormously towards the end of the century; Maqrizi however exaggerates when he reports that in Egypt it was only after the impoverishment which took place under Saladdin that people for the first time talked of dirhems, having previously always reckoned in gold.² In the middle of the 4/10th century the Buyid Rukn al-daulah coined dinars which were half copper, and often entirely of that metal. In the year 420/1029 they were accepted for one-third the value of an ordinary dirhem.³ In the year 427/1036 an attempt was made to assist the local currency by formally abolishing the Egyptian (maghribi) dinar; no contract in which it was mentioned could serve as the basis of an action.⁴ On the other hand the silver coinage was reduced in weight, so that 25, 40, at one time as many as 150 went to the dinar.⁵ In the year 390/1000 the guards mutinied before the vizier's palace on account of the debased gold coinage.⁶ Just as in our own time bad money had a definite though modest value in exchange. Spurious dirhems were called quicksilver⁷, *e.g.*, in Meccah, where 24 went to a genuine dirhem, but were out of circulation in the *haute saison*, from 6 Dhu'l-Hijjah to the end of the pilgrimage festival.⁸ Fraud could be practised with genuine coins also, as was done by the clippers among us. Only, as the coins were weighed, they could not be filed, but had to have their weight increased; this was done with antimony or quicksilver.⁹

The smaller coinage was graded on the sexagesimal system: 1 dirhem=6 daniq=12 qirat=24 tassuj=48 habbah (barley corns). Silver coins cut up had also to serve for petty commerce, though this was constantly denounced.¹⁰

(1) Amedroz, *Wuzara*, p. 36, Note 1. In the year 330/942 the Hamdanid Nasir al-daulah coined dinars of full value of 13 dirhems, whereas the old were worth only 10. J. A. Ser. VII, Vol. xv. 259. The dinar was worth 15 dirhems according to *Merv. de l'Inde*, p. 52.

(2) J. A., Ser. VII, Vol. xiv, p. 524.

(3) Amedroz, J. R. A. S. 1906, p. 475.

(4) Ibn al-Jauzi, p. 191 a.

(5) Amedroz, *Wuzara*, p. 36, note 1.

(6) *Wuzara*, p. 402.

(7) Jauhari, s. v. *zabaga*. All silver which was to be coined was smelted with quicksilver. Amedroz, J. R. A. S. 1906, p. 479.

(8) Muq., p. 99.

(9) Abu Yusuf, *J. A.*, Ser. VII. Vol. xix. 26.

(10) *Ibid.*, Vol. xix. 25 foll.

Wholesale business demanded if only for safety's sake mediums of payment which were less cumbrous, and inaccessible to robbers;¹ these mostly had Persian names. A savant who journeys to Spain takes with him a letter of credit (*suftajah*), and 5,000 dirhems in cash.² Nasir Khosrau received from an acquaintance in Asuan a blank letter of credit addressed to his agent (*wakil*) in Aidhab of the following content: "Give Nasir all that he may demand, obtain a receipt from him, and debit the sum to me."³ The Viceroy of Egypt sent his representative in Baghdad letters of credit for the cashiered vizier. The representative accepted them,⁴ and put the money at the vizier's disposal.⁵ A sort of bill of exchange was the *sakk*, originally a note of hand;⁶ a rich man would draw cheques on his steward (*sakka ala*).⁷ In Audagusht in the western Sudan Ibn Hauqal saw a cheque for 42,000 dinars drawn by a man of Sijlmasah on one Muhanmad ibn 'Ali Sa'dun in Sijlmasah; it was officially certified.⁸ The paper had travelled through a great part of the Sahara.⁹ In Babylonia the *sakk* was a regular cheque in connexion wherewith the banker plays an important part. In the 3/9th century (whereto the anecdotes connected with Harun belong) a magnate drew cheques on his banker. About 300/900 a great man paid a poet in this way, only the banker refused the cheque, so that the disappointed man composed a verse to the effect that he would gladly pay a million on the same plan.¹⁰ A patron of the same poet and singer (Jahizah, ob. 324/936) during a concert wrote a cheque (*ruq'ah* "note") in his favour on a banker (*sairafi*) for 500 dinars. When paying, the banker gave the poet to understand that it was customary to charge one dirhem discount on each dinar; i.e., about 10 per cent. Only if the poet would spend the

(1) This subject is treated by R. Grasshoff, *Die suftajah und hawalah, der Araber*, Jur. Diss. Konigsberg, 1899.

(2) *Nasari' al-'ushshaq*, p. 10.

(3) Ed. Schefer, p. 64.

(4) This is the sense of *sakhaha*; see, e.g., *Wuzara*, p. 296.

(5) Ibn Sa'id, ed. Tallquist, p. 32.

(6) Bukhari (1309) I, 14; Agh. V. 15; Ibn al Mu'tazz, *Diwan* I. 137.

(7) *Wuzara*, p. 77.

(8) Ibn Hauqal, pp. 42, 70. From Sijlmasah to Audagusht was 51 days' journey (Bekri 156 foll.)

(9) Baihaqi, ed. Schwally.

(10) Yaqut, *Irshad*, I, 385.

afternoon and evening with him, he would make no deduction.¹ Another banker (*jahbadh*), who was even a greater patron of the fine arts, not only made no deduction, but presented the poet with an extra 10 per cent.² There was therefore plenty of employment for bankers, and it is not surprising that in Isfahan there were 200 banks in the bankers' bazaar—for these too sat together.³ About 400/1000 the banker had made himself indispensable in Basrah; every trader had his banking account, and paid only in cheques on his bank (*khatt-i-sarraf*) in the bazaar.⁴ This would appear to have been the most important refinement of monetary operations in the empire,⁵ and it is significant that it arose in the port-town Basrah, on the frontier between Persis and Babylonia. For the people of Basrah, the Persians of Persis, and the South Arabians were the best traders among the Believers, and had their colonies wherever anything could be procured. In this matter they were like the Swabians and Swiss of our time. About the year 290/902 al-Faqih al-Hamadhani observes: "The people of Basrah and the Himyarites are the greatest money-grubbers. One who travels to the remotest region of Ferghanah or the Western edge of Morocco is sure to find a man from Basrah or a Himyarite there."⁶ The citizens of this world-port were famous for their immunity from home-sickness. Below an inscription which contained the words

Strangers, however hardhearted they become,
In time of sickness recollect their home

someone is said to have written "except the people of Basrah."⁷

In Jeddah, the port of Meccah, Persians had long been settled,⁸ and in Sijilmasah (S. Morocco) a large colony of Babylonians (people of Basrah, Kufah, and Baghdad) carried on business.⁹ Likewise the inhabitants of the active Syrian port-towns, Tripoli, Saida, Beirut, were

(1) *Ibid.* I, 899.

(2) Shabushti, *Kitab al-diyyarat*, Berlin, fol. 88a.

(3) N. Khosrau, who came thither in the year 444/1052; ed. Schefer, transl., p. 258.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 86.

(5) There were no *giros* (deposit-banks) such as had attained full development in Greek Egypt (Preisigke, *Girwesen in griechischen Aegypten*, Strassburg, 1910).

(6) *Bibl. Geogr.* V. 51.

(7) *Rasa'il* of Ma'arri, ed. Margoliouth, p. 75.

(8) Istakhri, p. 19.

(9) Ibn Hauqal, p. 42.

Persians, transplanted thither by the first Umayyad.¹ Egypt was indeed a great commercial country,² but even in our time the genuine Egyptian whether Muhammadan or Copt does not distinguish himself by any special talent for business. In the 4/10th century he had the reputation (like the Frenchman of our time) of rarely leaving his country.³ In our time the cream of the trade in Egypt is absorbed by Greeks, Levantines, Persians, and even Hindus. As early as the end of the 2/8th century there was a numerous and influential Persian colony in the Egyptian capital, where the qadi received 30 Persians at once into the exclusive and greatly coveted list of Witnesses.⁴ The greatest financier, though not the greatest merchant, in the country was at that time Abu Bekr al-Madhara'i (income 400,000 dinars=£20,000) whose family was originally of Babylon.⁵

The chief rivals of the Babylonians and Persians were the Jews. The Jewry of Isfahan was the business quarter of this Persian capital;⁶ of 'Tustar, headquarters of the Persian carpet-industry, it is expressly attested that the greatest dealers there were Jews.⁷ A Jew controlled the whole of the pearl-fishery in the Persian Gulf.⁸ Kashmir was closed against all foreigners; only a few such traders had access, especially Jews.⁹ In the Orient too their specialty was the moneytrade. Towards the end of the 3/9th century when the Patriarch of Alexandria was laid under heavy contribution by the government, he procured the money by selling to the Jews the church estates, and a part of the Mu'allaqah church.¹⁰ There were so many Jews among the money-changers of the Egyptian capital that in the year 362/973, in consequence of acts of insubordination on the part of this guild, the governor makes a special order that no Jew thenceforth should show himself

(1) Ya'qubi, *Geogr.* B.G. VII. 327.

(2) Muq., p. 85: "He who looks for trade must go to Aden, Oman, or Egypt."

(3) Tha'alibi, *Lata'if al-ma'arif*, p. 101.

(4) Kindi, ed. Guest, p. 402.

(5) *Mughrib* of Ibn Sa'id, ed. Tallquist, transl., p. 118 foll.

(6) Muq., p. 388. There are still 5,000 of them there (Jackson, *Persia*, p. 205).

(7) Misk. 4. 408.

(8) See above, §24.

(9) Biruni, *India*, transl. I, 206.

(10) Petrus ibn Rahib (*Corpus scr. or. Christ.*), p. 182; Abu Salih, *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, ed. Evetts, fol. 48 a.

without his Jewish badge (*ghiyar*).¹ In the 5/11th century Nasir Khosrau was told about a rich Cairene Jew Abu Sa'id, on the roof of whose house 300 trees stood in silver tubs.² In Babylonia we hear of two Jewish bankers, Yusuf ibn Finkhas and Harun ibn 'Imran, of whom the vizier borrows 10,000 dinars (£5,000).³ These two persons must have constituted a firm, since the vizier Ibn al-Furat, who was cashiered in 306/918, asserted that he had deposited with these two Jews 700,000 dinars (roughly £350,000).⁴ Yusuf was banker (*jahbadk*) for Ahwaz, i.e., he advanced money to the government on the taxes due from Ahwaz; he lamented in the usual style that he had nothing and had to disburse so much!⁵ Together with a third, probably a Christian from his name Zakariyya ibn Yuhanna, these two Jews bore the title Court-banker (*jahbadh al-hadrah*), and had a right to the complimentary formula "God preserve thee," the lowest in use; it was allowed, e.g., to the spies in the small post-offices.⁶ Moreover the Jews who played the leading part in the carpet industry at Tustar, were not, as might be supposed, manufacturers, but bankers (*sayarif*).⁷ In the second half of the 4/10th century a governor of Baghdad, before decamping into the marshes, obtains the necessary cash from the Jews of the metropolis.⁸ Hence it is not surprising to find the Yiddish of the Bourse in Arabic: *Muballit* (German *pleite*) for the Arabic *mufallis* (bankrupt).

Beside Babylonians, Persians, and Jews, Greeks and Indians were the most active traders in the empire. The Greeks had infiltrated into its remotest regions; in the interior of Kirman there was a Greek colony settled in the market-town Jiruft.¹⁰ On the other hand Armenian traders play no part anywhere; in Byzantium we find representatives of this nationality chiefly in high military offices,¹¹ and it furnished the Fatimids with soldiers and

(1) Maqrizi, *Itti'az*, p. 87.

(2) Translation, p. 159 foll.

(3) v. Kremer, *Einnahmebudget der Abbasiden*, Dkschr, der Wiene Akademie, XXVI, 343.

(4) Arib, p. 74.

(5) *Wuzara*, p. 178.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 159. The Jewish sources mention Joseph ben Pinchas and his son-in-law Metira among the most eminent Jews of Baghdad (Gratz, *Geschichte der Juden*, ed. 4, V. 277).

(7) Misk. V. 408.

(8) Ibn al-Jauzi, Berlin, fol. 150a.

(9) *Taj al-'Arus* s. v. *blt*.

(10) This is attested only for the 6/12th century. Houtsma, *Seldschuken* I, 48, foll.

(11) Gelzer, *Byzantinische Kulturgeschichte*, p. 80,

generals,¹ among others the Emir al-Juyush, who ruled their state in the 5/11th century.² A change seems only to have taken place in the Turkish period.

Trade, like industry, was grouped in the bazaars, where members of the same branch sat together. They stayed there till past midday, took their meal at the cookshop, or had something brought into the office: they did not go home till evening.³ In Babylonia the innkeepers of the bazaars had a lavatory with mats, tables, mirrors, servants, tankards, dishes, and soda on the first floor. On coming down a man had to pay one *daniq*, about three halfpence.⁴ "Then we came to the cookshop, where the gravy was dripping from the roast meat, and the bread was almost swimming in sauce."⁵ I said: Cut a slice off this joint for Abu Zaid, hand him a portion of that sweet, choose one of those plates for him, spread thin slices of the finest wheaten bread over it, and pour over it some *summaq* water.—We sat down;—when we had done, I said to the confectioner:⁶ Weigh out to Abu Zaid two pounds of almond-cake.—When we had finished that, I said: Abu Zaid, now we want iced water to reduce this burning; do you sit quiet, while I fetch a water-carrier, who will bring you a drink." The meal cost 20 (probably *daniq*) which would equal about 2/5.⁷ Even in those times the innkeepers' cooking was deceptive: "The fraternity of the present time resembles the broth of the cook in the bazaar, fragrant, but tasteless."⁸

In Asia Minor and Egypt the shops everywhere lined the streets; the old Arabic word for this was *saff* (row). Even when Baghdad was founded no special market-places were laid out for this purpose; the "Quadrangle of Haitham" was a wonder.⁹ Particular markets, at any

(1) Maqrizi, *Khitat* I, 94, line 2 a f.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 381.

(3) The Baghdad banker in the above anecdote had finished business at noon (*Irshad* I, 399). In Hormuz, the chief port of Kirman, which like the Bender Abbas of our time is troubled with the most frightful climate in the world, the traders lived scattered over the country as far as 6 miles (Istakhri, p. 166).

(4) Muq., p. 129.

(5) The roast meat was laid out and served on toasted slices of bread, which to the Oriental palate are almost more important than the meat.

(6) Who then must have been present in the cookshop.

(7) Hamadhani, Maq., ed. Beirut, p. 57 foll.

(8) At-Tauhidi, *fi-s-sadaqah*, Const. 1301, p. 48.

(9) *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, ed. Salmon, p. 28.

rate at the time when they received their names, were held only on certain week days; thus the Tuesday Market in East Baghdad, the Thursday and Monday Markets in Qairawan.¹ In al-Askar (Khuzistan) the market was on Friday; between this place and Khan Tauq there were six towns, named after successive week days, on which they respectively held their markets.² Many a place of this sort is likely to have consisted in the main of permanent booths, which were only filled on market-day, like the Wednesday Market in Algeria, first described by Prince Puckler.³ or the great Market of Bau'an (Yaman); "imagine three or four rows of veritable kennels, with Arabs in them on market days, squatting and haggling."⁴ In the East on the other hand the shops were by custom collected in great galleries, as in the centre of the Persian linen-trade. Kazerun, where the Buyid 'Adudeddaulah built one which brought the government 10,000 dirhems daily.⁵ A bazaar of this sort, if intended to be handsome, had to be painted, whitewashed, paved, and roofed,⁶ The West on the other hand had halls only for foreign traders, who offered their goods for sale below, and lived in apartments above. They could fasten their rooms with "Greek locks." These houses were called *funduq* (Greek *pandokeion*). There were also storehouses such as the water-melon-house in Basrah, whither all the fruit was brought.⁷

In Islam as elsewhere capital and luxury were closely connected; the richest traders and industrialists were those who were occupied with the provision of luxuries. Muqaddasi advises as follows: "If you want to know the quality of the water in a town, go to the dealers in cambric and spices, and examine their countenances. The more lively these are, the better is the drinking water. If you see cadaverous faces and hanging heads, leave the place as quickly as you can."⁸ In the 4/10th century these

(1) Muq., p. 225/6.

(2) Muq., p. 405/6. Likewise in the Moroccan Wadi Dra'. (Bekri ed. Slane, p. 152).

(3) Semilasso in *Afrika*, II, 107.

(4) Glaser, Petermanns *Mitteilungen* 1886, p. 41.

(5) Muq., p. 438.

(6) Muq., pp. 418, 425.

(7) Muq., p. 425. Such buildings were called *khan* in Persia, *tim* in Transoxiana (Muq., p. 81); a single shop *makhzin* (magazine), a storehouse *khananabar*, plural *khananabarat* (Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 180b, 182a).

(8) p. 101.

were the two most respected guilds. In the Persian town Ram Hormuz they sat with the dealers on mats in the handsomest bazaar of the place.¹ There was a proverb current in the 3rd (9th) century: The best trade is in cambric and the best industry that in coral.² Ibn Mu-shahid (ob. 324/935) was in the habit of saying: "The man who reads the Qur'ân according to Abu 'Amr, follows Shafi'i in jurisprudence, deals in cambric, and knows the poems of Ibn al-Mu'tazz by heart, is the perfect gentleman."³ Farabi (ob. 339/950) contrasted as the extremes of the high class and low class industries the cambric trade and weaving (which had been despised from ancient times), the trade in spices and streetsweeping.⁴ The richest trader in Egypt about 300/912 was the cambric merchant Sulaiman, out of whose estate the exchequer alone appropriated 100,000 dinars.⁵ In Baghdad the bazaars of the dealers in spices, colourmen, silkmercers, and jewellers were situated side by side.⁶

The hire-system was enormously developed; in the towns people not only hired their dwelling houses, but their outfit also. A woman possessed 500 of the great copper cisterns which were in use in Cairo, and hired them out at a dirham a month.⁷ At weddings the *coiffeuse* (*mas-hitah*) brought ornaments with her,⁸ and carpets were hired for such occasions too.⁹

According to canon law a sale was conducted "hand in hand;"¹⁰ modern jurists still hold that a sale is not valid without express declaration.¹¹ This is what I saw in the Syrian desert: During the bargaining one of the parties had his right hand in that of the other party, and only when the vendor said *bai'tu* (I have sold) and the purchaser *ishtaretu* (I have bought) did they leave go, and the business was done. In the story of the tradesman who sells his property to usurers Ibn al-Mu'tazz (ob. 296/909) does

(1) Muq., p. 413.

(2) As usual this was supposed to be a saying of the Prophet. Ibn Qutaibah (*Mukhtalif al-hadith*, p. 90).

(3) Subki, *Tabaqat* II, 103.

(4) *Musterstaat*, ed. Dieterici, p. 65.

(5) Tallquist, p. 17.

(6) al-Suli, *Auraq*, p. 91.

(7) Nasir Khosrau, transl., p. 152.

(8) Quatremere, *Histoire des Mameloucs*, 247.

(9) *Agh.* v. 119.

(10) *Jami' saghir*, margin of Abu Yusuf, *Kitab al-kharaj*, p. 79.

(11) Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht.*, p. 278.

not forget to mention this oath of sale (*yamin al-bai'ah*).¹ Otherwise however in this vast empire, which embraced the most various stages of civilization, almost all forms of trading are likely to have existed simultaneously. Unfortunately the geographers of this particular time have no interest in the matter, and the jurists are occupied with their dry principles, so that we have few trustworthy notices. Barter unaccompanied by speech, in which each party in the absence of the other deposits and removes his goods, was practised at the extreme ends of the empire, on the Niger, and in furthest Khorasan.² In Babylonia Rabbi Petakhya was struck by what he saw: "The Muhammadans are very trustworthy. When a trader comes thither, takes his goods into a man's house, and goes away, they take them to all the bazaars and offer them for sale. If people are willing to pay the price agreed on, well and good; if not, they show the goods to all the brokers. If they find that the valuation is low, they sell them off."³ And this is all done most conscientiously."⁴ Muhammadan law from the beginning most emphatically forbade usury, and likewise speculation in food-stuffs. It required much juristic effort to obstruct the smallest and narrowest loopholes whereby these rules could be evaded. Then Jews and Christians stepped into the breach. A vizier had to pay 30 per cent. interest on a loan of 10,000 dinars to Joseph ben Pinkhas and Aaron ben Amran.⁵ A Christian law-book of about 800 A.D. allows a Christian to pay as much as 20 per cent. interest to another Christian.⁶ A specially remunerative form of usury consisted in advancing money to victims of governmental confiscations and extortions who were in straitened circumstances; as much as 1,000 per cent. could be earned in such cases.⁷ But Muhammadan society also in the 4/10th century was far removed from the grandeur of the law. As early as the year 200/800 two financiers speculated on so vast a scale in the Babylonian harvest that they might have gained nearly 12,000,000 dirhems; at the last moment however there came a "slump," and they lost 66,000,000.⁸ Besides this the

(1) *Diwan* i. 185.

(2) *Mas.* IV, 98; J. Marquart, *Beninsammlung*, p. CLXXXII.

(3) (The translator is not quite certain of the meaning here.)

(4) *J. A.* 1881, p. 873.

(5) See above in this §.

(6) Sachau, *Syrische Rechtsbächer*, II, 157.

(7) Ibn al-Mu'tazz, I, 186.

(8) Yaqut, *Irshad*, V, 458.

peculiar conditions of agriculture necessitated more or less speculative contracts on the harvest, the threshing, and the date-harvest, which the learned senselessly only permit against a pledge given by the vendor.¹ According to Wansleb, in Egypt in 1664 the laws against usury were as openly defied as amongst us; the borrower was forced to take goods of poor quality at enormous prices.²

(1) Muhammad ibn al-Hasan, margin of Abu Yusuf, *Kitab al-kharaj*, p. 78.

(2) *Beschreibung Aegyptens*, p. 63.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(*To be continued.*)

THE HISTORIC MOSQUES OF DACCA

DACCA is at present the second town of Bengal. But it held no secondary position under the great Mughal Emperors. Right from its foundation it remained their capital of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa for nearly one hundred years. Dacca, therefore, played an important part not only in the history of Bengal but also in that of India. It is sad, however, that this great historic city should have received scant treatment from historians and archæologists. F. B. Bradley-Birt, writing on this great eastern stronghold of Mughal administration, remarks: "So little is known, so little there is that can be rescued from the limbo of the past, that one turns aside baffled, foiled in the attempt to wring from that great city the countless mysteries that lie hidden deep within her heart."

Remnants of Mughal administration are still to be found in its time-worn palaces, its crumbling mosques, its tottering monuments and ruined turrets. "But even in its decay the charm of the city remains. Neither time nor the vandal hand of man can rob it of the wonder and romance of its many vicissitudes, and the great memories that for all time remain its own."

We do not meet with Dacca in either the ancient histories or the *Aini-Akbari*. Dacca first appears in history during the Mughal period. It was founded in the year 1608 by Shaikh 'Alâu'ddîn Chishti Fârûqi I'tizad-ud-Daulah Nawâb Islâm Khan, Viceroy of Bengal, Bihâr and Orissa under the Emperor Jehângîr. At once it became the capital of Bengal and remained so until 1702 when Kartalab Khan, the favourite Dîwân of the Emperor Aurangzeb for the eastern provinces, quarrelled with Prince 'Azîmu'sh-Shân, the then viceroy, and transferred the revenue and judicial offices to Makhsûsâbâd (afterwards known as Murshidâbâd). The Prince, too, had to transfer his headquarters soon after under stern orders from the Emperor. Dacca was also known as

“Jahângîrnagar” in honour of the monarch reigning at the time of its foundation.

There still exist in Dacca eleven historic mosques in which the hand of the Mughal can be undoubtedly perceived. They are :—

- I. The Mosque of Islâm Khân.
- II. The Mosque of Hayât, the merchant.
- III. The Mosque of Hâjji Shâh Bâz.
- IV. The Mosque at Churihatta.
- V. The Mosque of Nawâb Shâista Khân.
- VI. The Mosque of Khân Muhammad Murdha.
- VII. The Mosque at Lal Bagh.
- VIII. The Mosque at the Chowk.
- IX. The Mosque at Begum Bazar.
- X. The Mosque of Khwâjah Ambar.
- XI. The Mosque with seven domes.

I. THE MOSQUE OF ISLAM KHA.

The place where Islâm Khân (Viceroy of Bengal, 1608-13) built his palace on founding Dacca was named “Islâmpûr” after him, and is so known to the present day. There does not remain, however, any trace of this viceregal palace.

Islâm Khân also built a mosque near his palace and it still stands in a lane (Lane of A'âshiq Jama'dar) of that quarter (Islâmpûr). This mosque is rightly considered to be the oldest existing monument of the Mughals at Dacca. It is surmounted by three cupolas and is of a type of architecture earlier than, and different from, that of the “Shâista Khâni” mosques. Some vandal has demolished the plate or stone bearing the inscription. The mosque is now in the care of the Muhammadans of the locality, and prayers are offered in it regularly.

II. THE MOSQUE OF HAYAT KHAN, THE MERCHANT.

This mosque is a few paces south of the bridge at Narandia—a locality in the eastern part of the city—and was erected by a local merchant named Hayât in A. H. 1074 (circa 1664 A.D.). The bridge, too, was built by this merchant.

This mosque had, around it, a freehold of one hundred *bighas*¹ of land granted by the then governors of the province (of Bengal) for its upkeep. But nothing now remains of this rent-free grant. Prayers are offered in it, though not with absolute regularity.

III. THE MOSQUE OF HAJJI SHAH BAZ.

This mosque is situated on the north of the city but towards the south of the Ramna (a vast tract of ground on which stands the modern University of Dacca). It was built in the year 1089 A.H. (circa 1679 A.D.) by Hâjjî Shâh Bâz, a merchant, during the viceroyalty of Prince Muhammad A'azam² (the third son of Aurangzeb). It is a fairly large mosque possessing three domes and measuring 68 by 26 feet. The door-frames and pulpit are made of stone.

Towards the eastern side of the courtyard of this mosque stands the tomb of Hâjjî Shâh Bâz surmounted by a beautiful cupola and measuring 26 feet square.

The Persian Inscription on the mosque.

ساخت حاجی خواجہ شہباز ابن بنائے پاک را آن کہ در وقت بعرض اعظم انباز آمدہ
بر زبان عقل کل تاریخ این بنیاد پاک مسجد زیبا ز حاجی خواجہ شہباز آمدہ
سنہ ۱۰۸۹ ہجری

"This holy shrine which is as exalted as the sublime throne of God has been erected by Hâjjî Khwâjah Shâh Bâz.

"On the completion of this mosque Gabriel uttered (all of a sudden), 'This is a very beautiful mosque erected by Hâjjî Khwâjah Shâh Bâz.'³ Dated A.H. 1089 (circa 1679 A.D.)."

IV. THE MOSQUE AT CHURIHATTA.

This mosque was built in the year 1060 A.H. (circa 1650 A.D.). It is situated at Churihatta—a quarter to

(1) A bigha is equal to $\frac{5}{8}$ th of an acre or 120 square feet.

(2) Prince Muhammad A'azam governed the province of Bengal for a little over one year during the interval in the viceroyalty of Shâista Khan.

(3) Every letter of the Arabic and the Persian alphabet has a certain numerical value. The total numerical value of all the Persian words uttered by Gabriel is equivalent to the number representing the year of the construction of the mosque. This is a peculiar Muhammadan method of representing dates, years, age, et cetera.

the west of the Chowk ¹ ("The Royal Exchange" of the city under the Mughals). It is solidly built and has an arched roof. It is 30 by 14 feet measured from the inside. Its walls are five feet wide.

It is narrated that previously this mosque was a temple built by a Hindu officer during the reign of the Emperor Shâh Jahân. Prince Sultân Shâh Shujâ' (the second son of Shâh Jahân), who became viceroy of Bengal in 1639, however, converted the temple into a mosque after removing the idols. A few years ago, when the floor of the mosque was under repair, a slab bearing the figure of the Hindu deity Basudeb was found.

(a) *The Arabic Inscription.*

قال الله تعالى إنما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله واليوم الآخر وأقام الصلوة وآتى الزكوة ولم يخش إلا الله فعسى أولئك أن يكونوا من المهتدين * قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا بنى الله تعالى له سبعين بيتا في الجنة بنى هذا المسجد في عصر سلطان العهد والزمان أبو المظفر شهاب الدين صاحب قرآن الذي عدل ساعة منه بعمل الثقلين يوازي شاهجهان باد شاه غازي حين تسبت سلطنة بنجاله بوكلاء خلفه الرافع الوية العدالة والشريعت والسلطنة القامع اساس البدعت مزين المساند والسري شاه محمد شجاع بهادر الراجي الى رحمة الله الصمد محمديك غفر له ولوالديه واحسن اليهما واليه .

"God said, "To tend the mosques of God is the duty of those who believe in Him and the Day of Judgment, offer prayers regularly, distribute alms and do not fear any one except the Almighty. Verily they will prove to be righteous."

"The Prophet (on whom be peace) of God said, "God creates for him who builds a mosque seventy houses in Paradise."

"This mosque is erected in the reign of the fortunate Emperor Abul Muzaffar Shahabuddin, Shâh Jahân, Emperor (of India), whose justice of an hour is equal to the worship of all the spirits and the human beings, when he appointed his worthy son Shâh Muhammad Shujâ' Bahadur as Viceroy to the province of Bengal."

(Sd.) MUHAMMAD BEG ²

May God forgive him and his parents.

(1) The word "Chowk" means a market.

(2) This notion of a signature appears to us mistaken. "Muhammad Beg" is the subject of a long sentence which in English should begin "Muhammad Beg, may God forgive him and his parents, children" etc. [Ed. I.C.]

(b) *The Persian Inscription.*

یافت در عهد شاه زاده شجاع کفر اسلام مستقیم شکست
 خامه اکنون که اوستاد قضا نقش این مسجد شریف به بست
 از خود سال این بنا جستم گفت فی الفوران خدائے پرست
 کاف کفر اوز کفر دور کنی می براید زلف کفر شکست
 سنه ۱۰۶۰ هجری

“During the reign of Prince Shujâ‘ the unbelievers were defeated by the Muslims and this holy shrine was erected (in commemoration thereof).

“I, therefore, put a query to my inner self as to the exact date of its erection and it replied at once : ‘ Infidelity suppressed ’ Dated 1060 A.H. (circa 1650 A.D.).”¹

V. THE MOSQUE OF NAWAB SHAISTA KHAN.

This mosque was built by Nawâb Shâista Khân² along with his palace and was the first of a number of structures erected by him. It is situated right on the northern bank of the river Buriganga in the locality known as Babubazar. It is solidly built and surmounted by three domes. It is now in the care of the local Muhammadans, and prayers are yet offered in it.

Nawâb Shâista Khân’s palace was also on the bank of the river near this mosque, but now there remains no trace of it.

This palace and mosque were built in 1664 A.D., that is, in the first part of the viceroyalty of Shâista Khân.

From the inscription on the mosque it appears that Nawâb Shâista Khân had given a number of houses and a large amount of land for its maintenance, lighting and repairs, and for granting help and aid to the poor and needy.

Portions of the inscription have been destroyed by fire and it has been transcribed in the condition in which it now exists.

(1) Please note that the numerical value of the two Persian words in the reply is equivalent to the number representing the year of construction.

(2) Shâista Khân was Viceroy of Bengal from 1663 to 1677 and again from 1679 to 1688 (Christian era).

The Inscription.

الحمد لله رب العالمين والعاقبة للمتقين اما بعد آنکه چون این مقام خجسته فرجام
 خیرخواه فقراء امیدوار رحمت حق جل وعلی شایسته خان امیر الأمرا احداث
 نموده وقف شرعی کرده که تمام محصول این تصرف تعمیر ووظیفه خدمت مسجد
 و مستحقین و متوکلین..... حکام ذوی الاقتدار و امراء نامدار این امر خیر
 مستمر و مستقر دارند که درین وقف..... نماید..... حق محروم
 خواهند شد..... کرده..... مستحقین..... شد سال

Praise be to Allah Lord of the Worlds, and the reward of the next world is for the pious.

This holy shrine is erected by the Lord of lords Shâista Khân who declared this property to be *waqf* (public endowment) for those who are very poor, pious and religious....

VI. THE MOSQUE OF KHAN MUHAMMAD MURDA.

This mosque is situated about a quarter of a mile to the north-west of the (Mughal) Fort at Lal Bagh (an important locality towards the western part of the city) in the quarter known as Atashkhâna. It is a two-storeyed building surmounted by three domes. The platform* on which the mosque and its courtyard stand is 17 feet high and measures 125 × 100 feet. The mosque itself measures 48 by 24 feet. The southern boundary-wall of the mosque stretches out to the east to a considerable extent. The lower floor has hitherto been used as a stable for the cows of the local municipality. The mosque is now in a very bad state and needs thorough repairs. It is now in the care of the local Muslims, who offer prayers in it.

It appears from the inscription on the mosque that it was built by one Khân Muhammad Murda, who was an officer in the then provincial government, at the suggestion of Judge 'Îbâdu'llâh, the judge of the city, in A. H. 1116 (circa 1796 A. D.) during the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb. The grave of Khân Muhammad still exists below the courtyard of the mosque (towards the north).

* Most of the ancient mosques were built on hollow platforms.

The Inscription.

بعهد شاه اهل همت و داد که داد اقیاد شرع و دین باد
 زه شاهی که باشد زیب اورنگ خه ماهی که مهرش گشته منقاد
 دل صدق آشنای حامی شرع عباد الله قاضی کرد ارشاد
 که از بهر عبادت خان محمد کند مسجد بصدق خویش بنیاد
 بفکر سال تاریخش چو رقم ندائے هاتفی از غیب درد داد
 سرکفر از بنایش رفت برباد ز طاعت خانه اش تاریخ ایجاد

سنه ۱۱۱۶ هـ

Khân Muhammad erected this holy shrine at the suggestion of Judge 'Ibâ'dullâh during the reign of Aurangzeb (the Great Emperor of Delhi). I, therefore, questioned my inner self as regards the date and the reply was : " Verily this is a prayer-house by which infidelity has been crushed." ¹ Dated 1116 A.H. ²

VII. THE IMPERIAL MOSQUE AT LAL BAGH.

This mosque was built by Prince (afterwards Emperor) Farrûkh Siyâr when he took over charge at Dacca (in 1703) as the representative of the then Viceroy, his father, Prince 'Azîmu'sh-Shân. It is a very large mosque capable of accommodating one thousand and five hundred devotees at the prayers. It measures 164 by 54 feet and is quite close to the southern wall of the (Mughal) Fort at Lal Bagh. It had a roof of wood and planks which was destroyed by time. The late Nawâb Sir 'Abdu'l-Ghanî Bahâdur, ³ however, had a masonry roof built. The architecture of the mosque is not at all remarkable. It is now in the care of the local Muslims who regularly offer prayers in it.

VIII. THE MOSQUE AT THE CHOWK.

This mosque was built by Amîru'l-Umara Nawâb Shâista Khân in the year 1086 A.H. (circa 1676 A.D.).

(1) Please note that the numerical value of the Persian words in the reply is equivalent to the number representing the year of construction.

(2) This is rather a curt account than a translation. *Editor*—"I.C."

(3) The descendant of a Kashmîrî merchant family which settled in Dacca during the days of the Nâ'ib Nizâmat (1768-1843). The title of 'Nawâb' conferred on him by the British Government is hereditary.

It is situated on the western side of the Chowk and faces it. There is a large well of masonry below it. The lower floor of the mosque is divided into compartments which are let to shopkeepers. The resultant income is used to meet the expenses of the mosque. It is a magnificent structure being surmounted by three large domes. It stands on a hollow platform which is 10 feet high and measures 94 by 80 feet. The mosque itself measures 50 by 25 feet.

The then Nâ'ib-Nâzims (Deputy-Viceroy or Governors) used to offer their 'Id prayers in this mosque.

The verandah and the reservoir of the mosque were built by one Hâjji Faqîr Muhammad and this has increased the grandeur and dignity of the mosque.

The Inscription.

شایسته راه حق امیرالامرا از صدق ساخت مسجد می بهر خدا
طالب زخر دچوں جست تاریخ بنا گفتم که شد از لطف خدا فرض ادا
سنه ۱۰۸۶ هجری

"Nawâb Shâista Khân, the lord of lords erected this mosque in order to please God.

"I said to the seeker, enquiring its date: "The obligatory duties enjoined by God were performed excellently." * Dated 1086 A.H."

IX. THE MOSQUE AT BEGUM BAZAR.

The mosque at Begum Bazar (a quarter towards the western part of the city) was built by Nawâb Kartab Khân (Dîwân of Bengal about 1702 A.D.). It is a large two-storeyed structure surmounted by five domes. The lower floor is let to shopkeepers and the resultant income is used to defray the expenses of the mosque. It was rehabilitated on thorough repairs being carried out by the late Mîrzâ Ghulâm Pîr.

There is a very large masonry well (provided with steps) attached to the mosque (to the east). It was also repaired by the late Mîrzâ.

The date of its construction is not known, as the inscription, which every ancient mosque possessed, has been obliterated or destroyed.

* Note that the numerical value of the Persian words is equivalent to the date of erection.

X. THE MOSQUE OF KHWAJAH AMBAR.

This mosque is situated in a suburb of Dacca—My-mensingh Road. It was built in the year 1090 A.H. (circa 1680 A.D.) during the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb and the viceroyalty of Amîru'l-Umara Nawâb Shâista Khân. It is solidly built and is a magnificent structure. It is surmounted by three domes.

The pulpit and the door-frames are made of stone.

The mosque needs thorough repair. It is now in the care of the local Muslims who offer prayers in it.

A bridge and a well near the mosque were also built by Khwâjah Ambar.

The Inscription.

بدورشه اورنگ زیب آن شهنشه که افزود زو قدر دین پیمبر
 باقبال اویافت چون زیب وزینت زشایسته خان ملک بنگاله یکسر
 بیر و بل و باغ و مسجد بدانکه مرتب شد از عنبر نیک اختر
 چو شد ساخته کار در فکر سالش فروشد برسم دعا نکته پرور
 سروشی بگفتا بمانند یارب بدنیای پل و مسجد و خواجه عنبر
 سنه ۱۰۹۰ هجری

“During the reign of Aurangzeb the great Emperor who increased the dignity of the religion of the Prophet and when the province of Bengal was governed by his Viceroy Nawâb Shâista Khân, mosques, gardens, bridges and wells¹ were constructed through the supervision of Ambar.

“When these noble actions were completed I engaged myself in deep contemplation by way of prayer. Then, all on a sudden, I was told, ‘May God grant a long life to Khwâjah Ambar, the mosque and the bridge.’² Dated 1090 A.H.”

XI. THE MOSQUE WITH SEVEN DOMES.

It is a large structure presenting a stately and magnificent aspect. It is situated on the northern bank of the river Buriganga at a place known as Ja'farabad (to the north-west of the city). During the Mughal period the

(1) The Traditions say that it is a great virtue to construct these for the public benefit.

(2) Note that the numerical value of the Persian words is equal to the number representing the year of construction.

city of Dacca was much larger than it is now, and this mosque was then considered to be within the city of Dacca. This mosque was also built by the Amîru'l-Umara Nawâb Shâista Khân. It is a large building surmounted by three domes. There are four minarets or turrets on the four corners of the mosque. From this it is known as "The Mosque of Seven Domes" (that is, three domes plus the four minarets).

A few years ago the late Nawâb Sir Ahsanu'llâh Bahâdur had the mosque repaired thoroughly and appointed a Mu'azzin to call to prayers regularly. It has thus been rehabilitated.

About a hundred yards to the east of this mosque there stands a mausoleum built over the graves of two of the daughters of Nawâb Shâista Khân. It is a magnificent piece of Mughal architecture. The door-frames are made of stone. The cupola of this tomb has now, however, fallen off and the mausoleum is in a very bad state demanding thorough repairs.

There are still two mosques which deserve treatment in this article. Although they do not belong to the Mughal period they are none the less historical. They were, in fact, constructed during the Pathan regime prior to the final establishment of the Mughal Power in Bengal. The existence of these two mosques clearly indicates that there were Muslims (Pathan or convert) occupations of the site which was afterwards named 'Dacca.' They are :—the Mosque of Binat Bibi the Mosque in the Lane of Naswala.

XII. THE MOSQUE OF BINAT BIBI.

This mosque was erected before the foundation of Dacca as the capital of Bengal. It is situated a few paces above (and to the north of) the bridge at Narandia (a quarter in the eastern part of the city). Although it is a small mosque and surmounted by a single cupola it is very old.

It was built in A.H. 861 (circa 1456 A.D.) during the reign of Nâsiru'ddin Muhammad Shâh, when the capital of Bengal was at Gaur and the first, though small, colony of Muslims was established in the place later known as Dacca.

The Inscription.

شد مزین بیانگ سی فلاح
مسجد این غریب لیل و صباح،
مسماة بنحت یننت دختر مرحمت
سنه ۸۶۱ هجری

“ May the mosque of this humble (woman) be decorated with the sound of ‘ Haiya ‘ala’l Falâh ’ (the call to prayer) day and night.

“ Musammat Bakht-i-Beenat, daughter of Marhamat, Dated 861 A.H.”

XIII. THE MOSQUE IN THE LANE OF NASWALA.

This mosque is situated in the Lane of Naswala near the (old Mughal) Fort. It is very old and was built before the Mughal subjugation of Bengal. The dome of this mosque was destroyed by a stroke of lightning and whatever remained was demolished by the earthquake that ravaged Dacca in 1897 A.D. Now only the walls remain of this ancient mosque. It was built in A. H. 863 (circa 1458 A.D.) during the reign of Sultan Abû'l-Muzaffar Mahmûd Shâh. It was, therefore, built about the same time as the mosque of Binat Bîbî noticed above, and while the latter is in the eastern extremity of the city the former is in the western extremity. It measures 27 by 16 feet inside.

The Arabic Inscription.

قال الله تعالى وإن المساجد لله فلا تدعوه مع الله أحداً - استحكم هذا الباب وبني
ايام خلافة الخليفة مستعان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر محمود شاه الساطان
خلد ملكه السبحان - المحاطب بخطاب خواجه جهان صانه عن افات الرحمن
في الاقليم جدمبارك باذن الله الى يوم التناد في العشرين من شعبان سنة ثلث
وستين وثمان مائة من الهجرالنبي صلى الله عليه و اله اجمعين -

“ God said, Verily, mosques are for God. Therefore, do not associate any other name with that of God.

“ This holy shrine is erected during the reign of Nâsir-u'd-dîn Abû'l-Muzaffar Mahmûd Shâh known as Khwâjah Jahân (may God save him from all evils and may God perpetuate his reign). Dated the 20th Sha'ban, 863 A.H.”

ABDUL WADUD.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

PROFESSOR WENSINCK ON MUSLIM BELIEFS.*

THE title of this learned work is misleading. The documents here quoted and explained were never binding upon Muslims in the way that the Apostles, or the Nicene Creed is binding upon Christians. The only formula which has the value of a Creed in that sense for the Muslim is the *Shahadah* (Testimony): "I testify that there is no God except Allah and I testify that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah." The *Fiqh Akbar* and the Testament of Abû Hanîfah (so called) which the author has chosen to consider as the Muslim Creed are, as he justly remarks, statements of belief drawn up in face of certain heresies; they may possibly have been applied as tests to prove the orthodoxy of newcomers to the school or circle of their authors; but the great majority of Muslims were ignorant of their existence at the time, and to-day they are only of historical interest. The convert to Islâm from another religion was then, as now, called upon to recite the *Shahadah* before witnesses, instructed in the duties of a Muslim (the "Pillars of Islâm" of Prof. Wensinck's second chapter) and asked expressly to abjure the special error of his former faith. If he had been a Jew he had to affirm his belief in Jesus as a Messenger of God; if a Christian, to affirm his belief in Jesus as a Messenger of God and nothing more.

This last requirement probably accounts for Art. 8 in the *Fiqh Akbar* I, though Prof. Wensinck is inclined to reject this explanation (which is that of the Arab commentators) because he finds no other clause directed towards non-Muslims. The article, as quoted by him, runs:—

"Whoso believeth in all that he is bound to believe except that he says: I do not know whether Moses or Jesus (peace be upon them) do or do not belong to the Apostles, is an infidel."

* *The Muslim Creed, its genesis and historical development.* By A. J. Wensinck, Professor of Arabic in the University of Leiden. Cambridge University Press, 1932.

Why Moses should be introduced at all is not clear unless it may have been to show the equality of the two revealed and tolerated religions in the opinion of the Muslim. Professor Wensinck's use of the word "apostle" here and elsewhere to denote the great Prophets is a little irritating. It is true that the word means "messenger" as does the Arabic word *rasul*; but apostle has become appropriate to the messengers of Jesus Christ, who are called in Arabic *Hawariyun*, while Jesus himself is called *Rasul* in the Qur'ân. On page 20 the statement that "the idea of the Apostles as missionaries, each to a different people, may have reached Muhammad through Christian channels as this is the scheme underlying the preaching of Christianity throughout the world" is an absurd aberration entirely due to this misuse of the word apostle.

What Prof. Wensinck really depicts for us, and very ably, is the development of Muslim "theology," or attempts to define the indefinable, up to the time of Al-Ghazzâlî's magnificent repudiation of it, before it hardened into cold scholasticism. The devout, with notable exceptions, always disapproved of it.

For the '*aqidah* (statement of belief) of Al-Ghazzâlî, Prof. Wensinck refers us to the work of another famous Arabist, Prof. Macdonald. Yet it was more deserving to be called the Muslim Creed than the documents here quoted in extenso, and is (what these are not) undoubtedly authentic. Al-Ghazzâlî says it was "intended to be learnt by heart by young children. When they know it, they will gradually come to understand and at length firmly believe it. . . . But such a faith may need corroboration. The way to obtain it is not by disputation and *kalam* (theological discussion), but by recitation of the Qur'ân, by the reading of the commentaries and the traditions, as well as by the performance of the ceremonial duties and by intercourse with the pious. This simple faith is like a mountain rock, whereas the faith of *mutakallimun* (theologians) fenced about by artificial disputations, is like a reed shaken by the wind."

In our opinion Al-Ghazzâlî should have been the climax of the book if the intention was to give a general view of the development of Islamic belief. He is still accepted as a teacher at the present day, when all the disputation he renounced looks old and threadbare.

Prof. Wensinck chooses to regard the whole literature of the Traditions of the Prophet as of later, more or less

deliberate, fabrication. Such a view is hardly tenable. After the Prophet's death people, faced with any difficulty, naturally sought to know what had been his opinion and example. They questioned his companions, and if they could, wrote down the answers they received. These inquirers in their turn became authorities for the succeeding generation, and so on. Written notes of *ahadith* were of very early occurrence as the late Prof. Horowitz showed in "The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and their Authors."* That there should be different versions of the same traditions is but natural; and that fabricated *ahadith* exist is admitted by all Muslims; but great care was taken to weed them out, and the mass of the selected traditions is deserving of a great deal more respect than Prof. Wensinck is inclined to pay to it. A tradition which happens to fall in aptly with the requirements of a later time is not therefor necessarily a fabrication. To give a striking instance: When the Omayyad Khalifah 'Abdul Malik, for political reasons, wished to substitute Jerusalem for Mecca as the goal of pilgrimage, he based his edict on a saying of the Prophet. The people of Madinah, when they heard of it, rushed to the greatest authority on Traditions, an opponent of the Omayyads, calling on him to refute it. He himself has related how he would have liked to do so but could not, because he knew the saying of the Prophet ascribing equal merit to Mecca and Jerusalem to be authentic.

It is true, as Professor Wensinck points out, that the writings of John of Damascus have strong affinities with certain aspects of Islamic thought, but we think it likely that Islamic faith and conduct of the early days, backed by conquests which appeared miraculous, influenced John of Damascus.

On page 178 Prof. Wensinck states, "Fifty thousand years as duration of the day of resurrection is the measure mentioned in the Qur'ân, Surah LXX—4." The passage referred to runs:—

- "A questioner questioned concerning the doom about to fall
 "Upon the disbelievers, which none can repel,
 "From Allah, Lord of the Ascending Stairways
 "(Whereby) the Angels and the Spirit ascend unto Him in a day whereof the span is fifty thousand years."

* *Islamic Culture*, Vol. I, No. 4, October, 1927.

The "fifty thousand years" are not related to the day of doom.

Prof. Wensinck follows other eminent Orientalists in stating that the Qur'ân disclaims for the Prophet the power to perform miracles. All that the Qur'ân really declares is that miracles were not at his command. They belonged to Allah and would come for him only when Allah willed. Muhammad could not perform them on demand as the soothsayers and conjurers did, or as some of the Prophets before him were empowered to do. Eminent Orientalists often accept from one another statements of which any Muslim learned in religion could easily point out the fallacy.

On page 241 "Muhammad relates" etc., referring to a passage in the Qur'ân, is the only sentence in the book offensive to the taste of Muslims.

The work, though somewhat lacking in proportion and design, is the product of much learning and research. It is indeed a perfect mine of information on the early growth of dogmaticism and scholasticism.

It is provided with a list of references and a general index.

M. P.

GHAFIQI'S BOOK OF SIMPLES.

The Egyptian University, Cairo, sends us Publication No. 4* of the Faculty of Medicine, a portion of the كتاب جامع المفردات (Book of Simples) of Ahmed ibn Muhammad ibn Khuleyd Al-Ghâfiqî as abridged by Abû'l-Faraj Gregorius known as Ibnu'l-'Ibri (Barhebraeus), very ably edited, translated and explained by Drs. Max Meyerhof

* كتاب جامع المفردات لأحمد بن محمد بن خليل الغافقي المتوفى سنة ٥٦٠ هـ
انتخبه أبو الفرج غريغوريوس المعروف بابن العبري المتوفى في سنة ٦٨٤ هـ
نشره مع ترجمة الانكليزية ومشروحات الدكتور ماكس مايرهوف الرمدى
بالقاهرة والدكتور جورجى صبحى الاستاذ بالجامعة المصرية والطبيب
بمستشفى قصر العيني

The abridged version of "the Book of Simple Drugs" of Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Ghâfiqî by Gregorius Abu'l-Faraj (Barhebraeus). Edited from the only two known manuscripts with an English translation, commentary and indices by G. P. Sophy, M.D., Ch.B. and M. Meyernof, M.D., Ph.D. Hon. Caus. Cairo 1932.

and Jūrji Subhi. The publication is in two volumes pamphlet form, one containing the Arabic text, the other the English translation with adequate introduction and commentary. Little is known of the author of this book, which was of great renown in the Arabic world of medicine, except that Ibn Useybi'a says that he lived in the sixth Islamic century, and that Ghâfiq, his birth-place, was, according to Yâqût's Geographical Dictionary a small fortified place (حصن) near Cordova. Prof. Miguel Asin Palacios, the famous Spanish Arabist, informed the editors that he believed "the name of Ghâfiq was still extant in the village of Guijo near Pedroche in the district of Cordoba." "Ahmad al-Ghâfiq's book is lost," we are told, "but large parts of it are preserved in more than 200 quotations by Ibn al-Baitâr. Therefore Leclerc was able to recognise the great value of the former's work. At the moment when the abridged edition of Al-Ghâfiq's pharmacology came to our hands we stated that Ibn al-Baitâr copied not only the above-mentioned quotations from it, but *that he had copied the whole book*, and that his sole merit was to have added many quotations from later authors (e.g., Al-Idrîsi and Abu'l-'Abbâs an-Nabâtî) and, only occasionally, his own experiences or opinions. This was so evident that we were able to make use of Ibn al-Baitâr's text as a third witness in places where the two MSS. of Al-Ghâfiq were doubtful or corrupted. It is now certain *that Ibn al-Baitâr's pharmacology is nothing more than Al-Ghâfiq's book with some enlargements and commentaries*. This would be still more evident if we had the original book of the latter. Consequently Leclerc's judgment (II, p. 225) on Ibn al-Baitâr, that he was 'the greatest botanist in the Orient,' has to be revised. Indeed he was nothing more than a very diligent and learned compiler. Ibn Abi Useybi'a wrote moreover (Vol. II, p. 133, line 14) that Ibn al-Baitâr always took with him on his voyages, the 'Materia Medica' of Dioscurides and Galen and the drug-book of Ahmad al-Ghâfiq."

This is an important literary discovery of a kind not unfamiliar in Arabic research.

Concerning Barhebraeus, the abridger of Ghâfiq's work, much more is known. To quote the editors: "He was a Christian born at Malatia ملاطية (Asia Minor) and lived from 1226 to 1286 A. D. At first he studied medicine, but later became a priest and reached the second highest dignity in the Jacobite Church, that of *Mafrawan* مفراوان or metropolitan, i.e., Vicar of the

Patriarch himself. His district was 'the East,' viz. the formerly Persian lands between the Mediterranean and the Caspian sea. Continuously travelling, and that during the dangerous period of the Mongol invasions, he was nevertheless able to produce an incredibly rich literary output. A great many of his productions were compilations. He wrote about History, Theology, Philosophy, Grammar, Chronology and Medicine, and also composed poems and narratives."

In 1928 Dr. Meyerhof saw what was then supposed to be the only copy in existence of Barhebraeus's abridgement of Ghâfiqî's "Book of Simples." He found it so corrupt as to be useless. But in the same year the late Ahmad Taimûr Pasha, "the greatly lamented writer, beloved friend of scholars and great collector of Arabic Manuscripts," told him that he had bought an old MS. concerning simples. "We very soon saw that it was a fine old copy of the pharmacology of Al-Ghâfiqî in its abridged form by Barhebraeus. . . . It is an excellent MS. copied by the hand of a scribe in 1285 A.D. *one year before the death of Barhebraeus.* It is quite possible that it was transcribed directly from the original MS. of Barhebraeus himself."

The beautifully clear type for which Cairo is now famous makes the printed Arabic text as easy to read as the English; and the subject-matter is interesting in itself and also on account of the presence of a number of unusual words. For one who knows the countries round the Eastern Mediterranean and is acquainted with the local names of plants and flowers it has especial charm. As well as simples, commonly so-called, some animal and mineral products are included e.g. white and red lead, weasel's paunch and viper's flesh. The plural "rennets" used by the editors to translate اَنْفَح (sing. اَنْفَحَة) is not English; and they apply the term rennet to the stomach of many other animals beside the calf, speaking of mare's "rennets," rabbits' "rennets," "rennets of donkeys and of he-goats"; the last named "when drunk with wine, are useful for dropsy." Sometimes it has seemed to us that the translators have not quite got the meaning of a word—as, for example, on p. 231 where we read that "when a serpent falls alive into a liquid and dies in it and a leper drinks of that liquid his skin becomes thickened and drops off and his flesh becomes as soft as that of a snail," the word translated leper, is not applicable to

every kind of leper but only to one afflicted with *elephantiasis* ; and once or twice we find a word left untranslated. But the work on the whole is remarkably well done and the publication reflects great credit on the Egyptian University.

One question we should like to ask. There is no mention of any sequel to these books, yet they go no further than the letter "Alif" of Al-Ghâfiqî's pharmacology. We get no hint that the MS. of the late Ahmad Taimûr Pasha was incomplete. Therefore we hope for many subsequent instalments.

M. P.

THE ART OF THE MUGHALS.*

Except for the Introduction and the Epilogue, all the essays contained in this new volume by the Principal of the Bombay School of Art made their first appearance in "Islamic Culture," and the fact is handsomely acknowledged by the author. Collectively they read even better than they did as detached articles, judicious arrangement having given to these "trifles light as air" (in the estimation of their author) coherence and considerable weight of purpose. Captain Solomon is not only the head of the most popular Art School in India, he is also himself an artist of distinction who has gained the highest honours of the European schools. His sincerity is transparent and his delight in Indian Art in all its manifestations evident. As an artist actively engaged in the revival of Indian Art, he is naturally impatient of the affectations of the clique of amateurs who have ordained that Indian Art is of the past and can only be preserved by looking backwards. He, on the contrary, exhorts the Indian artist to look forward ; insists that he shall have the most complete course of instruction available in the age in which he lives, and maintains, as one who knows his capabilities, that, with such training, he will do great work in time to come—work every whit as Indian as that of his forebears, but strengthened with the skill and knowledge of the present day. This controversy is the subject of the essay "Indian Art and Modern Criticism" in the present volume; where the defence of Mughal artists comes in naturally since the school of criticism which is opposed to full

* *Essays on Mogul Art.* By W. E. Gladstone Solomon. Oxford University Press, December, 1932.

instruction for the Indian art student of to-day also condemns the whole Mughal blossoming of art in India as "decadence"; perhaps because the Mughal Emperors did not confine their patronage to any school, or even to India, but brought in teachers from Persia and Turkistan, even from Europe.

Captain Solomon does not exalt the art of the Mughal period above its place, but he claims for it a definite and honoured place in Indian history. There is no comparison between it and the art of the Ajanta frescoes; yet why extol the one and decry the other when both are admirable in their way and both are Indian? Captain Solomon has written books on the Ajanta mural paintings which, for enthusiasm as well as technical knowledge, surpass anything that his opponents have vouchsafed upon the subject. In "The Realms of Gold" (another essay in this book) he writes:—

"It would be easy to dilate on the romantic and historical values of the Mogul school of painting, and its fascination for the wider public of taste, but insistence upon some of the features which constitute its most catholic appeal should not be overstrained or suggest—even inferentially—that the fair fame of the works of this school rests only upon the august and picturesque subjects with which it deals. Such a suggestion would be unfair. On the other hand, harm may be done by excessive eulogies of Mogul painting. The limitations of this art are very clearly defined. Stated most broadly, they are simply those which miniature-painting naturally imposes on the artist. Within these restrictions the Mogul artists were able to produce some of the loveliest miniatures that the world has ever seen. Mogul painting must always rank proudly in the comparative scales of the world's art. Its singularity of style, its originality and its superb drawing, which some might urge as additional claims to eminence, are of course parts of the same claim."

And again:—

"So by many a ruddy fireside in frigid old Europe, and by many a shady lattice in radiant India the Moguls are kept in remembrance by the printing-press and the lithographer's stone. Almost, the musk and the attar of roses have transferred themselves from the jewelled album or coloured daftar to the pages of a quarto volume! as we read, the old pageant passes visibly

before our eyes. We look with courage tempered with discretion upon the sacred persons of the Indian Emperors and their consorts, their courtiers, their knights and soldiers. We may steal a glimpse at the lover, garland in hand, repairing by the light of the moon to the terrace on which a maiden awaits him. We may thrill with the gusto of the great elephant fight and applaud the dexterity and courage of the mahouts; we can march to battle with the armies of Akbar, the Victorious, can tread with Jahangir the soft lawns and spicy walks of Shalimar; and wait upon Shah Jehan in the Hall of Audience. And at long last we can stand sorrowfully in the Jasmine Tower at Agra, and realise something of the pathos of that final scene that ended 'the strange eventful history' of Mogul Art, when the imperial prisoner, supported by his faithful daughter, breathed his last, gazing, beyond the river, on his immortal masterpiece, the distant Taj."

The author's enthusiasm is governed by his critical faculty, which is never in abeyance; therefore it is always justified, since his critical faculty is that of a trained artist. This is not the case with the enthusiasms and abhorrences of those opposed to him, so that he has them always at a disadvantage. We agree with him that "it is a pity that English officialdom in India shows a marked tendency to take Havellism, which is not a working proposition for artists, but at best an idealistic theme for drawing-room meetings, seriously," and that "India is not still living in the seventeenth century. Her fashions in art have changed and will change again; and still they will remain fundamentally, and in the fullest sense of the word, Indian."

The book is illustrated with seventeen excellent photographs and one coloured reproduction of Mogul paintings. It is well printed and tastefully got up.

M. P.

MUSTAFA KEMAL.*

There is a peculiar interest in following a life-story which develops against a background of momentous historical events; even more fascinating the biography of one who may truly be said to have "made history." "Grey Wolf" is the Ghazi Pasha, the present President (or Dictator) of the national Turkish State. The title

* *Grey Wolf*. By H. C. Armstrong. (Messrs. Arthur Barker Ltd., Covent Garden, London. 9/-).

chosen by the author indicates the mould in which his book is cast—a frankly sensational style, chopped chapters and staccato sentences. Mr. Armstrong presents a “close-up,” and “Grey Wolf” has terrible fangs, which gnash and flash on every page.

Soon after the Armistice, when the Turks were crushed morally and physically, Mustafa Kemâl returned to Constantinople. “He found the enemy in possession ; English warships in the Bosphorus ; English troops holding the capital, the forts in the Dardanelles and every point of vantage right across Turkey ; French troops in Stambul, their negroes in Galata..... Allied officers supervising the police, the port, the dismantling of the forts and the demobilisation of the army. The Ottoman Empire had been smashed into little pieces ; Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Arabia were gone ; Turkey itself was held helpless in the iron grip of the victorious enemy ; the machinery of government had broken down. The Committee of Union and Progress were gone ; Enver, Tala’at and Jemâl had fled to other countries ; Jâvid and the rest were in hiding ; under Tewfiq, an old Pasha of the reign of Sultan ‘Abdul Hamîd II known for his friendship for the English, a weak-kneed Government meekly obeyed the orders of the enemy.”

The incessant political shifts and terrible events which filled the period from then (1918) until 1932 are closely followed in this record, with Mustafa Kemâl emerging as the central theme and driving force. In chronological order the main happenings during those years, the reader may remember, were as follows :—1919, the Greeks landed in Smyrna, and the French took over Syria from the British, Mustafa Kemâl being Inspector-General of the Turkish Northern Army Zone. 1920, the Turkish Parliament opened in Constantinople, and announced the National Pact, the Allies occupied Constantinople and arrested the principal Nationalists ; the Grand National Assembly met in Angora. 1921, Mustafa Kemâl was made Commander-in-Chief, virtually Dictator, secret Treaty (of Angora) with the French. 1922, Mustafa Kemâl completely defeated the Greeks, the Turks re-occupied Smyrna, Mudania Conference ; abolition of the Sultanate, the Sultan left Constantinople, ‘Abdul Mejîd II made Caliph. 1923, Treaty of Lausanne ; foreign troops evacuated Turkey ; Angora was made the capital of Turkey, a Turkish Republic declared with Mustafa Kemâl as President. 1924

the Caliphate abolished. The details of the imposition of Western "civilization" on Turkey, its "secularisation," the relentless attacks on the religious faith and observances, on the whole basis and outlook of the people, from then to the year 1932 (when this record ends) are too fresh in the memory to need recapitulation. So, too, are the methods by which opposition to the new order was crushed.

Having finished the destruction, Mustafa Kemâl—we quote Mr. Armstrong—"set out to change the whole mentality of the people—their old ideas, their habits, dress, manners, customs, ways of talking, all the most intimate details of their lives, which linked them with the past and their Oriental upbringing. This was far harder than rebuilding the political structure."

"He called in European experts and adopted, almost wholesale, the German Commercial, the Italian Penal and the Swiss Civil Codes. They changed the whole legal structure. By a succession of laws and regulations he ordered everything in Turkey to be Turkish. The language was full of foreign words, Arabic and Persian. They must be eliminated. Tartar was the basis of the language. Tartar words and phrases must be revived and used to replace the foreign words."

"Mustafa Kemâl introduced a hundred minor changes to adjust the routine of life, which affected the lives of the individual even more drastically than the big structural changes. Friday was made the one legal day of rest each week. The phrases and motions used in conversation, in introducing, in saying good-day and good-bye, the saluting of superiors were prescribed; the salaam was forbidden; coffee might not be offered to visitors as a sign of respect in offices; the hat was to be raised so many inches from the head to acknowledge a salute, and so many inches in making one; the handshake was to replace the old triple obeisance. He introduced the metric system and the Gregorian calendar."

R. C.

WAR AND INTRIGUE.*

Apart from the personal narrative of Sir Hubert Young's experiences as a Staff Officer in 'Irâq and the Sinai peninsula during the Great War, his book is a contribution

* *The Independent Arab*. By Major Sir Hubert Young, C.M.G., D.S.O (John Murray. 10s. 6d.)

to the complicated political history of that region. The administration of Mesopotamia during and after the War years, and the re-establishment of the freedom of a people by nature free and independent are clearly and sympathetically recounted by one with every qualification for the task.

Formerly attached to the Indian Army, the writer relates—at times, perhaps, with too much detail for the general reader—march and counter-march. He co-operated with “Aircraftsman Shaw” (Colonel Lawrence)—whom he had encountered at the Carchemish archaeological excavations in peace-days—in the excitement of those dashing and unorthodox raids carried out by that astonishing figure. He remarks—

“I have often been asked whether Lawrence could have done what he did if it had not been for his almost inexhaustible supply of golden “guineas” and I have always made the same answer. Lawrence could certainly not have done what he did without the gold, but no-one else could have done it with ten times the amount. No amount of pomp and circumstance would have won him the position he gained by sheer force of personality as a born leader....

“What the Arabs admired most in him was his utter disregard of danger and his readiness to endure not merely discomfort but the worst kinds of hardship. Not only did he beat them all at their own game, shoot straighter, ride harder, and eat and drink less, but he shone out among them in all the qualities which they would like to have possessed.”

With his knowledge of Arabic and understanding of Arab aspirations, Sir Hubert Young was an active participant in those stirring events which led to the victorious conclusion of Allenby's campaign. But the value of this record lies rather in its illumination of the happenings behind the scenes. Few are better qualified in that respect for, after arduous service throughout the whole of the War, he joined in 1919 that section of the Eastern Department of the Foreign Office which dealt with British policy in those parts of Turkey in Asia predominantly Arabic-speaking—Syria, Palestine, Arabia, including the Hijâz, and Irâq.

The Turks, at the outbreak of War, were in the position of an occupying Power in that region, but there were many foreign influences at work. “On the east and south of

Arabia, from Koweit to Aden, the Turkish writ did not run at all, and British influence had predominated for many years, though the only territory actually under British administration was the Aden Protectorate. An Anglo-Turkish Convention which was concluded in 1913 with the object of regularising the position had not been ratified at the outbreak of War, in spite of the conclusion, in June, 1914, of a frontier convention defining the boundary of Ottoman territory. British influence was strong at Baghdad and Basrah and on the waterways of Mesopotamia, but weaker in Syria and Palestine."

The interest and influence of the French and Germans, the religious difficulties, and the strengthening movement of the Arabs towards independence were some of the dominating factors in the problem that awaited solution at the time of the terrific impact of the War. Sir Hubert Young outlines the history of British post-war policy in the Middle East, and remarks—"I still think, as I thought then, that the disorders which broke out in Mesopotamia in 1920 might have been averted, and the course of events in Syria profoundly modified, if the spirit which animated the British officers who fought with the Arabs during the War had in some way been communicated to those who built up the civil administration in Mesopotamia, and if the trumpet of Downing Street had given forth a certain instead of an uncertain sound. All my own energies were directed towards these two objects, and I can only regret now, as I regretted then, that they did not bear fruit in time."

R. C.

TWO BOOKS ON SUFISM.*

Khan Sahib Khaja Khan of Madras is a veteran writer on Sufism, which he chooses to call in the present book "The Philosophy of Islam," whereas it is really the theosophy of Islam. Islam has its philosophy, which is different from Sufism. Indeed much that the Khan Sahib here propounds is neither philosophical nor Islamic. But the book is a good and fairly comprehensive account of Sufism in its degenerate Indo-Persian phase, and we must compliment the author on the achievement of a greater measure of lucidity than was noticeable in his former works. We could have wished for a more critical

* "The Philosophy of Islam." By Khan Sahib Kaja Khan. Madras: Hogarth Press, Mount Road. Price Re. 1-4-0.

"An Examination of the Mystic Tendencies in Islam in the light of the Qur'an and Traditions." By M. M. Zuhuruddin Ahmad, M.A. LL. B.. Professor of Logic and Philosophy at the Ismail College, And-

attitude on his part, since discrimination is desirable between the false and true, the Islamic and the un-Islamic strains in Sufism, particularly from the point of view of students of other communities who may be attracted by the title of his work. But criticism was so little in our author's scheme that we get scarcely a hint of his own opinion of the subjects which he treats. This is in one way a merit, but it leaves the unskilled reader without guidance in a labyrinth. In the chapter entitled "Historical Development," after quoting the words of the Qur'ân recited by our Prophet when he destroyed the idols round the Ka'bah, "Truth hath come and falsehood hath disappeared. Surely falsehood is to disappear," he has written :—

"Under such circumstances, if any genuine philosophy is to be found in Islam, it should be traced to its founder alone; and other thoughts and doctrines found in the scheme of present philosophy to other sources."

This suggests that the author himself recognises that much of the Sufism which he describes is spurious; but he makes no attempt at indication of the sources so as to separate the grain from the chaff for the reader's benefit.

There are a large number of misprints, particularly deplorable in connection with quotations from the Qur'ân and Hadith. For example, on p. 7, the Arabic text of the Hadith "I was a hidden treasure and I loved to be known, and created the world to be known" is given as *Kunto kanzan mukhfiyan fa ahabtu an awrifa fa khalaf al khalq li awrifa*, when it should be *Kuntu Kanzan mukhfiyan fa ahabtu an 'urifa fa khalaqtu'l-Khalq li 'urifa*; accepting the author's version of the Hadith, though the version familiar to us has *fa khalaqtu'l-khalq fa 'arafuni* "so I created the creatures so they knew Me." On p. 73 "For God is in the East and the West, so wherever thou turnest thy face, there is the Reality of God" (Sûrah II, v. 115) should be "Unto Allah belongeth the East and the West and whithersoever ye turn there is Allah's countenance. Lo! Allah is All-Embracing, All-Knowing." On p. 74 "God is the light of the heavens and the earth. *He is like a lamp in a glass, and the glass in a niche*," should be, "Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth. *The similitude of His light is as a niche wherein is a lamp. The lamp is in a glass. The glass is as it were a shining star. (This lamp is) kindled from a blessed tree, an olive neither of the East nor of the West, whose oil would almost glow*

forth of itself though no fire touched it. Light upon light. Allah guideth unto His light whom He will. And Allah speaketh to mankind in allegories, for Allah is Knower of all things."

On p. 77 the Hadith before-mentioned is differently (and wrongly) translated :

"I was a hidden treasure and loved to know *Myself* so I created Khalq to know *Myself*."

The right translation being : "I was a hidden treasure and I loved *that I should be known* so I created the creatures in order that *I might be known*." Unfortunately we could multiply such instances.

Mr. Zuhûru'd-dîn Ahmad's book is of a different kind. It is concerned with the same topics, but is more discriminating, being in fact a critical study of Sufism. The author distinguishes between what he considers to be the right path of Sufism and what he considers to be its aberrations, between the benefit and the harm that it has done to Islam. The first Sufis, and to this day the best Sufis, were (and are) devout Muslims, living in the world and occupied in doing good. Then came the theory that a man had no right to strive for righteousness in the life of the world till he had conquered his own evil propensities.

"Self-control was exalted over the discipline of the battle-field. The torch of light, instead of being shown to others, who might have been benefited more by it than the torch-bearer himself, was turned inward to guide one's own heart. Thus the first advice that a Shaikh gave to his disciples was, "First reform yourself before you reform others".... In theory this principle appears to be quite sound, but its results proved to be fatal and disastrous..... Its influence was far-reaching, and the character of this influence was to check and counteract the growing tendencies of Muslims towards progress in the various domains of life and activity. It was also responsible, much more than the Qur'anic descriptions of Hell, for bringing about quietism, which the Western writers on Mysticism consider to be the source of mystic tendencies among Muslims.

"Even on psychological grounds this principle is not very sound. There is no possibility of setting a limit to the progress of an individual human soul. If a man decides first to develop his own soul and then to preach the Gospel of Truth to others, the time of conveying the

message to others will never come. It is a strange paradox of human nature that the more a man progresses morally the more he feels himself wanting in goodness, and the more he becomes conscious of his shortcomings."

The Arab kind of Sufism, which "emphasises that worldly happenings which occur independently of the control of our will should not engage our attention" is illustrated by the following story.

"One great Sufi known by the name of Ibrahim Adham used to travel with great pomp and splendour and with a large retinue of servants, and his tents were pitched with golden pegs. One day a wandering dervish happened to pass by his tents and was extremely surprised to learn that all these things of luxury were owned by one who was once a king and now a Sufi. The dervish with a begging-cup in his hand approached the kindly Sufi and said, 'It is strange you call yourself a Sufi and still own so much of worldly goods, and your tents are fixed with golden pegs.' He bade the dervish take a little rest, and after an hour or so invited him to travel to Mecca in his company. The dervish agreed. The princely Sufi started for the pilgrimage with the dervish, leaving all his tents and retinue behind. They had not gone far when the dervish remembered that he had forgotten his wooden cup in the tent and requested him to allow him to go back to fetch it. The Sufi then remarked, 'This is just the difference between us two: I could afford to part with all my valuables without the least mental worry, while you could not part with a cup of practically no value without much inconvenience. Those golden pegs which so much surprised you were driven in the earth and not in my heart.' The last sentence of the Sufi well illustrates the asceticism which Islam intended to promulgate, as opposed to the monasticism of Christians, Mendicantism of Buddhists or Rishism of Brahmans.

"The founders of Sufi orders, or at least most of them, were very good Muslims and followers of the Prophet, and indeed they had accepted Sufism with a pious wish of reforming the Islamic World. They hated the world and worldly things but they did not believe in its renunciation, for they clearly realised that after renouncing it, there remained no hope of reforming it. At first this renunciation took the form of avoiding the company of kings and courtiers, but under the influence of monastic

religions like Buddhism and Christianity it slowly developed into seclusion and loneliness."

Mr. Zuhûru'd-dîn Ahmad describes very clearly the process and the forms of that development; how (to use his own expression) "the Senuite common-sense was overpowered by the theoretical Aryan philosophy of Persian and Greek origin. The result was an indefinite and vague hotch-potch....."

Mr. Zuhurû'd-din Ahmad's book leaves a clear impression on the reader's mind, while Khan Sahib Khaja Khan's book leaves the reader with a sense of mystification and some slight bewilderment. It is written frankly from the point of view of a learned and enlightened orthodox Muslim while the mental standpoint of the Khan Sahib remains somewhat obscure. Mr. Zuhûru'd-dîn Ahmad's work has been carefully "read" and is furnished with a list of "corrigenda."

M. P.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Indian Women and Art in Life. By Kanaiyalal H. Vakil, B.A., LL.B., Bombay. Taraporevala Sons & Co.

Art in the studio is no compensation for the loss of art in the life of the people. That is the text of these lectures to Indian ladies by the most sincere and original of Indian art critics. Mr. Vakil fears loss of the artistic sense of Indian peoples owing to the flood of foreign influences; and he appeals to the cultivated womanhood of India to foster and protect it in the home. As usual, he goes straight to the root of the matter, without sentimentality or regard for shibboleths. The brochure though addressed to cultured women, will appeal to cultured men no less, and will stimulate thought upon a subject to which few people in India give attention, yet which is of primary importance to the future happiness of the people. The book is illustrated with reproductions of Indian paintings related to the subject-matter of the text.

M. P.

ISLAMIC CULTURE

Some Opinions.

"Leads us to hope that it will rank among the most prominent publications appearing in India." *JOURNAL OF ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, LONDON.*

"It is a Review that helps a Western reader to get into the heart of this religion, and well deserves its position as the New Hyderabad Quarterly. It is well printed and full of good work."

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, LONDON.

"The Review has attained and maintained a high standard of scholarship and research. The earlier numbers show that Oriental scholars all over the world have contributed to the Review."

THE ENGLISH REVIEW, LONDON.

"Many interesting and informative contributions which combine to make a journal of high literary standard and advanced knowledge relating to all forms of Islamic culture."

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATION AND SCHOOL WORLD, LONDON.

"The names of such distinguished authors among the contributors are a sufficient guarantee of the literary excellence of its contents. It deserves the support of every serious student of Muslim history, art, and literature."

THE ASIATIC REVIEW, LONDON.

"The journal is sure to breathe a new life into the lethargic Muslims."

ISLAMIC REVIEW, ENGLAND.

"It is a unique production of its kind."

TIMES OF MESOPOTAMIA A

"It is, beyond all doubt, one of the most scholarly periodicals in English devoted to the cultural aspects of Islam, in the various spheres of its activities—alike in the past and the present. It is one of the exceedingly well-conducted periodicals which have brought credit and renown to periodical literature issued in India."

THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW

"A periodical of this kind in the English language has long been a great want. Islamic Culture will be a most important addition to Indian periodical literature."

THE INDIAN DAILY MAIL.

"The journal is of a really high standard.....the get-up is good, and the matter is excellent. Hyderabad may well be proud of this production."

THE INDIAN NATIONAL HERALD.

"There is no doubt that the journal will be occupying an honourable place in the list of periodicals which save humanity from stagnation. Not merely Muslim but everyone interested in human progress will find much food for study and thought."

THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE.

"This journal will do a great deal in bringing Islam into line with modern thought. It is tastefully got up."

THE HINDU

"The Magazine is well edited and leaves nothing to be desired in get-up and printing and we highly commend it to all those interested in the subject of Muslim contribution to the culture and civilisation of the world."

THE STAR.

"In general get-up and style the magazine is on a par with its British contemporaries, but the choice of subjects and the co-operation of brilliant Muslim and non-Muslim contributors, makes it the most interesting periodical published in India."

THE MUSLIM OUTLOOK

"Islamic Culture is in every way up to date and can be compared with the first class magazines published in England, France and Germany. The magazine is unique of its kind."

THE MUSLIM CHRONICLE

"There is great need for such journals in order to dispel ignorance and misunderstanding and uphold the real significance and truth of every religion and culture. The Magazine is very well printed on good paper."

THE RANGOON MAIL

THE AWAKENING OF TURKISH LITERATURE

II

‘ABDUL Hamîd, that psychologically complicated figure of Turkish history, marks the period in literature also. His antagonists, the young Turks, who saw in him a capricious tyrant only, did not do full justice to the political acumen with which he tried to stem the tide of events. This desperate effort was in vain. An apparent friend of constitutional government at the beginning of his reign, he soon turned conservative in the most rigid sense of the word. He foresaw the futility of parliamentary government in a country like Turkey, where Christian and Muslim, Greek, Armenian, Jew, Albanian, Arab, Kurd and Syrian all awoke to the same national consciousness as the Turks. He foresaw that the progressive Ottoman Islam, in the fold of which other nationalities also could find place on a footing of equality, could be maintained only by a rigid conservatism. This conservatism aimed at preserving the territory of Turkey by the fiction of the personal rule of a Sultan equally patronising all his subjects on a democratic principle, while debarring them from interfering in State affairs. He dissolved parliament, which was sure to become helpless and inefficient to solve the problem of conflicting interests. He tried to break the political nationalistic parties before they openly appeared on the scene. His fear of dethronement was morbid ; the fate of ‘Abdul‘Azîz and of Murâd, was an obsession with him, and led him into a fantastic scheme of government which was as grotesque in some of its aspects as its dictating spirit was justified. He trembled before the fleet, and dismantled it. He surrounded himself with faithful, cringing followers who unfortunately were not of the integrity necessary for such a strongly centralised government. He ruled, like his glorious ancestors, with an autocratic spirit but without their glory. He stifled the newspapers and the public voice generally.

He alone was to be the master of the land, a real dictator without being able to find suitable collaborators to carry out his plan honestly, and without any hope of convincing his people that the disruptive forces of nationalism in a State containing many nationalities were sure to bring about revolutions and chaos. No dictator could ever swim against the current of ideas, and 'Abdul Hamîd's was anything but a just, reasonable or clever dictatorship. The Young Turk Party was his greatest foe, and he often rudely and cruelly endeavoured to stamp out this patriotic but dreaming group of intellectuals. No blame can justly be hurled at the Party of Union and Progress. It is true that they were not practical politicians who could have foreseen events. They were imitating the French and Swiss models of parliamentary government in a country which, in history, geographical situation and cultural level, was totally different from those European States. But what politician or patriotic dreamer has ever foreseen the consequences of his theoretical speculations which leave out the *psychic* factor? The newspapers published by the Young Turks in Europe and secretly distributed in Turkey boldly attacked the Sultan for following a lenient and conciliatory policy towards the European Powers and sacrificing the most sacred interests of the people. Criticism alarmed 'Abdul Hamîd and made his tyranny harsher. That tyranny had one terrible effect on the character of the middle class. A system of sycophantism grew up, which made social life unendurable. No one was safe from his most intimate friends who, only to please the authorities, might report about him for money. There was a saying: *Padishahimiz in sayesinde hepimiz jasusuz*, (In the shadow of our Padishah we are all spies).

A social life endangered by the insecurity of its members could hardly produce a free literature. The authors of the seventies were proscribed; French novels and the frivolous life of Paris captured the imagination of the higher classes and a languor spread over the whole people. And still a faint protest against the languor was represented by some weekly papers. They appeared with illustrations, mostly taken from European weeklies, under which the young poets wrote explanatory lines. Such a periodical was the encyclopedic *Mekteb* (School) and the *Hazineh-i-Funun* (Magazine of Knowledge). A strife over the possibility of rhyming the words *عَبَسَ* (*abes*) and *مُقْتَبَسٌ* (*muktabes*) brought the third weekly *Servet-i-Funun*

(Wealth of Knowledge) into prominence under the lead of Tevfik Fikret who soon became the most beloved poet. His modernist and bold poetry, which very often shot its arrows at tyranny in disguise, won him the hearts of the youth. He wrote symbolistically in the spirit and style of the Parnassians and chose his subjects from every aspect of life. His poems, which appeared in the *Servet-i-Funun* were published in book form in 1896, under the title *Rebab-i-Shikiste* (The Broken Violin). No book of Turkish poetry has ever had such a success as this. Within a year the whole edition was exhausted and became a rarity on the market. It was recited everywhere by his enthusiastic admirers and the fame which it won for him soon made him so suspect in the eyes of the police that he was arrested, and the weekly was suspended. A professorship at the American "Robert College" secured shelter and a living to the poet, who lived from that time on in seclusion. No new poem of his appeared in print, but each was secretly copied by his friends and learned by heart. He was the living literary conscience of his people. He wrote the *Millet Shargisi* (National Song) of the secret Young Turk Party which inspired it with hope and an ardent love of country.

ملت یولیدر حق یولیدر طوتد یغمز یول
ای حق یاشا ای سوکیلی ملت یاشاوار اول!
ظلمک طوبی وارکله سی وارقلعه سی وارسه
حقک بوکولمز قولی دو نمز یوزی واردر.

Our path is the path of the nation and of Truth ;
Blessed be the Truth, blessed be our beloved nation.
Tyranny has guns and bullets and fortresses,
Truth has an unbending arm, unflinching faith.

The hymn was not written in vain. The Young Turks, who won over the army, forced the Sultan to surrender and to grant the constitution again.

Fikret was more of an artist in poetry than a poet. In spite of his innovations in style and language, he never stumbled over obstacles of form. His poems are so elaborate,—a continuous chain of gems, sometimes written in pure Turkish, while sometimes the memories rising from a literary past bring forward the music of Persian. Sully, Prudhomme and Le Conte de Lisle inspired him and their

voice rings out in Turkish from the *Broken Violin*. But this *Broken Violin* in spite of its subdued tone is an unbroken melody. He chose and changed his prosody according to the subject, as in *Serpentine Dance* the changing metre projects the ever changing rhythm of dance.

صنعت صاری مور پنه ی شیل قیر میزی ماوی
الوان ضیائیه بر قدرت جولان
بخش ایلرک هپسی پر یلرکبی محفی محفی وسکونتل آدیملی له شتابان
اطرافنی بردن صار یورلر اوسمائی بر توده از هار غیل کیی لرزان
لرزان و پریشان بر شب صانی تنویر اید یور صانکه بر آویزه رقصان

Art imparting a whirling impulse
To the yellow, purple pink, green, crimson and blue
colours of light,
All, like hidden fairies with airy steps apace
Surround the place, trembling
Like a visionary bunch of flowers strewn from heaven
Trembling and dissolved they turn around,
Illumining the clear night like a dancing chandelier.

His greatest power lies in the language, which has become a masterly tool in his hand, a slave to his will. It is remarkable that while Fikret was the hero of his day his most eloquent rhymes soon began to fade after his death. Sacrosanct in his life-time he is now exposed to criticism from many a quarter. His poetic genius has been questioned, and the *Broken Violin* has been compared to a cracked instrument which does not emit any convincingly melodious tune.

The melody which poetry represented was soon accompanied by the harmony of fiction in which Halid Zia excelled. I have mentioned that the father of the Turkish novel was Sezayi with his *Kuchuk Sheyler* (Small Things) and his stories were the bridge which led to Halid Zia, who was the first representative of the national novel. This novel was called *Milli*, for it dealt with national themes. The languor of Turkish social life found recreation in the exciting and melancholy stories taken from that life itself. Turkish prose has not had such a long history as Turkish poetry. The prose of the modern novel had to be created and the authors struggled hard to satisfy the taste of the public and to turn out a language

suitable for the expression of modern sentiments and plots. The language of Halid Zia is a compromise between the two. It is artificial and heavy, yet expressive and powerful. Although his style reminds us of the past his stories are a living present.

Halid Zia, too, like his contemporaries, was nurtured in the atmosphere of French literature. Fantastic stories and criminal novels were the fashion of the day. These were only a step to higher literature, and the boy Halid Zia took to Dumas *filis* and Octave Feuillet, who polished his taste and led him on to the classics. He became a student of literature at the age of 16 and published the introduction to a historical work which dealt with the "march of literature from the West to the East." This young scholar soon proved to be a precocious writer. His first novel was proscribed by the censor, and he burned the manuscript. His first printed novel *Numide* appeared when he was 18. His literary zeal increased with his success. Soon another novel *Bir Olumun Defteri* (The Diary of One Dead) was written and the third, *Ferdi and Company*, appeared. Halid Zia wrote the first modern Turkish short stories : *Last Pages of a Diary*, *The Story of a Love-Marriage*, *Is It This?* etc. At the same time he translated dozens of French novels and stories. It was no easy task to write Turkish novels in the fashion of the French literary taste of the day. Almost every educated Turk spoke French and the great number of translations made the best fruit of fiction widely known in Turkey. The Turkish writer had a dangerous rival in his French colleague, whom he had to equal if not to surpass. In modern Arabic literature, which begins to adopt European forms of expression, we see the same difficulties with the language, which struggles towards expression ; and while some of the greatest masterpieces of European literature have been translated into Arabic, no Arabic novelist of distinction has yet appeared. It is a merit of the Turkish genius that it could successfully face its French rival and could create its own national stories. Halid Zia was one of those able writers whose service to their country is invaluable. His prolific talent was so many-sided that he was competent to write on science as well as fiction. He wrote a treatise on Sanskrit literature and the censor, suspecting it to be politics in disguise, arrested the author.

"You spread revolutionary ideas in such an abstruse style," said the police officer to him, "that not even the

harm can a work do which not even you understand ? ” replied the author. His house was searched, his correspondence seized. This atrocity stifled him for long. Only after three years did the *Servet-i-Funun* publish a new novel of his with which he entered on a new period of his career. The novel *Mavi ve Siyah* (Blue and Black) was a new departure and the prolific author wrote at the same time a series of short stories in other daily papers which were later published in book form under the title *A Withered Nosegay* (*Solgun Demet*) and *The Story of a Summer* (*Bir Yazın Tarikhi*). This fruitful period came to an end with the suspension of the *Servet-i-Funun* in which he published his two other great novels *Forbidden Love* (*‘Ishq-i-Memnu‘*) and *Broken Lives* (*Kyryk Hayatlar*). On the declaration of the Constitution Halid Zia was unfettered and was free to write with the versatility proper to his genius. Some of his novels which had been mutilated by the censors were republished in augmented form.

His first novels *Numide* (*Hopeless*) and the *Diary of One Dead* were passionate love stories, full of that sentimental tone so characteristic of the warlike Turks. *Ferdi and Company* adds another item to the plot : the love of money. Love and money seem to lead a desperate struggle in which money is defeated. The author exerted himself to make his style elaborate and it became somewhat clumsy. But in his *Blue and Black* he unfolds his poetic capacities to the full ; he extended his attention from the purely emotional aspects of life to the realities, to the problems of marriage, to the problem of the working class, the struggle of a writer towards eminence, amid the variegated surroundings of Constantinople and its secret literary societies.

The hero of this novel is a poor poet, who has to look after his mother and sister, and works hard to earn a living. He has three aims : to be rich, to become a great writer and to marry his beloved. He hopes that he will realize all three, and that his life will be crowned with *baran-i-dur ve elmas* (a shower of pearls and diamonds). This is symbolised by the first word of the title. But life is not a shower of pearls and diamonds. His sister gets married to a rough fellow and suffers from the brutality of her husband. His beloved abandons him and marries an officer, whereupon he destroys his manuscript with which he had hoped to win literary fame. This is the transition.

of life from the blue horizon into black night. Sentimental and pessimistic, like every great production of art *Blue and Black* depicts real life. The secondary characters are vigorous and natural; the hero whom he wished to adorn with elaborate characterisation has become too artificial to be real. All the author's knowledge of French literature is imputed to the hero, who issued from a village school and has no experience in the world.

Forbidden Love depicts the fiery love of a girl married to an elderly rich man with two daughters, who get entangled in jealousy with their stepmother who, finally put to shame before them, commits suicide.

This novel, which was written 35 years ago, has still retained all its attractive qualities. The story is always alive, always exciting and realistic, although the plot is somewhat entangled. The author wished to give real life, to unveil the passions of the human soul and body, but it seems that he was afraid to go too far in his realism and tried to save the honour of his heroes by commenting on their shortcomings. One thing is remarkable that in these novels of Halid Zia, as in *Broken Lives*, in which he describes the passionate love of a physician who loses his family happiness and his only daughter while he was hunting after joy outside the family circle, we do not find the slightest trace of that whining sentimentality and imaginary romanticism of Pierre Loti's *Les Désenchantées*. The Turkish Halid Zia depicted Turkish life with a more realistic brush, as glaring in its colours as a sunset on the Bosphorus. But he also bears the stamp of his time and the atmosphere of Constantinople at the turning of the century; his heroes and heroines display a stupendous knowledge of European literature and art, a knowledge certainly possessed by the author and wrongly imputed to his figures. But his technique of story-telling is so exquisite that it has rarely been surpassed. Halid Zia marks an epoch in Turkish fiction. The seed which he planted bore rich fruit after him and his influence on his countrymen remains indelible.

Like a meteor appears Jenab Shihabeddin, as a poet, prose-writer and essayist on the horizon of Turkish literature. A physician by profession and an artist by conviction, he wrote on French literature which he had studied thoroughly. He also wrote a series of articles on a journey to the Hijâz, *Haj Yolunda* and *To Europe (Evropa Mektublari)*. As poet he represents the refined tone of

the fanciful love-lyric. He characterised his poetry in the following lines :

وجود فکر مه بر شهر ملک یا پسہ م
شب الفاظ و نور خویا دن
بر فکر مله حوض رؤیا دن
آلپ کو پوکری ذوقجه بر چیچک یا پسہ م
بم بوتون اصلم بویدی شعره باشلا رکن

I stuck an angel's wing to my steed of thoughts,
From the night of words and the light of fancy ;
To grow a flower to my taste
From the foam of the tank of dreams,
This was all my hope when I took to poetry.

His poem on snow with its musical accent will enchant as long as there is an ear for rhythm.

اشنی غیب ایلین بر قوش کبی قار
پکن ایام نوبهاری آرار
ای قلوبك سروه شیداسی ای کبوتر لرك نشیده لری
بو بهارک او ایشته فرداسی قاپلادی بورین سکوته یری
قارلر که نحو شانہ دوشر، دوشر آغلار

Like a bird which has lost its mate, the snow
Is seeking the days of spring aglow.
Oh yearning songs of burning hearts !
Oh serenades of cooing bards !
In the morrow of the spring
It envelopes the earth with a silent ring !
Noiselessly its flakes below
Fall with a deep sorrow.

He finds the most tender words for love and the worship of the beloved and he has the capacity to clothe his words in a musical garb which like a rainbow shines above a babbling brook. He filled the pages of the *Servet-i-Funun* with numberless lines. For him, like a Sufi of this earthly world, love was everything.

بو خیابان وزن و قافیه دن پخیرن فکر می خیال کدر
کوکلی رقص شعره دعوت ایدن موسیقی لب و مقال کدر

From this desert of metre and rhyme
 Your image leads my thoughts aright !
 What incites my heart to the dance of verse
 Is the music of your lips and words.

And his earthly love sometimes rises to the level of allegory where it easily can meet the eternal yearning of the soul after a higher life of heavenly love. His poem on Don Juan, that double-faced representative of libertinism and noble love, embraces both the man and the disillusioned sceptic. He is seeking after love through joy and pain, adventure and crime. He longs for heavenly bliss and at the end so often finds only a woman.

With Jenâb Shihâbeddîn love is no more a hollow whining of recurring figures of speech, his verses, though written in Turkish with Persian words, have nothing in common with Bâqi, Nefi, or Vehbi. He has grasped the spirit of Europe and transfused it into his words.

پک نبوش در او حس لکن او بوشق طولاردل
 افلق حیاتیه ده کی جوفی او اورتر
 هر کس هپ او بوشلقدہ آرار بر طوته جق یر
 پیرامن عمرنده کی کردابه مقابل

Empty is this feeling, still the heart is filled with it ;
 It covers the vacuum of the horizon of life !
 We all search in this emptiness for a settling place
 To escape from the whirlpool of life.

مرغ عشقک بتون ترانه لری افق روحده اهتراز ایتدی
 هربری آیری بر بهار اثری کیدی بر موسم اکلنوب کیتدی

The songs of the bird of love
 Warbled of the horizon of my soul !
 All and each the fruits of a spring
 Flourished awhile and flew away.

بر همت ایچنده جس ایدرک انفعالی روحم ایدر بوکم ایلہ تعدیل انکسار
 آنجق طویار شہیق تحسر مالی برندیک ایچنده قالان عطریادکار

My pain buried with pains,
 In my soul I try to hide its sting ;

My sobs of yearning inhale only

The scent of a souvenir radiating from a kerchief.

The poet Shihabeddin was surpassed by the prose-writer Shihabeddin. His prose style may be favourably compared with any French or English writing of the first rank. His description of countries in his articles of travel are living pictures pulsating with the power of observation and projection. Reading his lines in prose it is difficult to comprehend the exertions of Turkish purists who aim at a colloquial language and deprive the style of its richness of vocabulary.

The advent of constitutional government gave a new impetus to literature. Thirty-four years of expectation, with a throbbing anguish in the heart, suddenly broke into joy and exultation, and the press inhaled a free spirit and endless enthusiasm. Books appeared by hundreds, and readers devoured them. It was a sincere, a noble joy of a nation ; and all who were sympathising onlookers at the event could not help feeling a deep gratification, at the new prospects of Turkey. Writers whom the censor had silenced rushed forward, and a new life agitated men's minds. Among these young writers there were story-tellers, philosophers who analysed history and society, dreaming poets who sang in rapture of love and fancy. There was one tendency in all this revival of patriotism and enthusiasm : to part with the old and adopt the new light coming from Europe. Nationalism and Turkish imperialism mingled together into a vague raving for a new social life. The old forms of life slowly dwindled away. The *madrassah* education lost its hold on the learned, and French culture permeated the upper classes. Erudition in Arabic and Persian and in Oriental philosophy gave place to the philosophy of Comte, and with the puristic movement Arabic and Persian words slowly gave way to Turkish expressions. This tendency was apparently twofold : in civilisation it turned towards the West, in culture towards the East ; but signs dimly showed that this East was not that of Islamic culture. Nationalism created another ideal besides that of religion : it found a proud gratification in the glory of the Turks, in their ancient history and legends, even pre-Islamic. The racial spirit gradually took the place of religious feeling and of Islamic brotherhood. While Nâmiq Kemâl and 'Abdul Haqq Hâmid's *Vatan* was the *Darû'l-Islam*, the new nationalism found its ideal exclusively in the

Turkish race as distinct from others. European racial and national ideology permeated the young Turkish brains, and Cahun's *Introduction into the History of Central Asia* kindled a fire of pride in their old history. In the articles of Turkish reviews criticism ventured more freely to attack time-honoured beliefs. The analysis of psychic factors in fiction taught writers and readers to try to peep behind the curtains of social and historic events. It is undeniable that the turn was a little sudden and a childish joy at the discoveries of Western science filled the hearts ; but this was the case also with Europeans, and action has to be followed by reaction till the golden middle path is safely reached. It is undeniable that the Turks were the first Islamic people who imbibed European culture and tried to bring it into harmony with their own. A sharp struggle ensued between the old and the new. While Turkish novelists produced works comparable to those of the West, the Madrasahs still clung to their *taqlid*, barren hair-splitting. The issue was certain. Release from oppression brought new spiritual life.

Mehemed Raûf published his beautiful novel, September (*Eylul*), a charming love story amid the cypress trees of the Bosphorus. This novelist was a master in expressing the most delicate feelings, the innermost sentiments of the human heart. His friend Hûseyn Jâhid was a fighter, an undaunted critic of the stagnation of *taqlid*, an ardent advocate of progress in ideas. It was his writing which led to the suspension of the *Servet-i-Funun* on the eve of the proclamation of the Constitution. He was a novelist, short-story writer and critic. His best novels are Fancy (*Khayal*) and the Village Wedding (*Kıy Düyunu*) both of a realistic colouring ; but his greatest merit is the critical spirit with which he approached philological subjects and spread the knowledge of European conceptions in art. After the revival of political liberties he restricted his activity to newspaper editing, and his ebullient nature was well fitted for this task.

A solitary wanderer through life is the figure of Süleyman Nazif, the double character of Turkish literature, like ' his swarthy face and white shining teeth.' Sometimes foolhardy and brave, sometimes obsequious, he presents this twofold character also in his writings. A deep knowledge of the niceties of the Turkish language should have enabled him to become one of the greatest writers, but his eccentricities always drove him to the extreme. His prose is much superior to his poetry.

Prose literature took a decided turn toward Turanism and Turkish racialism in the writings of Ahmed Hikmet, who foresaw the strength of this tendency and helped it by his stories. The *Haristân* and *Gulistân* (Thorns and Roses) is a romantic love-story; it exalts the power of natural inclinations, as if whispering into the ears of the Turks: 'Love your race, be proud of your own self!'

While romancers of this kind aroused the self-consciousness of the race, poets like Hûseyin Siret were bewailing the lonesomeness of life, the departure of their beloved, old themes never worn out as long as there is a heart in human breasts. And the language sang a new music to the ever recurring anguish. It was melodious and sincere, no attempt to hide or to enhance the real feeling embedded in the words.

کونش باتارطا غیلیر افاقه هپ تخیل شام
اوزاقده برار وادن چنغراق صداسی کلیر
آقین آقین سورولر هپسی عودت اتیمده در
قویونلری طاغیلان برچوبان کی طالعین
نه بکرم یولک اوستنده بویله هر آقشام
آرارمیسک بنی ییلمم خجسته یاوروم سن
سنگ خیال یتیمکه آغلا یورکن ب

The sun, sinking, scatters evening glamour on the
horizon;

From afar on a meadow the ringing of bells is heard,
Flocks of sheep humbly return.

Dike a shepherd whose sheep have gone astray, sunk
in thoughts,

What do I wait for on the road each evening?

Do you look for me, O darling child,

While I am weeping for your orphan shadow?

اه کوزلربکا توجیه ایتیمجک اودودا قلوبنی سیرت دییه یاد ایتیمجک
آیریلان اللرمز بردها برلشمجک آرا مزدن آجی بر باد خزان اسدی بوکون
ای نهالنده دوکولش داغیلان نازی چیچک

Alas! those eyes will not gaze at me,

Those lips will not call me any more:

Our parted hands will meet no more ;
Between us has blown this day a bitter wind of
autumn, lion-like

O flower, shed and scattered, falling in the forest !

Fayiq 'Alî, the younger brother of Süleymân Nazîf, became the heroic but melancholy poet of the great disillusionments the Turkish nation had to endure. The high expectations were rudely destroyed by the iron hand of events. The joyous exultation at a free and happy life were stifled by the treacherous attacks of a greedy Europe. The war of Tripoli, the hateful campaign of the Balkan States, numbed the budding hopes of the people. Discomfiture and misfortune were too harsh a fate for the Turks who fought so valiantly. Fayiq 'Alî sang the songs of these dire times. "Fleeting comforts" (*Fani Teselliler*) is the title of his volume of verse, to which *Elhan-i-Vatan* (Melodies of the Fatherland) are a worthy pendant.

The tragedy of Turkey roused poetic inspiration in quarters which before nourished a warlike spirit. The son of the famous commander in the Russian war Süleymân Pasha, Süleymân Nasîb, was a poet born into this world for kindness and gentleness. A candid soul, his poems exhale mercy and goodness. Jelâl Sâhir, the minstrel of women, is his counterpart. He seems to be a gay butterfly who must needs roam from flower to flower to gather the dew and honey of life. Baudelaire, the poet of rhymeless verse, inspired him with new emotions and he was easily able to adapt his style to a new tune.

قادينلر اولماسه او كسوز قاليردى

قادين بوسيسلى حيا تك يكانه ييلدى

"If there had been no women my verses would have remained orphans ;

"Woman is the only star on the sky of this foggy life."

A forgotten writer who did not walk in the footsteps of the French Bourget or Flaubert, Huseyn Rahmi, calls our attention. He selected the characters of his novels not from the upper class, but from the squares and streets of the city. To us he is the more valuable, for he immortalised those people who represent the rapidly vanishing romance of the East. His figures speak their own language, rough and coarse but true. He might be

called the Zola of the Turks. He lived in those narrow lanes, he ate in those *ashkhanehs* where the *hamal*, the quarrelsome old women, the shy schoolboys, the traders and their companions lived their petty, colourful lives. The author of *The Mistress (Metres)*, *The Governess (Murcbbiyeh)*, *The Last Desire (Son arzu)*, etc. wrote much and quickly, and if his style is not a model his characters will always remain attractive.

His companion in versatility, Ahmed Rasim, has written in every Turkish newspaper on every possible subject, poetry and prose, history and fiction, legends and descriptions of customs; he will be the last vestige of a Constantinople, dark yet luminous, mysterious and lovable, bashful and voluptuous, a city of romance and reality which, under the blows of modernism has vanished into legend before our eyes.

The craving for racial Turanism was expressed in Turkish poetry by Mehemed Emin who first attempted to write in the language of the street. He wrote patriotic short poems in which he proudly called himself a Turk. Formerly the word Turk was equivalent to boor, and nobody would tolerate such an appellation.

بن بر تورکم دینم جنسم اولودر

I am a Turk; my creed and race is mighty.

These lines were ominous; they heralded the new ideal. His verses dealt with practical themes; he encouraged the husbandman to produce more, to love his soil, the mother of all happiness and bounty; he glorified the Turkish soldier in his *Jenke Giderken* (Going to Battle). His new versification, in which he revived the old Turkish word for God (*Tanrı*) (instead of the Arabic *Allah*), the God of the Turks, attracted the attention of European scholars more than the appreciation of the Turkish reading public, but it won the sympathies of the people, who were not so particular about his doggerel. He stood the brunt of criticism and in a few years the Turanism of Zia Gökalp, Tekin Alp and others justified his innovation.

At the same time the French Baudelaire and Verlaine took the imagination of some young writers like Emin Buland, Shihâbeddin, Süleyman and Tahsin Nahid who gathered in a circle called *Fejr-i-Ati* (The Coming Dawn) and often discarded rhyme and rhythm and tried to ex-

press their feelings by the music of words. They were pupils of the French *Parnassiens*, those vague and fanciful innovators or seekers after new forms and new expressions. Ahmed Hâşim was their most powerful representative, whose motto was : " Poetry is not expressive of a definite meaning. The fire at night is visible to those in the skies, but those who squat in the ditch will not notice it. The best poem takes its power from the imagination of the reader. The poem need not have clarity, otherwise imagination becomes vacant. Poetry must admit, like the words of prophets, more than one interpretation." The *Fejr-i-Ati* was a by-product of the times, it was carried by the Zeitgeist but the main lines of development pointed in other directions.

The history of a people is not determined by its geographical situation and economic structure only. Ideas imported from abroad and transformed in the soil of the national mind and, more than these ideas, the sentiments which are based on them, constitute the mightiest factors of history. Emotion drives thinking and action into channels prepared by material conditions, but it very often breaks through them. The dream of the Young Turks which moved on three planes, Ottoman ideals, Muslim ideals, and pan-Turkish or Turanian ideals, was foiled by material realities. The Balkan War with its nationalistic tendency on the part of the Christian States, was a natural challenge to the Turkish nationalism. Pan-Islamic feeling nobly manifested itself. Contributions from India in kind and money profusely flowed in and the sympathy was with the Turks. But this was a Platonic manifestation without material realisation. Nobody helped them in their deadly struggle and pan-Islamism proved futile as a political weapon in the ensuing Great War also. The Balkan War shattered the very structure of the Turkish State, which had only one link between the extensive and variegated provinces—Ottomanism, the cohesive power of the fiction of the House of Osmân. The House of Osmân was the real foundation of the Turkish State in the past. The State was Turkish only in so far as its official language was Turkish, but really it was a conglomeration of nations ruled by a guiding will.

The House of Osman was in no way inferior to any other ruling dynasty of Europe. Even among its last representatives we find talented men and women. Most were excellent artists, especially architects and musicians. The Great War broke this last bond. Turkey lay defeated,

crushed, and "the muddy boots of its enemies have soiled" the sanctuaries of Constantinople. The spirit of Turkey suffered the heaviest blows. It lost its hope in its century-old ideals; they all proved vain and illusory, but the spirit itself was not to die; it nurtured a new, a more genuine ideal which was to overcome the Past and to create a brighter future. This future is to be quite their own and real to the Turk, abandoned by his Muslim co-religionists and by his non-Muslim compatriots. It cannot be said that the new movement denied the Past. It denied that presentation of the Past which has become incongruous with Turkish political and mental life, and resorted to a more genuine interpretation of the Past, the Past of the Turkish people itself. Turanism has become an ideal, the language, the religious concepts, the brotherhood of the Turks who had been cut off from one another, scattered and subdued. This old unity of blood and culture must find an expression and must be realised. Zia Gök Alp utters it boldly

وطن نه توركيه در توركلره نه توركستان
وطن بويوك ومؤبد براولكه در توران

"The fatherland of the Turks is not Turkey nor
Turkestan :

The fatherland is a great and eternal abode : Turan."

In his book "The Foundations of Turanism" (*Turkchuluk Esaslari*) he soberly refrains from the exaggerations of most Turanists, who conceive a political and cultural unity of all peoples who speak languages more or less of *Ural-Altaic* origin. His conception is sociological; his sociology is that of Durkheim and restricts the unity to those Turkish-speaking Central Asiatic peoples who culturally too can form a political unity.

The slow transformation of the Turkish ideals from Islamic Ottoman towards Turanian is depicted in Hâlideh Edib's novel *Yeni Turan* which gained great popularity on account of its patriotic tendencies, and also secured literary fame for the authoress.

The advent of the new spirit was heralded by the foundation of the *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Home), a literary circle of young writers headed by Omar Seyfeddin, a very talented humorist, and Zia Gök Alp. This circle issued a review in most expressive and readable language

which breathed the spirit of Turanism. Russian Turks like Akchura-oghlu Yûsuf, an impressive speaker, and an Adherbayjani Turk, Agha-oghlu Ahmed, both imbued with Europeanised Russian culture, joined the circle. The old motto—purity of language—was enlarged into a return to the old Turkish ; and accordingly obsolete words and dialectic expressions crept into their idiom which were as strange to the ordinary reader as the far-fetched Arabic and Persian words. But life here again conquered theories and this extravagance was soon reduced to reasonable limits.

This activity in a purely literary field soon found wider scope. The activity of the young writers extended into social spheres and an organisation, first in Constantinople then in provincial towns, was created in order to educate young men and young women for the future task of nation-building. This organisation is the Turkish Hearth (*Türk Ocağı*) and its president the indefatigable *Hamdullah Subhi*, "the writer with an ever youthful face crowned with the grey hair of a sage." Perhaps he is the hero of Hâlideh Edib's novel, the intrepid organiser and champion of liberal ideas for the sake of his nation. The Turkish Hearth is an educational club, where poets recite their new verses, scientists and scholars deliver learned lectures, debates and social gatherings are held. An extensive library helps towards the formation of a progressive new spirit in Turkish society. Every organisation breathes success in its spirit and the evenings I spent in the gatherings of the Turkish Hearth convinced me that there is a mighty impulse that vivifies and strengthens this wonderful organisation. Here the taste for art and literature is formed and carried into the remotest village ; the enthusiasm which manifested itself in the appreciation of the best new Turkish novels in this circle shows that Turkish intellectual life has a future before it.

It is risky to pass judgment on the newest literature of Turkey, as we are too near to the time in which the works were written, and personal acquaintance with most of the authors rather blurs my sight than sharpens it. In many points I have to differ from the public opinion, and it is my advantage in some ways but in many ways my disadvantage, that I look at Turkish books with the eye of a sympathising foreigner only. I was not taken in by the idealising characterisation of Hâlideh Edib and her uneven style, and can explain her popularity by her great patriotic services only ; but there is no doubt that

she has done meritorious work in the formation of the new Turkish mentality.

I have to do full homage to Yaqub Qadri, an artist in prose with a musical accent. It was in the columns of the *Servet-i-Funun* that this musical prose of Qadri made its first appearance in an article entitled *Istimdad* (Help) in which he censured the extreme purists. His first novel *Serenjam* (Accident) is a plain story of a slave-girl in Egypt, but betrays the capacity for chiaroscuro of the author and his throbbing passion. His *Erenlerin Baghi* (The Garden of the Saints) is a parody of sainthood, while a similar subject is worked out in a masterly manner in his *Nur Baba* where he tells of the love of a believing woman, for a Bektashi dervish who tries to grasp the Inconceivable through the paroxysm of love. When the woman finds out that she is only a means to a noble aim, she acquiesces in her lot and finds peace in forgiveness. The novel created a great sensation. The Bektashis became a very unpopular order after the dissolution of the Janissaries, but some saw sacrilege in exposing their secret rites.

Refiq Khâlid is an able representative of Turkish humour. Turkish humour is something exquisite in its pungency and simplicity, and in bygone centuries, before Turkish literature had reached Europe, there was one book which attracted notice,—*The Anecdotes of Nasruddin*, whose wit, angularity, and shrewdness never fail to raise a laugh. Refiq Khâlid worked on this model in his *Kirpinin Dedikleri* (*Sayings of a Porcupine*), used his pungent tongue against the Young Turks, and ridiculed their awkwardness in politics. He parodied the old classical prose style of the historian *Naima* in describing the chief actors of parliamentary government, Ahmed Riza, Riza Nûr and others. This series of articles reflects, besides its travestied laughing-stock, the sadness and sorrow of those days to which so much hope was attached.

But it is not only the humorist Refiq Khâlid who deserves mention, but also the story-teller who can characterise his figures with such sharpness that they seem to step out of the pages. His description of Asia Minor (*Anadoluyu Nasil Gyurdum*) is minute and faithful but somewhat dry. It seems as if he possessed more negative critical than positive creative powers. His masterly language is fluent, sweet and full of witty metaphors. The political changes in Turkey compelled him to leave

the country. Such a sharp tongue cannot prosper while a new nation is being built. Perhaps his longing for his home will deepen his feelings and enable him to create a lasting masterpiece.

The humorist Refiq Khâlid had an able rival in *Omar Seyfuddin*, an officer who stood first in the movement for the new tone in literature. He fought with his sword in the war and fought with his pen. In spite of his death at a premature age his works have immortalised him in Turkish literature. His humorous short stories collected under the title of "High Heels" (*Yuksek Ukcheler*) betray a rare technique and a sober wit, and will be read for a long time to come.

Reshâd Nûri has gained the greatest success after the novels of Khâlid Zia. He deserves this success and reputation for he is a real story-teller whose novels favourably compare with similar productions of the West. He first started on his literary career as a dramatic critic and having acquired a fairly extensive knowledge of European dramatic literature, wrote some successful plays himself in which his technique excelled. He then took to adaptation, a very favourite form with the Turks since Ahmed Vefiq Pasha, who adapted the plays of Molière. Dramatic literature is the most profitable, and since Turkey was not a party to the Berne convention, any European play might be translated into Turkish without royalty. Reshâd Nûri's first novel was "Robin" (*Chali Kushi*), in which he tells the story of a self-willed girl who refuses to marry her fiancé on her wedding-day, because she learnt that he had enjoyed adventurous loves before her, and after an eventful ramble in Asia Minor finally returns, forgives him and gets married. The subject of this novel, which extends to 600 pages, is simple and from the point of view of technique many faults might be detected in it; but in spite of all this the story is so attractive that one reads it to the end. It is Turkish and it captured the heart of the Turkish reading public. The author has always a symbolic story to tell which underlies the subject of the novel.

Another novel of his, the title of which is *From the Lips to the Heart* (*Dudakdan Qalba*), also contains a nucleus story to which the novel forms an enlarged frame. Its melancholy, somewhat pessimistic tone is perhaps a true reflection of the Turkish temperament; this martial race is at bottom sad and sorrowful and susceptible to the tend-

THE ART AND COLOUR OF GWALIOR

I

THE APOTHEOSIS OF INDIAN RED

RAILWAY travelling in India is a very different thing to railway travelling in England. To take a train in India is no small matter ; it is often like taking furnished apartments for a few days. One covers a distance about three times the whole span of Britannia's Isle,—and back again ; and such an expedition is a very ordinary jaunt. The “ Flying Scotsman ” which is, I suppose, still the railway ideal of every British schoolboy, as it was of mine, is merely an excursion train compared to the Punjab Mail ! The Bristol-to-London run is no doubt a rapid business, but would be far too brief to cut much ice in India ! In short, railway travelling in England is a trip ; while in India it is a journey.

Not that the journey from Bombay to Gwalior is a very lengthy affair. You get into the train in Bombay at fifteen minutes past three in the afternoon, and alight at Gwalior after lunch on the following day. So it is but a matter of nearly twenty-four hours ; but one can see a lot of India in that time, and after the train has mounted the Western Ghats, we have all the wide Indian plains before us. I have heard this particular journey described as ugly ; but that must be in the cold weather, which is the trooping season for American and other travellers ; not when the whole jungle is spread out before one's astonished eyes, like an illuminated scroll, enriched everywhere with the brilliant scarlet flourishes of the Flame-of-the-Forest. When you behold this loveliest of all forest trees, not singly, but in battalions, you may be sure that you are reading Nature's preface to the coming drama of the Hot Weather. But that need not trouble you, for it is not too hot yet, anyway ; and the Flame-of-the-Forest groves are the most glorious and abundant red that has ever delighted your eyes.

Nature was of course the first, and is still the best, of our colour-co-ordinators ; the pale jungle with its hard-baked earth, sparsely sprinkled with dry stunted bush, only broken here and there near the railway with a field of *gram*, or sugar-cane, makes a neutral background, against which the trees can show off their amazing brightness to the best advantage. The vast plain is lighted by their annual flowering, but not equally so. Here and there, dotted over the expanse, the trees flicker like the countless watch-fires of a vast army, stretching as far as to the edge of the quivering horizon. Nearer at hand there are larger more vivid patches, where the massed blossoms have conquered and climbed to triumph above the greenery ; right below the embankment the whole forest seems to have burst into a splendid mystical conflagration, like that which the Prophet Moses beheld in the bush whence the voice of the Lord was heard—the bush that burned but was not consumed. The trees sometimes come close to us, so close that, as the train passes, we long to snatch a branch of their Promethean fire ; and we see how veritably torch-like they are, with the blossoms bursting from the higher, bare, grey branches, and all their heavy dark green leafage below.

Red is the colour of splendour, of rejoicing,*—just as black is the hue of awe and sorrow ; and there are no such reds as those of India. This is in some sort an excuse for the cheap pictures of India ; crimson oblongs, stamped with the silhouettes of mosques, or palms, which are supposed to represent Indian sunsets for post-card purposes. And India really is rather like these cheap reproductions of her ! It is true that one may spend a holiday in Vevey, or Montreux, without ever identifying the lake of Geneva with the “ Blue Leman ” of the highly coloured Swiss photographs ; but one has only to take a drive in Bombay, or to the neighbouring beaches of Varsova, to see the sunsets not only painting the sky with the most sanguine of hues, but “ the multitudinous seas incarnadine.” This red, communicated by the sky to the sea, seems to have crept into the terrestrial decorations of India. It is a holy colour, with which the devout daub the way-side images of Ganesha of the elephant’s head, or Hanuman the monkey god. In the deep jungle you will come unexpectedly upon a stone or rock with the red seal of its sacredness splashed upon it, or perhaps a tree-trunk

* There are exceptions to this general rule ; the draperies of Hindu widows are red.

similarly blazed. At Gwalior I saw an old tree growing inside a house, and smeared with the red paint that proclaimed that it was not as other trunks which happen to have become inextricably involved with the domestic architecture. Red paint is the symbol of mystical supernatural contacts between Men and the Immortals,—a vivid red, not unlike that of the Flame-of-the-Forest. The women spread the colour in the form of henna upon the palms and nails of their hands and with it decorate the soles of their feet ; and red is a sign of consecration like the single scarlet *kunkum* mark between the Hindu woman's dark arched brows. In the robes of the people red is the most prevalent colour, the common hue of personal decoration ; of *sari*, border, bangle, turban, *kummerbund*, and shoe. To see this colour in all the fulness of this personal application, you should go to Gwalior, and study the pageantry of the country carts ; their yoke of milk-white oxen ; the bevy of women, in scarlet, orange, and heliotrope, crowded in the rustic vehicle, making so glittering and lavish a spectacle, that the rich red of the earth which has dyed the huge wheels of the cart, as it has dyed the jungle thorn, looks almost drab in comparison !

This is the colour of the embroidery of the Royal elephants of the State ; as we see also in many passages in the Rajput and Mogul pictures. The flowers and flowering trees of India carry its glow from the gardens to the highways. The rose, the scarlet hibiscus, and the *canna* are its variations in the gardens ; the Flame-of-the-Forest, the gold mohur tree, the pomegranate, and the silk-cotton publish this passionate hue by road and field. The country people paint the horns of their bullocks, and the legs of their horses, red ; Goa is far ruddier than the reddest of our Devonshire lanes ; and there is the sandstone of the Indian buildings—the colour that Akbar loved, and of which he built the red city of Fathpur Sikri, and the great bastions and turrets of Delhi and Agra.

Alas ! for these royal preferences ! Red has been the colour appropriated to revolutions, and the riotous upheavals of populations ; as though turbulent humanity was willing to stamp its discontents with the effulgent hue which is sacred to the gods, and so should prove them to be divine ! And so all over India, whose record of wars, assaults, family feuds, rebellions, massacres, immolations, and assassinations is unsurpassed by any other country, however proud it may be of the annals of its militant past, it seems but fitting that there should reign

a glare, as of blood, in the fervent heat of noon, and that crimson intermingles even in the coolest shadows of the Indian night, as though they had failed to hide the blood of many victims. But these are grim fancies, hardly to be justified even by the law of artistic contrast ; for is not red the artist's true colour ? And has not the artist in many lands accepted Indian Red for his palette ; a warm ingredient, to fortify with its passionate glow the colder and less lively hues ? The mystical artist dreams of Deity itself in terms of colour. There is Brahma, the Creator, whose is the primary colour of yellow ; blue is for Vishnu the Preserver ; and red for Shiva, the Destroyer. And as this Triad is surrounded by a host of other divinities, who are but other aspects of the same, so the three primary colours multiply from within themselves all the innumerable hues and shades which go to beautify our world. And if it be pardonable to think of colour as an earthly interpreter between us and the Divine, then must the three primaries be of equal value, balancing one another in the scale, as every artist knows they do.

So red is not to be contemned for its materialism ; nor blue eulogised for its etherealness ; nor yellow put first, for all its sun-like radiance.

An imaginative writer has told a story of an artist whose pictures were all invested with a mysterious glow,—a glow that fascinated all beholders ; but as his pictures grew ever richer and warmer in colour, the artist pined and paled ; at last he died ; and only then was it discovered that the glow of his pigments had been provided by his own life-blood.

Sometimes we, strangers, who love the country, feel that there is a fatal secret in her uncommon and compelling beauty. Mighty indeed must have been the spell, great the sacrifice, that has spread that immortal glow through India's Art and Life !

II

THE FORTRESSES OF GWALIOR AND NARWAR.

There are some portraits in which the central figure is less interesting than its environment, and there are cities which shine chiefly by reason of their associations. Gwalior, like Edinburgh, is very markedly a city with a background. Yet the Fort, except for its boys' school, does not, I suppose, bulk very large in the present-day life of

Gwalior. People who recall it as it was about 1886, speak of its being then covered with rank vegetation, and the haunt of game and panther. Now the obstructions have vanished, and the wild beasts with them. The old buildings have emerged from their obscurity; and the Fort maintains the important *role* which it has played for many centuries as the dominating landmark of the country. The art it contains, and the thrilling stories it has to relate, give a wild and singular interest to that tremendous length of frowning scarp topped with palaces, towers, and battlements. When one goes, as is the custom at Gwalior, to the Morar *Bund*, to enjoy the cool of the evening, and looks at the Fort from a distance, when the sky is reflecting its paling features in the still, lotus-covered waters of the river, one can scarcely avoid being struck by the resemblance between this landscape and the view of the Fort at Agra, from the terrace of the Taj, about the same time of day. Only, instead of the mud flats of the Jumna, the view at Gwalior is embellished with green banks and verdant trees; and the middle distance, instead of consisting of an arid waste, is pleasingly broken by woods; while the lotus-covered "lake" forms the foreground. In spite of these differences however, the long isolated crag (Manucci correctly called it "a great mountain")¹ which contains the Fort of Gwalior is remarkably similar, in its distant silhouette at least, to Agra's citadel. Quite a small miracle, merely the clothing of the Agra flats with verdure, and the sprouting of lotuses in the Jumna, would, it seems, suffice to make the two pictures almost identical. But upon closer consideration the Fort at Gwalior develops its independence, by showing differences, —including its inaccessibility. For instance, to take an elephant in order to climb the old High Street of Edinburgh to reach the Castle, would be to cause a first-class sensation in "Auld Reekie"; but would be taking much more trouble than such a tame ascent is worth. Now, at Gwalior, when we wish to mount to the famous Man Singh Palace² on the very brink of the scarp, we first mount an elephant (outside the beautiful Gujar Mahal, at the foot of the crags) and the huge animal slowly hoists us up the ascent which is much too steep for any wheeled vehicle to tackle. And sitting and swaying on our airy perch as the elephant carries us up the rock, we acquire many giddy bird's-eye

(1) Irving's edition of Manucci. vol. I, page 69.

(2) The Hindu ruler, Man Singh, whose name it bears flourished A.D. 1486—1516.

views of the city far beneath our feet, and a healthy respect **at the same time for the enormous scale on which these** natural fortifications were designed by nature, and implemented by Man, the plagiarist. Either to glance down on the flat-roofed buildings, which the distance has converted into dolls' houses, or to look upwards at the grim face of the towering cliff, is a dizzy business, and seems even more so from an elephant's back.

However, if the ascent of the Fort of Gwalior from this side costs us a qualm or two now and then, it is a very much easier business than gaining access to the sister Fortress of Narwar, which is some fifty miles south-west of Gwalior. This aged citadel is engirdled with some five miles of fortifications on a hill that dominates the beautiful and brilliant valley through which runs the river Sindh. When I visited this famous spot, we came from the direction of Shivpuri; and I shall never forget the scene—a few miles before reaching Narwar—when the road begins to descend and there suddenly bursts upon one's view a wide and brilliant prospect. The vale was literally covered over with forests of Flame-of-the-Forest, in full resplendent bloom, with the blue river pools sparkling among the silvery rocks in the early morning light, and the grand old, many-arched Mogul bridge spanning it with the calm dignity of art and age. It was a scene not likely to be relinquished from the store-house of memory! Soon after crossing the bridge we came in sight of the Fort of Narwar confronting us rather bleakly from the top of a high hill, which greatly extended its length, and increased its height as we advanced along a road stamped with the relics of Mogul Art, ruined tombs, or crumbling domes. The town of Narwar, a confused cluster of whitewashed houses, colonnades, and cupolas, still huddles under its ancient Fortress; and the hill—for this is not a rock, as at Gwalior—has to be climbed on foot by means of a long, irregular, and very steep roadway—partly a road, partly a staircase, and partly a crude incommodious mixture of both! The climb is no joke in the increasing heat of the day, for the path is destitute of shade. There is not the uncomfortable sense of the void behind one's back, as on the rock at Gwalior, but the enormous old bastions, towers and ramparts, above our heads, cracked and seamed with many an ominous fissure, and obviously longing to burst their age-old fastenings, and to be at rest at last in the valley below, are anything but a reassuring spectacle. This is specially the case when we pass, lying across our

path, vast piles of debris—the ruins of buildings which have refused to defy Time any longer, and have dissolved the precarious partnership of stone and mortar, and taken the plunge downwards in what must have been a most thunderous and awful avalanche. The trouble is that the towering but doubtfully poised battlements seem on the verge of following suit ; and it is only after the long tedious trudge is over, and when we have safely passed under three tottering gateways, that we discover that the still surviving sections of the old city on the hill, though vastly ruined, stand upright upon their supports and, to our great relief, are *not* inclined at an angle of forty-five degrees.¹

After this comforting find, it seemed quite a small drawback to be told by the sepoy guards who had joined our party in the town, and accompanied us to the Fort, carrying rifles, that panthers and even tigers abound within the walls of the Fort, where the jungle has reclaimed much of the area once built on by Hindu and Muslim. In the old Rajput Palaces and a very ancient Mosque,² one may still find many legible traces, however, of the ancient occupants. In the Kachheri Mahal (which the Hindu legends say was once the palace of King Nala, renowned in the *Mahabharata*) some of the halls are still decorated with highly interesting paintings. Although these are much defaced, the scheme of these mural decorations may still easily be understood ; and a few figures in the pictures, yet survive. On the best preserved side of the room containing the paintings, we can see that the wall has been geometrically planned in oblong panels with floral borders, on either side of the central doorway. There was a dado below, which is now obliterated, and the frieze above the door contains the picture of an elaborate garden (with palaces on either side) with tanks, flower-beds, and walls laid out in precise formal symmetry. This panel is an accurate but not very artistic exercise in the science of Linear Perspective, with its parallel lines converging to the exact centre of the composition.

Two of the panels to the right of the doorway (from the spectator's view) show the remains of delicate, finished

(1) On the way up to this Fort the visitor passes a line of pillars which are all leaning. They are supposed to have thus done obeisance to the Hero, Nala, when he quitted Narwar for the last time.

(2) "The mosque by Sikander Lodi, built in A.H. 912 (A.D. 1506) in commemoration of the conquest of the Fort." *Directory of Forts in Gwalior State*. M. B. Garde.

and artistic workmanship. They are compositions of female figures, executed in the Rajput style ; each draped and bejewelled maiden being about six inches in height. The panels are painted in tempera on a white ground, polished to marble smoothness, as in the Jaipur *recipe*. The white ground was lightly washed over with a coat of Indian Red, and on this the artist worked. The colours are now sombre ; deep maroon, mauve, and black predominate in what remains. From the few fragments of plaster still adhering to the ceiling, it would seem to have been painted in livelier hues ; but it is too ruined to enable me to hazard more than a guess. The strict geometrical subordination of these mural decorations to the architectural requirements is instructive, and may be compared with the ornamentation in the adjoining hall (on the other side of the *gaddi* or throne)¹ which consists of elaborate floral designs modelled in relief and inset with glittering glass, (not unlike those in the Bathroom in Shah Jahan's buildings in the Fort at Agra). The main difference between these two apartments lies, not in the arrangement of the designs, which in both cases is strictly architectural, but merely in the different mediums of decoration.

After this long digression, let us transfer ourselves to Gwalior again, and once more visit the superb Elephant Gate of Man Singh's Palace—not on an elephant this time, but by the Western or Urwahi road which is not impassable for a powerful motor. Here we shall obtain further evidence of the methods by which Rajput and Mogul builders were able to reinforce the effects of their architecture by the use of colour. The eastern facade of this palace, which James Fergusson has described as "the most remarkable and interesting example of a Hindu Palace of an early age in India" and of which he says, "Nowhere do I remember any architectural design capable of imparting similar lightness to a massive wall" largely owes its unforgettable elegance and beauty to its colours. The bright splendid blue of the Indian sky which forms the background to the six cupola-crowned towers²—which seem to embody in themselves all the romance and fascination of an Eastern fairy tale—looks through the shot-holes of the battlements, and is miraculously *repeated* in the superb blue tiles which decorate these walls. This

(1) Supposed to be the throne of Nala.

(2) These cupolas were covered with domes of gilt copper when Babar saw them in 1527. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 76. (Fergusson).

decoration seems to blend the architecture with the sky ; the delightful greens and yellows introduced in the tiles (best seen on the South Wall) are brought in as simple forms, banana leaves, parrots, ducks, tigers, elephants, and crocodiles ; but all are relieved against that final ultimate blue ; just as the whole palace is itself relieved by a blue, which though it may wax and wane with the passing hours, has had its bourne fixed inimitably by the decrees of Nature herself. Raja Man Singh must have learnt the secret of this artistic rule of conformity. However, though such may be the purely æsthetic reason for the glorious colour values of the Man Mandir, there still remains the mystery of the technical achievement of these coloured tiles. *Perhaps* the craftsmen who made these were Persian ? *Perhaps* a Chinese design had inspired that frieze of yellow ducks ; which is repeated on the lower, the Hindola Gate ? Anyway the older colourists triumphed, as we may best realise by following the South Wall to its termination, and looking at the new tower which was added in 1892. As a copy of the original towers, this addition will pass well enough ; and one does not feel inclined to criticise its form or carvings. But in the attempt to reproduce the coloured tiles, the modern decorator has failed. The blue is either too heavy, and therefore out of relation to the sky behind it, or else too dull ; and the greens and yellows lack vitality. Alas ! One wonders how many other secrets of Eastern art perished with this one ! Fortunately the rich hues adorning the old towers are preserved ; and the architecture and *colour* hold us with a unique spell.

III

MEMORIALS OF THE MOGULS

One of the fine old Persian stories describes how a certain King of Kharizm, had heard of the beauty of a distant Princess, Husn Banu, by name. This story, in the somewhat stilted English translation, goes on to say : “ He therefore sent his own painter with the view of having a sight of Husn Banu, so as to have a portrait of her drawn and brought to him. The painter departed, and after several days arrived at Shahabad, where Husn Banu’s people, according to their general custom, attended and presented him with food, showing him every attention. After some stay, when about to take leave, they conveyed him to Husn Banu’s presence ; she kindly enquired into

his circumstances, and offered him money for his journey. The painter said, 'My wish is to serve under your government, and spend the remainder of my life on your threshold.' Husn Banu asked, 'What is your profession?' 'I am,' said he, 'a painter, who can delineate the moon from behind a curtain,' Hasn Banu then said, 'Well, you may delay your departure for a little'; and some short time after she began to consider in her mind, 'How can I get a portrait of myself, for the painter is a stranger? However what will be the harm of his delineating my features from behind a curtain?' The painter said, 'Most bountiful lady, do you stand on the roof of the house, and cause a vessel full of water to be placed below; then look down into that vessel.' Husn Banu did so, and the painter, seeing her form in the water, drew the picture, and went with it to his own house, where he delineated every line and mole that existed in the original. The tale goes on to explain that the painter "made two copies of the portrait, one of which he presented to Husn Banu, and the other he kept for himself.... The painter then conveyed the portrait of Husn Banu to his own Prince" whose heart was, of course, captivated by the picture.*

The interest of this romance lies not only in its tribute to the "cuteness" of the artist, but in its applicability to a good deal of the art which one sees in India. At Gwalior, for instance, the Mogul relics are few, but significant; they are a vivid parenthesis, as it were, in the

* *The Adventures of Hatim Tai*. Forbes' translation. 1869. Another ruse of a clever portrait painter to outwit the restrictions of the *Purdah* is described in the curious old Persian romance called "*Bahar-i-Danish*," or the "*Garden of Knowledge*," translated (literally) by Jonathan Scott (1870). The clever artist of the story, Benuzzeer, by name, had to obtain, somehow or other, for his master King Jahandir, the portrait of the Princess Baharawar. He professed to have in his possession (among the other gems he had shown her) a work of art of priceless value, which he could only display to her personally. Curiosity caused the Princess to agree to dispense with the conventional screen or curtain, and while she looked at the rarity, we are told that: "During the time of his being honoured with her exalting converse, with keen observation, and impressive skill, he had drawn upon the page of his mind with the pencil of recollection, the striking lineaments of her angel-like features: and being dismissed, on returning to his quarters, immediately took up his miraculous implements, and portrayed her likeness on a piece of silk so strongly as not to deviate a hair's line from the elegant stature and hoori-envied countenance (of the lady)." The artful artist having thus attained the end he had in view, departed with the portrait of the Princess and was warmly rewarded by his master.

story ; we obtain swift revealing side glances at the Moguls, rather than a full view ; we see the faint reflection of a fuller beauty ; much as the artist beheld the face of his mistress inverted in the bowl of water. Something of immeasurably lovely promise speaks to us from the minarets of the Jumma Masjid, is signalled to us across the valley from the Mogul Palaces upon the Fort,¹ and reveals itself in richer measure in the mausoleum of Mahommed Ghaus. But even in this grand building the Mogul's stately art seems to glimmer through a veil. The butterfly has not yet quite cast aside the film of the chrysalis ; may not yet show itself in the courage of conscious loveliness.² There is, however, a special sweetness about the early Mogul work, perhaps because, like modesty in a brilliant youth, it seems to promise great things to come. The tomb of Mahommed Ghaus, recalls to one's mind a vision, confused, but splendid, of Baber—deep drinker, mighty hunter, a pioneer ; of Sher Shah the Afghan,—builder of the lovely Purana Khila Mosque at Delhi ; of Humayun, the tenacious continuer of a broken regime ; and of the young Akbar, under whose stimulating orders, this tomb, which is comparable in beauty even to the Purana Khila itself, was built. The Saint was a great figure in his lifetime. " He was celebrated for the efficiency of his blessings ; powerful kings paid their respects to him ; his charities were unbounded, even to infidels ; he was totally free from pride or egotism and never uttered the syllable " Man " which signifies " I. " ”³

It seems therefore only appropriate that the arts of the Pathan, Rajput, and Mogul should have met, united, and conspired together in the building of this splendid memorial. The huge square of the tomb, one of the earliest of Akbar's reign, is surrounded by a noble gallery screened with *jali* or trellis work in stone, which I have never seen excelled anywhere.⁴

(1) I was unable to see the interior of the Jahangiri Mahal, and the Shahjahani Mahal, as these buildings are used as an arsenal, and are closed to visitors.

(2) The square-domed turrets show the transition stage in this work.

(3) From a printed notice on the tomb ; Archæological Department.

(4) In contrasting this and other beauties of the tomb of Mahommed Ghaus with less perfect Pathan work, James Fergusson says, " Something may be due to the fact that Gwalior was a city where building of an ornamental character had long been going on, and where consequently a superior school of masons and architects may always have existed. " .

History of India and Eastern Architecture. p. 291. The fact is that Gwalior is still renowned for the *jali* (trellis) work of its craftsmen.

Near this mausoleum lies the grave of the singer, Tansen, a very lowly tomb indeed. Yet Tansen is said to have been the greatest musician India ever produced;¹ he was one of the nine chosen worthies of Akbar's Court mentioned by Abul Fazl. He must therefore have been a brilliant artist; but in death it is not art, but sanctity that counts; and it was the humble Saint who received the memorial of this mighty dome and its tributary cupolas, at the hand of posterity, while the courtly artist was lucky to be allowed to rest in his insignificant corner of the spacious graveyard, within the shadow of the mausoleum. The old tamarind tree which grows near his grave is the singer's most charming memorial; musicians and dancing girls still repair to this tree, believing that by chewing its leaves they will obtain the endowment of a melodious voice. The Jumma Musjid in the old city, nearer to the universal background of the Fort than the Tomb of Mahommed Ghaus, is a later example of Mogul Art. When we have passed through the fruit-sellers squatting at the foot of the flight of narrow steps, taking care not to knock over the naked baby, with the large curious eyes, and the tuft on the top of its shaven poll, we dispense with our shoes at the small gateway and are free to walk in the quadrangle, a goodly portion of which is occupied by the tank. The parapet of the latter offers a vantage point from which to survey the facade of the building, the chief charm of which lies in its light and pleasing proportions. The most attractive architectural features of the Jumma Masjid are its graceful minarets, girdled by elegant balconies, and, like the mosque itself built of plain Bamora stone. Without changing our position we need only raise our eyes to behold the mighty shoulder of rock, which the Fort thrusts forward, on which the towers and battlements of Jahangir's palace look like an embroidered epaulette.

It is odd, perhaps callous, to think of the Moguls at Gwalior in wholly æsthetic terms; for them the great fortress served as one of the official prisons for Princes.² The ramparts that rise so majestically into view, when we approach the city by way of the Agra Road, must often have struck awe and terror into the heart of an unfortunate

(1) From the printed notice of the Archæological Department, at the tomb.

(2) The second State Prison (according to de Laët) was Ranthambore (Jeypore State) and the third was Rohtasgarh, in Bengal. (See footnote on page 106 of Constable and Smith's edition of Bernier).

captive carried in the guarded palanquin in dust and dejection to his doom. The room in this Fort in which Murad Bukhsh,¹ Aurangzeb's ill-fated brother, was immured, is not a dungeon, but a large circular apartment, its stone vaulting supported on massive round pillars. There are no windows, and the place looks gloomy enough even in the light of the electric lamps which have been installed for the benefit of visitors. What sadness, and despair, must this chamber have witnessed in the past ! What a *via dolorosa* must that steep stony ascent to the Fort have been, for the many who had but too much reason to endorse the wisdom of the ancient warning. "Put not thy faith in Princes !" It is behind the relics of the proud Mogul palaces² that the sun goes down. Seated near the grave of the singer, Tansen, with the soaring dome of the Saint behind us, we watch the sky over the citadel, turning swiftly to deeper, redder gold, against which the walls and kiosks of Jahangir's Palace start into sharpest relief. May we not take this spectacle for an allegory of the departed Moguls, their pomps and vanities ; their wisdom, pride, and power ? Fortune shone on them, as now, for a brief moment, the sun illumines these last relics of their greatness. And if we catch one brilliant impression of their fleeting art, against the fleeting glory, it is only to lose it the more irrevocably in the general dark. And yet, in the pride of his heart, Man still plans, and struggles, and vainly hopes to secure the shadow of permanence for the work of his hands !

(1) He was executed at Gwalior in December 1661.

(2) Jahangir and Shah Jahan added palaces.....the whole making up a group of edifices unequalled for picturesqueness and interest, by anything of their class that exists in Central India." Fergusson *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 176.

EPILOGUE

No impression, however slight, of the Art and Colour of Gwalior, would be complete without including the beautiful Gujarî Palace¹ (second only to the Man Mandir itself) at the foot of the Fortress, in which the excellent Archæological Museum is most appropriately housed ; here one is fain to linger and to learn. There are the old Hindu Temples of the Fort, with their unique claims upon the attention of the student ; there are the *Chhutries*, or Royal Cenotaphs of the Scindia Family, a series of richly variegated spires hidden in part by the abundant petals of surrounding sweet-scented flowers. There is the great Palace of the present Maharajah, with its regal Durbar Hall, wherein is to be seen what is probably the most mighty carpet in existence ; and where, among many other wonders, the lucky visitor may be allowed to inspect the State regalia, and the magnificent jewels, in a profuseness like that in the Arabian Nights. To these interests must be added the lavish colour in the life and customs of this picturesque and vigorous Indian City ; the rich mosaic of its crowded bazaars ; the noble elephants,—not the multitude that are sculptured in stone, on the beautiful brackets of the Gujarî Palace, or in the Archæological Museum, but the mighty beasts themselves, in their gorgeous trappings, painted up to the eyes, stately perambulating ; or tethered each on its separate plinth under the feathery *Neem* trees which form the only vaulting of their stable, tossing great armfuls of hay in well-earned enjoyment of the evening rest. ² But of these and other

(1) So-called because Man Singh is said to have built it for his bride, who was of the *Gujari*, i.e. Milkmaid Caste.

(2) The following describes the decorations of one of the State Elephants which I had an opportunity of closely inspecting. The elephant, which had been recently decorated, was covered with a cloth of scarlet and yellow, the Howdah being draped with fringes of green and scarlet, with gold borders. The uniform of the *mahut* was a scarlet turban and a tunic trimmed with gold ; and the attendant, or lance-carrier wore a similar uniform with green piping and white trousers. The elephant had been splendidly painted by one of the artists who specially understand and practise this branch of art ! His head, ears and trunk were azure-blue. Two large tigers were painted on either cheek ; their tails met about half way down the trunk, and the heads were arranged so that the elephant's eyes formed those of the painted tigers. In the centre of the forehead the arms of the Scindia family

of Gwalior's special treasures of interest, space avails not here to speak, for the evening offers its welcome respite to tired Man, that insatiable seeker after knowledge, as it does to the rest of the animal creation. I began these impressions with the jungle colours, the colours of that greater India which lies apart from the cities. Let us return thither, now that "the long day's task is done," let us journey, across the Tiger country, to Shivpuri, where the buildings are as red as the earth from which they spring; and over seventy miles of jungle separates the people from the busy metropolis of the State. Here we may walk in the Mogul Garden (of modern construction but antique inspiration) and look at the august memorials of the Princes of the ruling house. And then we may go down to the river, where the Royal house-boats, moored in a narrow and secluded channel, make a bright and cheerful show. The rocks, reddened by the sunset, shoot deep reflections far down into the quiet stream; and bright, overhanging *Jamun* trees, clinging to the crevices of the cliffs, mingle their greenness with them. Eastwards the river opens into a wide artificial lake, whence come the wild ducks to feed on the sedgy lip of the channel, and kingfishers to skim along its glancing surface. From the surrounding forest, ripples of perfume are carried towards us, by the cool-evening breezes, from the star-like *Karwanda*, and the pale mauve butterfly-flower that is called *Kutchanal*; and all along the banks of the river, the torches of the Flame-of-the-Forest are burning on the tree-tops. It is the hour of silence, and of thanksgiving; when the far-off voices of the Brahmani ducks, calling one another, alone break the hush, which is evening's gift; and when, after the long day's fierce struggle between the Earth and the Sun, India rests at last.

W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON.

were painted in gold on a red ground surrounded by floral sprays, and the ears of the animal were adorned with paintings of decorative leaves and red flowers. The front legs of the elephant were a bright yellow and his hind quarters and tale were azure-blue. The points of the tusks had been removed and the flat bosses were painted red and surrounded with heavy brass rings, which also encircled the tusks midway. A red collar with a double row of brass bells completed these splendid adornments.

TRANSLATION OF ASH-SHAMA'IL OF TIRMIZI

ABU 'Isâ Muhammad bin 'Isâ at-Tirmizî was born in A.H. 209—A.D. 824 at Tirmiz¹, an ancient city on the bank of the river known as Jaihûn (the Oxus) on which the town of Balkh stands. He was a celebrated *hafiz* and one of those great masters in the science of the Traditions whose authority was generally followed. His work "*al-Jami' as-Sahih*" (one of the six canonical collections of the Traditions) is the production of a well-informed man, and its exactness is proverbial. He had been pupil to al-Bukhârî and received Traditions from some of those *Shaikhs* to whom al-Bukhârî was indebted for his own; such were Qutaiba bin Sa'id² (died A.H. 241—A.D. 854) and 'Alî³ bin Hujr (died A.H. 244—A.D. 854-858). At-Tirmizî had an exceptionally good memory and was admitted on all hands to have been the *Imam* (the highest authority) of *Hadith* (Traditions) in his time. His *ash-Shama'il* is a highly reliable work concerning the social and private life of the Prophet. As it is the most authentic work on the life of the Prophet, it is being rendered into English so that it may be easily accessible to English-knowing persons unable to enter the original work. It is said that Tirmizî shed so many tears in the fear of God that he at last lost his eyesight. He died at Tirmiz in A.H. 279—A.D. 892. As-Sam'ânî, however, says in his *Kitab al-Ansab* (p. 106) that he died at the village of Bûgh (in the district of Tirmiz)⁴ in A.H. 275—A.D. 888.

(1) For different readings of the word *Tirmiz* see De Slane, *Ibn Khallikan* Vol. II., p. 602.

(2) For his life see De Slane, Vol. II., p. 680.

(3) For his life see De Slane, Vol. II., p. 280.

(4) For details of his life, see *Kitab al-Ansab* p. 106, *Ibn Khallikan*, Vol. I., p. 484; *Tabaqat al-Huffaz*, Vol. II., p. 207; *Mira't al-Janan*, folio 177; *Ithaf an-Nubala'*, p. 880, and Brockelmann, Vol. I., p. 161.

The Traditions of the Prophet have come down to us through a long chain of narrators. But, in this translation, I have mentioned only those who were the ultimate sources of the Traditions. The long list of intermediate narrators of each Tradition in the original has, therefore, been omitted as it was thought unnecessary for the purposes of this article.

M. HIDAYAT HOSAIN.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE

All praises be to God and blessings be on
His servants whom He has chosen.

Shaikh Hâfiz Abû 'Isâ Muhammad son of 'Isâ, son of
Sawra, of Tirmiz says :—

On the face and features of the Prophet.

Anas¹ bin Mâlik says that the Prophet of God, upon whom be blessings of Allâh, was neither very tall nor very short. His complexion was neither milk-white nor dark. The hair on his head was neither very curly nor straight (but had a moderate wave). God made him Prophet in the beginning of his fortieth year. After this he lived in Mecca for 10 years and in Madînah for another 10 years. And then God called him away (*i.e.*, he died) in the beginning of his sixtieth² year, while there were not even twenty white hairs on his head and chin.

Anas bin Mâlik says that the Prophet of God had a moderate stature, being neither very tall nor very short. His person was finely symmetrical and the hair of his head was neither very curly nor very straight; his complexion was tawny. When he walked he bent forward.

(1) Anas bin Mâlik died in A.H. 90—A.D. 708, or A.H. 91—A.D. 709, or A.H. 92—A.D. 710 or A.H. 93—A.D. 711, vide Ibn Hajar, *al-Isaba*, Vol. I., p. 139.

(2) Muhammad (Peace be on him) received the divine inspirations (*nabuwat*) in his fortieth year, the divine message (*risalat*) three years after and remained at Mecca after that for ten years. The Traditionists who have held the age of the Prophet to be 60 at the time of his death have omitted to note the period which elapsed after receiving the divine inspiration (Nabuwat) and before he received the divine messages (*risâlat*).

In other traditions we find his age to be 63 and al-Bukhârî asserts that most of the Traditionists hold 63 years as the correct age of the Prophet. There is another Tradition in which the age is mentioned to be 65 years. These apparent differences have been reconciled by learned Traditionists in the following ways :—

The age of the Prophet has been counted in multiples of ten leaving out the odds and fractions.

The Traditionists who hold the age of the Prophet to be 65 years at the time of his death have, in all probability, counted the years of birth and death as two complete years.

Al-Barâ' bin 'Azib¹ says that the Prophet of God was a man of moderate height and there was quite a good space between the two shoulders (*i.e.*, the chest was broad). The hair on his head was profuse reaching down to the lobes of his ears. The narrator once saw him (the Prophet) wearing red apparel. He (the narrator) says, "I have never seen anything more beautiful than the Prophet."

Al-Barâ' bin 'Azib² says, "I have never seen a person, in red apparel, having hair reaching to the shoulders, more beautiful than the Prophet. The hair of his head was such that it touched the shoulders; there was a considerable space between the two shoulders, and he was neither very tall nor very short."

'Alî bin Abî Tâlib³ says, "The Prophet was neither tall nor short; the fingers and the toes were thick, the head was large, the joints were broad and a long thin line of hair stretched from the chest to the navel. While walking he used to bend forward as if he was descending from a higher level to a lower. I have never known the like of him before or since. Blessings and peace of God be upon him."

Ibrâhîm⁴ bin Muhammad bin 'Alî bin Abî Tâlib says that when 'Alî used to give a description of the Prophet he used to say that the Prophet was neither very tall nor very short, but was of a moderate height among the tribe (of Quraish)⁵. His hair was neither curly nor straight but had a moderate wave. His cheeks were not plump and his face was not circular though it was oval in shape. He had a reddish-white hue. The pupils of his eyes were black and the eyelids were large; his was a heavy pair of shoulders; there was no hair on the body

(1) Al-Barâ' bin 'Azib died A.H. 72—A.D. 691, vide Ibn Hajar, *Taqrib-at-Tahzib*, p. 49.

(2) These two Traditions of al-Barâ' bin 'Azib (died A.H. 72—A.D. 691) which are similar in purport have been narrated in the text by two different Traditionists—the first by Muhammad bin Bâshshâr (died A.H. 252 A.D. 866, *Taqrib* p. 314) and the second by Mahmûd bin Ghailân, (died A.H. 239—A.D. 853 vide *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 348). Therefore both of them have been translated, although similar in purport.

(3) 'Alî bin Abî Tâlib, died A.H. 40—A.D. 660, vide *Taqrib a - Tahzib*, p. 272.

(4) He was a trustworthy authority on Traditions, vide *Taqrib-at-Tahzib*, p. 21.

(5) The Arabian tribe from which the Prophet was descended, and of which his grandfather 'Abdul Muttalib was Chief or Prince.

but a thin line of hair stretched from the chest to the navel; the fingers and the toes were fleshy; he walked firmly as if he was descending from a higher level to a lower and when he looked (at any person or object) he used to look full in his face or straight at it (*i.e.*, he never cast a side-long look, as is the habit of proud men.) There was the *Khatim-un-Nabuwat* (*i.e.*, the mark of distinction of being the last Prophet) between the two shoulders, and he was the last of the Prophets. His heart was much more liberal than that of any other person; in speech he was more truthful than all other men; by nature he was gentler than all, and in social life nobler than everyone. Whoever happened to see him on a sudden was struck with awe; and whoever came to know him by association could not help loving him. The narrator says that he has never known the like of him before¹ or after.

Al-Hasan² bin 'Alî said to Hind³ bin Abî Hâla, who used to describe the external features of the Prophet, that he (al-Imâm Hasan) was eager to hear something about them so that he might preserve them in his memory. Then Hind said that the Prophet was grand (*i.e.*, physically), in fact he was grandeur itself. His face shone like the full moon. He was of middle height, inclined to tallness but was shorter than very tall people. His head was large, and there was a slight curl in his hair. If there appeared a parting⁴ of the hair on the head he would let it remain as it was, and the hair of the head would not go beyond the lobes of the ears, when he used to gather it. He had a very shining complexion; the forehead was broad; the eyebrows were long and fine, but not joined; there was, between the two, a vein which anger would set throbbing; the nose was aquiline and there was a shining light in it; the man who paid no attention would consider that the bridge of the nose was high; the beard was thick; the cheeks were smooth.

(1) After this description of the Prophet the author gives the meanings of the different words used; these have been omitted by the Translator as being unimportant.

(2) He was the grandson of the Prophet, died A.H. 49—A.D. 669 or A.H. 50—A.D. 670. See *Taqrib*, p. 89.

(3) Hind bin Abî Hâla died in the battle called al-Jamal (A.H. 36, A.D. 656) vide *Isaba*, Vol. III, p. 1261.

(4) The parting of the hair appeared unintentionally, and when he used to gather the hair it only reached the lobes of the ear. From this tradition it appears that the parting appeared without effort.

In another tradition we find that the Prophet intentionally made a parting in his hair.

The mouth was wide and there were gaps between the front teeth. There was a thin line of hair from the breast to the navel. His neck was beautiful as a picture and silvery white in hue. His person was of moderate proportions, his body was fleshy but muscular; his breast and belly were on a level with each other; the chest was broad. There was some space between the two shoulders, and the joints were broad; the body shone brilliantly when bare. With the exception of a line of hair which joined the collar-bone and the navel, there was no hair either on his breast or stomach. The wrists were hairy and so were the two shoulders and the parts above the breast. The wrists were broad and the palms of the hands were wide; the fingers of the hands and the toes of the feet were fleshy. The fingers were long. The two soles of the feet were slightly arched. The upper parts of the feet were soft and smooth to such a degree that water poured on them would flow down. He walked softly and firmly with a rapid pace and a slightly forward bend, as if he was descending from a higher to a lower level. Whenever he looked (at anything) he would look straight into it; his eyes were always downcast, directed more towards the earth than towards the sky. The Prophet would often look at the things of the world from the corners of his eyes (as if in contempt). He would make his disciples walk before him, and would make his salutations first to any (Muslim) he would meet.

Jâbir¹ bin Samura says, "The Prophet of God had a wide mouth.² The eyes were of light-brown hue and the heels had a little flesh. I saw the Prophet on a moonlit night. He had a red cloak over his body and I looked (attentively) in turn towards him and the moon. He certainly appeared to me to be more beautiful than the moon itself."

Someone asked Al-Barâ' bin 'Azib whether the face of the Prophet was like the sword (in brightness). He replied in the negative saying that it was rather like the moon (in brightness).

(1) After the description of the Prophet, the meanings of different words have been explained. These have been omitted by the translator. Jâbir died A.H. 74—A.D. 698 vide *Al-Isabah*, Vol. I, p. 480.

(2) Among the Arabs wideness of the mouth, signifying fineness in speech, is considered a sign of beauty among men.

Abu Huraira¹ says that the Prophet had a white complexion as if he was made of silver.² There was a moderate wave in his hair.

Jâbir³ bin 'Abdullah narrates that the Prophet of God said⁴ to him "I was shown the Prophets (in dream or during the Mi'râj). All at once I saw that Moses (was light in body as if he) was of the tribe of Shanu'a.⁵ I saw that Jesus, son of Mary resembled 'Urwa⁶ bin Mas'ûd very closely. I also saw Abraham who resembled very much your companion (meaning himself). And I then saw that Gabriel resembled Dihya⁷ very closely.

Sa'id⁸ al-Jurairî relates that he heard Abû't-Tufail⁹ saying that he had seen the Prophet of God; and there was no one else (among the Companions of the Prophet then living) who had seen him. Then Sa'id asked him to give a description of the Prophet. He replied that the Prophet was reddish-white in hue, beautiful and of moderate temper.

Ibn 'Abbâs¹⁰ says that there were gaps between the front teeth of the Prophet. When he conversed it seemed as if light was coming out of the two front teeth.

On the Khatim-un-Nubuwwat.

Sâ'ib bin Yazîd¹¹ says, "My aunt took me to the Prophet and said 'O Prophet! verily my sister's son is

(1) Abû Huraira died, A.H. 59—A.D. 678 or A.H. 57—A.D. 676, vide Ibn Qutaiba, *Kitabu'l-Ma'arif*, p. 142.

(2) The complexion of the Prophet was bright and not white like silver. The comparison is in point of brightness and not whiteness, for the Prophet's complexion was reddish-white.

(3) Jâbir bin 'Abdullâh died after A.H. 70,—A.D. 689, vide *Taqrib*, p. 63, but Al-Manâwi in his *Commentary* Vol. I., p. 59 says that he died in A.H. 98 or 93 or 97 or 94.

(4) The Prophet's ascent through the seven stages of heaven to the presence of God.

(5) Shanu'a is a tribe in Yemen. The people of this tribe are light-bodied and have beautiful complexions.

(6) 'Urwa bin Mas'ûd came to the Prophet in A.H. 9, A.D. 630. For details see *Al-Isaba*, Vol. II, p. 1137.

(7) Dihya was a companion of the Prophet, reputed for his beauty. He lived to the time of Mu'âwiya, see *Al-Isaba*, Vol. I. p. 972.

(8) Sa'id al-Jurairî, died A.H. 144—A.D. 761, *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 143.

(9) Abû't-Tufail was the last surviving companion of the Prophet who died in A.H. 110—A.D. 728, *Isaba* Vol. IV., p. 207.

(10) Ibn 'Abbâs died A.H. 68—A.D. 687, *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 204.

(11) Sâ'ib bin Yazîd died A.H. 91, A.D. 709. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 188.

suffering from pain.' (Some narrators say that he had pain in his leg). Then the Prophet struck my (Sâ'ib's) head with his hand and prayed for my prosperity ; he then performed ablutions, and I drank the water (used in the said ablutions), and stood behind his back ; then I saw the *Khatim-un-Nubuwwat* which was between his shoulders and which was like the button of the curtain." Jabir¹ bin Samura says that he saw the *Khatim* between the two shoulders of the Prophet (and it was) like a raised piece of flesh, of red colour, like the egg of a pigeon. Rumaisa² says that she listened to the Prophet of God, (and if she wished she could have, owing to her close proximity with him, kissed the *Khatim* which was between his two shoulders). The Prophet said "When Sa'ad bin Ma'âz³ died the throne of the Merciful shook for him (*i.e.*, when his soul reached the '*Arsh*' it shook with pleasure)." Ibrâhîm⁴ bin Muhammad bin 'Alî bin Abî Tâlib says that, when giving a description of the Prophet, 'Alî⁵ used to relate a very long tradition (which is mentioned on page 2) and would say that the *Khatim-un-Nubuwwat* was between the two shoulders of the Prophet and that he was the last of the Prophets. Abû Zaid 'Amr⁶ bin Akhtab al-Ansârî narrated to 'Ilbâ' bin Ahmar⁷ that the Prophet of God said to him : "O Abû Zaid,⁸ come near me and rub my back ;" then he rubbed the back so that his fingers touched the *Khatim*. Then 'Ilbâ' asked 'Omar what the *Khatim* was, and he replied that it was a collection of hair.⁹

(1) See page 182, Note 1.

(2) Rumaisa narrated a tradition on the authority of 'A'yisha. The date of her death is not known. See *Al-Isaba* Vol. IV., p. 589.

(3) Sa'ad bin Mu'âz was killed in the Battle of Badr, (A.H. 2—A.D. 623) *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 141.

(4) See p. 180, Note 4.

(5) See p. 180, Note 3.

(6) 'Amr bin Akhtab fought 13 battles in the company of the Prophet. See *Al-Isaba*, Vol. II, p. 1242.

(7) 'Ilbâ' was a reliable narrator of Hadis. Died after A.H. 100, A.D. 718. See *Taqrib*, p. 268.

(8) Abû Zaid was the nickname of 'Amr bin Akhtab.

(9) Abû Zaid did not see the *Khatimu'n-Nabuwwat* with his own eyes, he felt it with his fingers and found a collection of hair. That was the basis of this description. Other Traditionists who saw its form and colour have versions of their own. Some compared it with the egg of a pigeon and some with other things. Everyone has described it in his own way. Some said that its colour was red, some green and some black. There was a mole on the *Khatimu'n-Nabuwwat* which some said was green and some black. Whatever this may be, the existence of the *Khatimu'n-Nabuwwat* is certain.

Buraida¹ says that when the Prophet came to Madīnah, Salmān² al-Fārsī brought a tray on which were fresh dates, and placed it before him. The Prophet asked what it was. He replied that it contained alms for the Prophet and his followers. The Prophet said that he (Salmān) should take it away, for they did not accept alms. The Traditionist says that Salmān took it back and came the next day with a similar present, and placed it before the Prophet. Then the Prophet asked him what it was; he (Salmān) replied that it was a present for him, then the Prophet asked his followers to stretch their hands (to partake of it). Afterwards Salmān saw the *Khatim* on the back of the Prophet and became a Muslim. Salmān was the slave of a Jew; the Prophet bought him for some dirhams³ on condition that he would plant date-trees, and Salmān would work in the garden till they bore fruit. Then the Prophet planted the date-trees, except the one which 'Umar (the Second Caliph) had planted. All the trees except one bore fruit that year. Then the Prophet asked what had happened to that tree and 'Umar replied that he had planted it. Then the Prophet took it out and replanted it, and the same year it bore fruit (like the rest).

Abū⁴ Nazra says that he asked Abū Sa'īd⁵ Khudri about the *Khatim* of the Prophet, that is, about the *Khatimu-n-Nubuwwat*, and he replied that it was a raised piece of flesh on the Prophet's back. 'Abdullah⁶ bin Sarjis says,

(1) Buraida died in A.H. 63, A.D. 682. See *Taqrib* p.49, and *Al Isaba* Vol. I., p. 296.

(2) Salmān the Persian was an inhabitant of Ispahān and was originally a Zoroastrian. He was in the society of many Rabbis and many of them advised him to go to Hejāz. At last he started for Arabia with an Arab who sold him to a Jew, who again sold him to another Jew. He came to Madīnah with his master. He had heard about the Prophet from the Rabbis and they had told him three signs of the Prophet. The first was that he would not take alms, the second was that he would accept presents, and the third was that there would be the *Khatimu-n-Nubuwwat* on his back. According to *Taqrib*, p. 153, Salmān died in A.H. 34, A.D. 654.

(3) Some say that he paid forty silver *auqiyah* and some say that they were gold coins. One *auqiyah* was equal to 40 dirhams.

(4) Abū Nazra took part in the battle of Khaibar (A.H. 6, A.D. 627). Some pronounce the name "Abu Nasra." See *Al-Isaba*, Vol. IV., p. 371. His full name was Al-Munzir bin Mālik.

(5) Abū Sa'īd al-Khudri died in A.H. 63, A.D. 682 or A.H. 65, A.D. 684. His full name was Sa'd bin Mālik, *Al-Isaba*, Vol. II, p. 166.

(6) 'Abdullah bin Sarjis was an inhabitant of Basra. He was a companion of the Prophet. The date of his death is not known. *Al-Isaba* Vol. II, p. 770.

"I came to the Prophet who was (sitting) with his disciples ; then I took a turn round his back in this way, (showing how he did it). Then the Prophet understood what I wanted, and pulled down the scarf from his back. I saw the position of the *Khatim* between the two shoulders like a small round piece of flesh. There were moles round it as if it was a wart. Then I ('Abdullah) advanced so near, that I kissed it and, addressing the Prophet, said (in ecstasy) 'Oh Prophet ! God has forgiven thee.' He replied "God has forgiven thee too." The people¹ said (to 'Abdullah) that the Prophet had prayed for his salvation. Then the narrator ('Abdullah) replied that it was for them too that the Prophet had prayed, and recited the following verse of the Qur'ân :—²

"And (O Prophet) ask pardon for thy sins and for the male and the female Muslims."

On the hair of the Prophet.

Anas bin Mâlik³ says that the hair of the Prophet reached half way down the ears. 'A'isha⁴ says that she and the Prophet were bathing from the same vessel and the hair of his head was higher than *Jumma*⁵ and lower than *Wafra*.⁵

Al-Barâ' bin 'Azib⁶ says that the Prophet was of middle size, and there was some space between the two shoulders ; and his hair reached down to the lobes of the ears.

Qatâda⁷ says that he asked Anas what sort of hair the Prophet had. Anas replied that it was neither very curly nor very straight. His hair reached to the lobes of the ears.

(1) Those persons to whom 'Abdullah related this Tradition said longingly that the Prophet of God had prayed for his salvation and that this was a great honour for him. They expressed their sorrow for not being fortunate in this respect, and 'Abdullah said that the Prophet had prayed for them also.

(2) *Sura* 47, verse 210.

(3) See page 179, Note 1.

(4) 'A'isha died, A.H. 57—A.D. 676. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 473.

(5) *Wafra* is the hair which reaches to the lobe of the ear ; *Jumma* is that which goes below the lobe of the ear and *Lumma* hangs on the shoulders i.e., the hair though not reaching the shoulders is below the lobe of the ear.

(6) See page 180, Note 2.

(7) Qatâda bin Di'âma as-Sadûsî died A.H. 117, A.D. 785, *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 234.

Umm Hânî,¹ daughter of Abû Talib, says that the Prophet of God came to her once in Mecca and he had four braided locks of hair. Anas says that the hair of the Prophet certainly reached half way down the ears.

Ibn 'Abbâs² narrates that certainly the Prophet used to let the forelock remain hanging. The heathens would part the hair of the head, while the People of the Book (the Jews and the Christians) would let the forelock remain hanging. And the Prophet would follow the People of the Book in matters about which there was no explicit order (of God). Afterwards the Prophet began to part the hair of the head (in the middle).

Umm Hânî³ says that she saw the Prophet wearing four braided locks of hair.⁴

On the combing of the Prophet's hair.

'A'isha⁵ says that she combed the hair of the Prophet at a time when she⁶ was in an unclean condition.

Anas⁷ bin Mâlik says that the Prophet used to apply oil plentifully to the head, and often combed his beard and used *Qina*⁸ invariably. He used to apply oil to such an extent that the cloth of the head turned into a cloth of the oilman.⁹

'A'isha says that the Prophet loved to begin from the right in performing ablutions, in combing, and in putting on shoes.

'Abdullâh¹⁰ bin Mughaffal says that the Prophet

(1) She survived 'Alî bin Abî Tâlib. See *Isaba*, Vol. IV, p. 976.

(2) See page 183, Note. 10.

(3) See above, Note 1.

(4) We find the Prophet's hair, in some Traditions, as reaching down to the shoulders, and in some to the lobes of ears. The reason is that the hair did not always remain in the same condition. Sometimes he cut it and it decreased. It reached to the lobes of the ears and the shoulders. The people who saw it in one condition or the other described as they saw.

(5) See page 186, Note 4.

(6) From this Tradition we find that when women are unclean they can serve their husbands; cohabitation is forbidden but it is lawful to sleep, eat and drink with her. To avoid her altogether and not even to eat food cooked by her are practices observed by the Jews.

(7) See page 179, Note 1.

(8) *Qina* is a kind of skull-cap used, after applying the oil, for the preservation of the turbans.

(9) That is, the skull-cap, called *Qina*, used to become saturated with oil. The Prophet's other articles of dress were always pure and clean as we find in other Traditions.

(10) 'Abdullah bin Mughaffal died A.H. 57, A.D. 676. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 217.

forbade combing every day but permitted it on alternate¹ days.

Humaid² bin 'Abdu'r-Rahmân narrates on the authority of one of the³ Companions of the Prophet that the Prophet combed his hair at intervals.

On the grey hairs of the Prophet.

Qatâda⁴ asked Anas bin Mâlik whether the Prophet used hair-dyes. Anas replied that the Prophet did not attain that stage (*i.e.*, the Prophet's beard was never so grey as to necessitate dyeing); the hairs, except a few in the temples, were not grey. But Abu Bakr⁵ applied hair-dye made of *hena* and *katam*.⁶

Anas⁷ says that he did not count more than 14 white hairs on the head and chin of the Prophet.

Simâk⁸ bin Harb said that he heard from Jâbir bin Sumura,⁹ when he was asked about the hoariness of the hair of the Prophet, that when the Prophet applied oil to his head, the grey hair could not be seen, but when he did not apply oil his grey hair would become visible.¹⁰

(1) It is not proper for men to apply oil and comb the head every day, for in this there would seem a desire for adornment which is proper to women.

(2) Humaid bin 'Abdur Rahmân died, according to Al-Munâwî, Vol. I, p. 107 in A.H. 75, A.D. 694 and according to Ibn Qutaiba, *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 123, A.H. 95, A.D. 713 or A.H. 104, A.D. 722 or A.H. 105 A.D. 723.

(3) The commentators said that this man was either Hakam bin 'Amar (died A.H. 51—A.D. 671. *Isaba*, Vol. I, p. 712) or 'Abdullah bin Sarjis (see p. 185, n. 6) or 'Abdullâh bin Mughaffal (died A.H. 57—A.D. 676. *Taqrib* 217),

(4) See page 186, Note 7.

(5) It is narrated by Muslim, the famous Traditionist, that Abû Bakr used to apply hair-dye of *hena* and *katam* and 'Umar only used *hena*. From this we learn that Abû Bakr always mixed the two in the hair-dye; for if *katam* only is used in the hair-dye the hair turns black-brown and this is forbidden.

(6) A species of herb mixed with privet makes a tincture for the hair.

(7) See page 179, Note 1.

(8) Simâk died in A.H. 123—A.D. 740. *Taqrib* p. 160.

(9) See page 182. Note 1.

(10) When oil is applied to the head the hair does not remain scattered but it becomes nicely arranged; thus grey hair is hidden among the black hair. Some men say that by the application of oil, hair becomes bright and it is owing to this brightness that the grey hair does not become visible.

Ibn 'Umar¹ says that the Prophet was not old but he had nearly 20 white hairs. Abû Bakr² said, "O Prophet, verily you have become old." Then he (the Prophet) replied, "The verses of *Hud* (Chapter 11 of the Qur'ân), *Al-Waqi'a* (Chapter 56) *Al-Mursalat* (Chapter 77), *'Amma Yatasalun* (Chapter 78) and *Idha'sh-Shamsu Kuwwirat* (Chapter 81) have made me old."

Abû Juhaifa³ narrates that the Companions said to the Prophet that they certainly perceived him becoming old. He replied: The verses of *Hud* (Chapter 11 of the Qur'ân), and verses of a similar nature made me old.

Abû Rimsa⁴ at-Taimî, of the tribe of Taim ar-Ribâb,⁵ said that he went to the Prophet accompanied by his son. The Prophet was then pointed out to him. No sooner did he see him than he immediately declared him to be the Prophet (*i.e.*, he at once recognised him to be the Prophet of God, because every feature proclaimed him to be the Prophet). The Prophet then had on him two green garments and his hair was such that it certainly betrayed marks of old age. The hair was red.⁶

Simâk bin Harb⁷ says that people asked Jâbir bin Samura⁸ whether there was any white hair on the head of the Prophet. He replied that there was none on the head of the Prophet but a little on the forehead. When he (the Prophet) applied oil, they became concealed.

(1) Ibn 'Umar's name is Abdullah bin 'Umar bin al-Khattâb, died A.H. 73, A.D. 692. *Taqrib*, p. 208.

(2) Abû Bakr said to the Prophet that although he (the Prophet) physically was in good condition, it was strange that he appeared old. He (the Prophet) replied that the above mentioned verses had made him old, because in those verses are descriptions of the Day of Resurrection and of hell. Anxiety and sorrow for mankind had made him old.

(3) Abu Juhaifa's full name is Wahab bin 'Abdullâh. He died in A.H. 64—A.D. 688, *Al-Isaba*, Vol. III, p. 1324.

(4) Abû Rimsa was a companion of the Prophet, died in Africa, see *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 419 and *Al-Isaba*, Vol. IV, p. 127.

(5) Taim ar-Ribâb is a branch of the tribe of Bîkr and, is distinguished from the Taim Quraish (a branch of the house of Quraish). Most of the authorities of *Hadîth* read *Ribab*, though Al-Hâfiz in the commentary of Al-Bukhârî said *Rabab*. Five tribes, of which one was Taim, took an oath of allegiance, plunging their hands into the *ribb* (dregs) of mustard oil and expressed their determination to remain united.

(6) Hair becomes reddish before turning white. It was either this reddishness or reddishness due to the application of *hena*.

(7) See page 188, note 8.

(8) See page 182, Note 1.

On the hair-dye of the Prophet.

Abû Rimsa says that he went with his son to the Prophet, who asked "Is this your son?" He (Abû Rimsa) replied "Yes, he is my son. You are a witness¹ to it." The Prophet replied "He (Abû Rimsa's son) will not commit crime for his father's destruction nor the father for his son." Abû Rimsa² said that he saw the Prophet's hair to be red.³

Abû 'Isâ⁴ says that this tradition is better and more clear than all the others contained in this chapter, because, by authentic accounts, it has been proved that the Prophet did not attain old age. The name of Abû Rimsa was Rifa'a bin Yathrabî at-Taimî.

Usmân⁵ bin Mawhib says that Abû Huraira⁶ was asked whether the Prophet used hair-dye; Abû Huraira replied in the affirmative.

Al-Jahzama⁷ wife of Bashîr bin Khasâsiya⁸ says that she saw the Prophet of God come out of his house wiping his head (to remove water). Obviously he had bathed and there was sweet-scented clay on his head or the colour of *hena*; (the narrator doubts the authenticity of the words used here).

Anas⁹ says that he saw the hair of the Prophet dyed. 'Abdullâh bin Muhammad bin 'Aqîl¹⁰ says that he saw the

(1) Abû Rimsa said this for the reason that his son might commit a crime and escape punishment and he might be seized for him because during the "days of ignorance" it was the custom to arraign the father for the guilt of his son and vice versa. The Prophet, to get rid of this belief, told him that there was no commandment to this effect in Islam. Neither would he be accused for his son nor the son for him.

(2) See page 189, Note 4.

(3) That there was no need for the hair-dye because the Prophet's hair was red. Hair turns red before it becomes white; and it is white hair that is dyed.

(4) Abû 'Isâ, the author of this work, made this comment on the above Hadîth.

(5) Usmân bin Mawhib was a reliable authority on Hadîth. He died after A.H. 100 A.D. 718, *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 261.

(6) For Abû Huraira see page 188, Note 1.

(7) Al-Jahzama was a companion of the Prophet who changed her name from Al-Jahzama to Lailâ, *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 70.

(8) Bashîr bin Khasâsiya was a companion of the Prophet. His name was Bashîr bin Ma'bad and was known as Ibn al-Khasâsiya. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 54, and *Al-Isaba*, Vol. I, p. 324.

(9) See page 179, Note 1.

(10) 'Abdullâh bin Muhammad bin 'Aqîl died after A.H. 140,—A.D. 757, *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 214.

Prophet's dyed hair kept¹ by Anas bin Mâlik.

On the application of collyrium by the Prophet.

Ibn 'Abbâs² narrates that the Prophet said, "Apply collyrium of *Ismid*,³ because it certainly enlightens the eyes and increases the growth of the eyelashes." Ibn 'Abbâs says further that there was a collyrium-pot from which the Prophet applied collyrium every night three times to each eye. The Prophet used to apply collyrium of *Ismid* before going to bed, three times to each eye. Yazîd bin Hârûn⁴ (in narrating this *Hadith*, which ultimately reaches through a chain of narrators to Ibn 'Abbâs) said that the Prophet had a collyrium-pot; he used to apply collyrium from it when going to bed three times to each eye.

Jâbir⁵ says that the Prophet said, "You all must apply *Ismid* at the time of sleeping, as it certainly enlightens the eyes and causes the eyelashes to grow."

Ibn 'Abbâs says, "The Prophet said that collyrium of *Ismid* is the best in this respect that it gives light to the eye and helps the growth of the hair."

Ibn 'Umar⁶ says that the Prophet said, "All of you should apply *Ismid* because it gives light to the eye and lengthens the eyelashes."

(1) Learned men have given apparently varying accounts about the Prophet's application or otherwise of the hair-dye. The truth is that the Prophet occasionally applied hair-dye in order to make it lawful for his followers, though the hair of the Prophet had never turned so grey as to necessitate the use of hair-dye. Thus, there is really no contradiction in the various traditions.

(2) See page 188, Note 10.

(3) *Ismid* is a collyrium-stone which is black inclining to red, the mines whereof are in Ispahân, whence the best kind is obtained. Lane's Arabic English Lexicon, Vol. I, p. 352.

(4) Yazîd bin Hârûn died A.H. 206, A.D. 821, *Taqrib at-Tahzib* p. 400.

(5) See page 188, Note 8.

(6) See page 189, Note 1.

(To be continued).

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN MODERN PERSIA

(Continued from our last issue.)

IV. THE LEGAL PROFESSION

THE pleaders (or practising lawyers) of Persia have still to win the status and the dignity of a liberal profession. Till very recently no qualifications were required for entrance to the profession; a certificate of the Minister was enough. But the meagre winnings of even its most successful members effectually prevented the profession from being overcrowded. 'The Law of the Principles of Judicial Organisation' restricted the privilege of practising in the law courts to Persian subjects over twenty-five years in age, who (a) were already practising in the courts and had to be accommodated in the new scheme, (b) or had been in the judicial service (*ba rutbai qazai*) for three years, or (c) possessed the academic qualifications required by the Ministry for entrance to the judicial service. With the passage of time, it is expected that the profession will consist only of persons who have obtained a decent training in law. Admission to the legal profession is not possible for the following:—persons who are under trial for crimes or misdemeanours or have been punished for these offences; persons permanently disqualified from the service of the State after a trial; paid employees of the central government and the municipalities; persons disqualified by the order of a law court or of the Minister of Justice; and persons not possessing full legal status (minors, lunatics, etc.).

But mere academic qualifications are not enough. Entrance to the profession is not a matter of right; it is a privilege granted by the Ministry. "Persons who hold the diploma of *Licensee* in law from a Persian or a foreign institution," a law of July 23, 1930¹ declares, "and fulfil the conditions laid down by the Law of Judicial Service,² may be enrolled in the Judicial Service or given a license to practise..... If the number of lawyers within the

(1) *Musawwibat*, vol. IV, p. 205.

(2) For these conditions, see *infra*, section VI, p.

territorial jurisdiction of a Small Cause Court or the Court of First Instance is not sufficient, the Ministry of Justice is empowered to examine candidates for entrance to the profession in accordance with a special Regulation, and to give them a license to practise. Such persons will only be allowed to practise within the area to which, according to the provisions of the Regulation, their license is restricted."

The license without which no lawyer can practise has to be obtained from the Ministry every year after the payment of a fee. Lawyers are, for the purpose of the fee, divided into three grades. In Teheran they have to pay an annual license-fee of Ts. 120, 48 and 6 according to their grade; in the provinces the fee for each grade is half of the above. The class to which a lawyer thinks he belongs must be specified in the account of income (*izharnamah*) submitted by him.* If the fee is not paid, the license is withheld, but it may also be withheld for other reasons. All pleaders are bound to obey the orders and regulations concerning them issued by the Ministry of Justice. The fee charged by them from their clients must not exceed 5 per cent. of the property involved. If a pleader is unable to conduct a case, it is his duty to inform the client in time; in case of his failure to do so, he is held responsible for the damage the client suffers through his negligence. In addition to such damages as the law may award, a pleader who cheats his own client is also debarred from practising (103-106).

If the judge or the public prosecutor finds that a pleader is incompetent in performing his professional duties or is guilty of improper behaviour, he must inform the Minister without delay. The Minister has the power of disqualifying a pleader and of demanding his administrative trial, which must take place within a week of the Ministerial order of disqualification. The procedure for trying lawyers and judicial officers is the same. If a complaint is lodged against a pleader by his client or if his trial is demanded by the Minister of Justice, the Departmental Council (*Mahkama-i Intizami*) is bound to examine at least the last three *dossiers* of the cases conducted by him; and after it has come to an opinion on the basis of the *dossiers*, the pleader's certificates or other evidence, it can debar him from practising altogether or confine him to particular

* The fee imposed by the Law of Judicial Organisation has been increased by the Law of Taxes on Trade, April, 1930 (*Musawwibati-Majlis*, vol. IV, p. 167).

courts.* A pleader, lastly, may be subjected to the following departmental punishments—written warning not recorded in his *dossier* (character-roll); written rebuke recorded in his *dossier*; temporary disqualification from three months to a year; restriction to particular courts; permanent disqualification (107-114).

“Judges of the court, officers of the *Parkah*, office-staff of the government departments, and *legal practitioners* are strictly prohibited from forming any combinations or unions for stopping the work of the court or the department, for hindering legal processes, or for taking any step to put forward their demands *as an associated body*. Infraction of this law will lead to immediate dismissal, and persons dismissed shall not thereafter be taken into government service or allowed to practise before the law-courts.”

The reorganised legal profession of Persia is barely five years old and criticism seems premature. The laws and regulations which fetter it at present are more suited to a boarding-house of school-boys than to the members of a liberal profession. The annual license is an unnecessary insult. The fee is not high; in fact the leading lawyers of Teheran pay less for their licenses than the proprietors

* The heading ‘*Mamnu’ul Wakalat*’—‘Prohibited from Practising’—often attracts one’s attention in the Official Gazette of the Ministry of Justice. The procedure of the Departmental Court generally consists of two stages; first, a temporary suspension pending inquiry and then final decision. The number of lawyers punished is alarmingly large—about three lawyers, on a rough estimate, are either suspended or finally prohibited from practising every week. Very few of those suspended are acquitted after inquiry. I selected a few proclamations at random:—

i. ‘Saiyid Raza Khan Najafi, lawyer (*vakil-i adaliah*) has been charged with corruption under clause 108 of the Law of the Judicial Organisation and is incapable of appearing as a counsel before any court of law till the final order.’ (28 Shehriwar, 1310).

Daud Pirnia, Director of Statistics, Ministry of Justice.

ii. ‘Saiyid Sadiq Khan Qazi, lawyer, Barfarush, who was previously suspended from the profession under clause 108 of the Law of Judicial Organisation, is now, under Order No. 988 of the august Departmental Court, publicly debarred from practising as a lawyer.’ (29 Shehriwar, 1310).

iii. ‘Tajuddin Mubarak, lawyer, Mohammerah, who had been suspended under clause 108 of the Law of Judicial Organisation, is now definitely deprived of the privilege of practising as a lawyer by Order No. 868 of the august Departmental Court and may not appear as a counsel before any court of law.’ (22 Shehriwar, 1310)

of automobiles in the provinces.* But a permanent certificate with an annual income-tax would be more suited to the dignity of the profession and more profitable to the exchequer of the State. The certificate may be taken back, as in other countries, on the commission of specified offences ; but a man who enters the profession should be able to look ahead with some confidence and not feel that his livelihood is at the mercy of officers who control the Ministry of Justice. The question of a lawyer's efficiency is also one which the Ministry might, after seeing that no unqualified persons enter the profession, safely leave to the discretion of the client ; a lazy or incompetent lawyer gets no brief and that punishment is enough.

The prohibition of combinations and associations among lawyers raises a question of fundamental importance. At present the profession is treated for most purposes, except payment of salaries from the public treasury, as a part of the State services. Is this right ? No State can permit the formation of trade unions among the senior officers upon whom it depends for the execution of its orders. But associations among the subordinate staff for non-political purposes is a different question ; and the more progressive States of the modern world are not afraid of permitting such associations under suitable restrictions. The legal profession, on the other hand, can never work well without considerable power of combination for professional purposes. Neither the State-police nor the public prosecutors of the Ministry of Justice can prohibit the sharp practices of unscrupulous lawyers so effectively as the public opinion of the profession itself. And this opinion will never develop unless sufficient powers of regulating its own affairs are given to the profession. The power of issuing licenses and certificates should, in principle, belong either to the profession organised as a corporation or to the High Court ; it cannot for long and with safety be left in the hands of a member of the Cabinet. In England, as is well-known, these powers rest in the hands of legal corporations, known as the Inns of Courts ; and the success of other countries, it may be safely declared, has been proportioned to their power of incorporating in their legal system the principle of an independent and irresponsible judiciary morally checked and controlled by the opinion of a self-regulating and autonomous legal profession. Professional etiquette and professional honour

* The former have to pay Ts. 120 and the latter Ts. 180 a year.

can only grow on the soil of professional liberty. Where the legal profession is degraded, neither can the law-courts attain to honour; if dirt is cast at the one, it will inevitably smear the other. The political development of the modern world owes much to the legal profession; it has placed in the field of practical politics a large number of honest, influential and fair-minded men who have nothing to gain or to lose by the favours of the executive; and, more important than that, it has imbued millions of men and women, who have never been inside a law-court with that 'sense of legality'—respect for the judiciary, respect for an established system of rights and duties, respect for the constitutional and legal frame-work of the State—which more than anything else is necessary for the preservation and welfare of a modern State. The legal profession of Persia, at present in its cartilage, perhaps needs the strong control of the Ministry and the *Parkah*. But the sooner these painful restrictions are removed, the better.

V. THE JUDICIAL SERVICE

The permanent judicial service of the country is now organised according to the Law of Judicial Service* (February 19, 1928) as amended by subsequent laws and supplemented by the inevitable Regulations of the Ministry. As the general rules of the Civil Service apply to the judicial officers also, only rules peculiar to the latter need be discussed here.

Judges, officers of the *Parkah* (public prosecutors as well as government pleaders), Investigators (*mustantiq*) and Judicial Inquirers (*muftishin-i quzai*) are treated as members of the same service, divided into the following eleven grades:—

- I. Judges of the Petty Courts (second class)—salary, Ts. 50 a month.
- II. Judges of the Petty Courts (first class), Substitute Judges of the Courts of First Instance (second class)—salary, Ts. 62 a month.
- III. Judges of the Small Cause Courts (second class), Substitute Judges of the Courts of First Instance (first class), Investigators (fourth class);

* Or more exactly, 'Law on the service of the Judges, Officers of the *Parkah* and of the Department of Registration (*Qanun-i Istikhdam-i Quzzat wa Sahibmansaban-i Parkah wa Mubashirin-i Sabt-i Asnad*); *Musawwibat*, vol. IV, p. 167.

- Government Pleaders of the First Instance Courts (fourth class)—salary, Ts. 77 a month.
- IV. Judges of the Small Cause Courts (first class), Government Pleaders of the First Instance Courts (third class), Investigators (third class)—salary, Ts. 96 a month.
- V. Judges of the Courts of First Instance (second class), Investigators (second class), Government Pleaders of the First Instance Courts (second class)—Salary, Ts. 120 a month.
- VI. Judges of the Courts of First Instance (first class), Government Pleaders of the First Instance Courts (first class), Investigators (first class), Judges of Commercial Courts (second class), Assistant Public Prosecutor of the Court of Appeal, Public Prosecutors of the Courts of First Instance (second class), Judicial Inquirers (second class), Substitute Judges of the Court of Appeal—Salary, Ts. 150 a month.
- VII. Judges of the Courts of Appeal, Government Pleaders of the Courts of Appeal, Judges of the Commercial Courts (first class), Chief Judges and Public Prosecutors of the Courts of First Instance; Judicial Inquirers (first class)—salary, Ts. 187 a month.
- VIII. Senior Judges of the Sections of the Courts of Appeal—salary, Ts. 233 a month.
- IX. Chief Judges and Public Prosecutors of the Courts of Appeal, Ordinary Judges (*mustashar*) of the High Court, Second Assistants to the Public Prosecutors of the High Court—salary Ts. 291 a month.
- X. Senior Judges of the Sections of the High Court, First Assistant to the Public Prosecutor of the High Court—salary, Ts. 363 a month.
- XI. Chief Justice and Public Prosecutor of the High Court—salary, Ts. 453 a month.*

The first nine grades of the judicial, are considered equal to the corresponding nine grades of the administrative service; the last two grades (X and XI) are peculiar to the judicial service. A judicial officer may not be

* The salary figures in this table have been worked out for me by Agha Ittisami of the Ministry of Finance.

transferred even to the same grade of the administrative service without his consent, nor may a judge be appointed a public prosecutor in the same grade unless he so desires. The salaries of the grades are determined according to the following principle. The salary of the first grade is fixed by the annual budget. It is 50 Ts. a month at present. Thereafter, a person at the time of his promotion to a higher grade gets the salary of the grade which he has left *plus* one-fourth more, all fractions of *tumans* being kept back for the benefit of the public treasury.* In case an officer is directed to work in a district far from his place of habitual residence, he is entitled to an allowance ; but this allowance may not be more than one-fifth of his salary (7 and 9).

* The Law of Judicial Organisation, in this respect, follows the provisions of an earlier law on the Determination of the Salaries of Judicial Officers (*Ta'iyun-i Huquq-i Rutba-i Quzai*) : " I : Salaries of Judicial Officers shall be as follows :—Salary of the first grade, Ts. 50 ; salaries of all higher grades up to the eleventh grade, one-fourth in excess of the next lower grade, all fractions (of Ts.) to be kept back for the benefit of the public treasury.

" *N.B.*—(I) The tenth grade shall only be given to the three senior justices of the High Court and to the First Assistant of the Public Prosecutor of the High Court ; and the Ministry of Justice shall in no case be entitled to appoint more than four officers in this grade.

" *N.B.*—(II) The eleventh grade is the exclusive privilege of the Chief Justice and the Public Prosecutor of the High Court, and may in no case be given by the Ministry of Justice to more than two persons at the same time." *Musawwibat*, vol. III, p. 34.

MOHAMMED HABIB.

(To be continued.)

THE FOUNDATIONS OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN RELIGION

PART IV

WE have now concluded our brief study of the cult of the dead in its first branch, as developed in Egypt—a branch which constituted by far the widest and deepest element in religion throughout the world. The second branch, the cult of Osiris and the dead king (see vol. VI, p. 559), is of a later and more particular origin and will be discussed after that of the living king; we will now enter on the study of the Mother-goddess whose cult preceded that of Osiris and belongs to a very ancient stratum of religion, next to that of the dead.

The latter arose, as we have seen, in the earlier part of the Old Stone Age, when man was of a different species from the present *homo sapiens*, but the earliest appearance of the mother-figure, prototype of the mother-goddess, was in the Aurignacian period of the Later Palæolithic Age when the species *sapiens* prevailed. At this time a system of sympathetic magic is found strongly established; it was much employed for success in hunting (see p. 50) but extended to other objects also, notably the maintenance of the race in sufficient force to pursue its hunting career amidst the great dangers surrounding it, which were multiplied exceedingly by the length of time passed in defenceless childhood, in comparison with most animals. Reference has already been made on pp. 200 and 210 (note) to the ignorance of primitive man about the physiology of paternity; the only source of human life known to him was woman and therefore, to ensure replenishment wherewith to maintain the strength of the group to which he belonged, he fashioned magical images of her, rich in the physical features of motherhood—phallic symbols and rites were to follow later when the physical facts had been discovered. These figures are found in the ritual caves which contain the images of the animals of the chase referred to on p. 50 and there can be little doubt of their ritual

character. They are usually strange little objects, squat and very fat, a characteristic example being the limestone statuette called the "Willendorf Venus" (*note 1*). These figurines should preferably be termed 'mother-figures' and not 'mother-goddesses,' both on account of their apparent purpose and because we cannot know how far, if at all, the idea of god or goddess had then been formed in the human mind; when that idea does emerge in clear outlines we find a mother-goddess established in every ancient civilization, Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Indian; she is the kindly source of fertility and prosperity and her powers have expanded with the rise of agriculture till she has become, in many cases, Mother Earth. The magic figurines must always have been objects of great veneration which passed—we know not how or when—into actual worship and thus the goddess was formed. Fertility was the first virtue attached to the figurines but, as the earthly mother suckles and protects her infant, so did her divine counterpart provide nourishment for her people and spread over them her maternal care and general protection; this favour was extended to the dead in the Underworld, so full of terrors, and the figurines were accordingly placed in their tombs (in the Late Period of Egypt there is an interesting variant of this practice: lids of infants' coffins in rough terra-cotta were uncouthly shaped as mother-figures; see E. R. Ayrton and others, *Abidos*, vol. III, pls. xxiii, 5 and xxviii, 5). Later, with the building of stable temples, the figurines were placed among the foundation-deposits, thus giving the divine mother's protection to the houses of the very gods.

The cult of the mother-figure was very general in the ancient world, extending, besides Egypt, to Mesopotamia, Persia, India (Mohenjo-Daro), Turkestan and the regions to the north-west of India (Waziristan, Baluchistan, Seistan—see Sir Aurel Stein's reports in the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*); they are found in all regions of the Eastern Mediterranean and the parts of Europe into which agriculture and civilization first penetrated with the prospectors for precious metals; their influence travelled thence to the West of Europe and traces of the divine protectress of the dead still remain among the menhirs of France and the British Isles; in another direction her image is found in ancient Siberia, as Tallgren has recently shown (see *Man*, July, 1932, p 168). The extreme of exaggeration in physical features appears in Malta, especially at Hagiar Kim; here, it would appear,

this exaggeration came to be connected essentially with divinity.

Two conclusions have now become clear: first that the original bases of goddess-worship are far different from those of the male gods, and next, that this worship extended, essentially the same, throughout the ancient civilized world and thus the Egyptians, here again, were actuated by ideas common to most of mankind, though their later developments in the matter took their own particular shape.

In Egypt the first objects of ivory and earthenware, which may be taken to represent the mother-figure, belong to the Badarian age. In the succeeding period, the Early Predynastic, the figurines, of stone or earthenware, are sometimes decorated with figures of animals such as were painted in white on the red pots of the period, with the object of providing food for the tenant of the tomb (see p. 50 and vol. VI, p. 567); they were presumably considered as suitable vehicles for that purpose. They were often modelled with outstretched arms, a gesture which may be interpreted as that of protection, that being a general function of the goddess. The amuletic use of the figurine continued till the dawn of Christianity; its form sometimes varied but the broad-hipped type predominated, usually with prominent gluteus, as in the oldest examples—breadth of hips seems to have been thought a natural feature of goddesses, presumably as symbol of the fertility which was their special charge.

Besides the functions of fertility and protection noticed above, there remains a third, nourishment, symbolized by the representation of large breasts or, in very late times, by a fanciful multiplication of breasts, as in the well-known type of "Diana of Ephesus." This function is probably signalized, too, by the posture of the arms in most of these figures from the beginning of the New Empire; they lie across the chest, upholding the breasts and bringing them prominently to the notice of the devout. This pose prevailed in all other regions where the figure is found, notably in Mesopotamia where it existed from the earliest times; its vogue in Egypt was probably due to Eastern influences coming in with the Hyksos conquerors, for they brought with them their Semitic goddesses—Ishtar, Anat, Qadesh—who remained in the country after the Hyksos were expelled and were accepted into the company of national deities because, doubtless, of their

affinity with the original Egyptian goddess ; the conventional pose of the imported goddesses was that just described and its adoption in Egypt may have been due to them. From this time onward it became in Egypt, as in other countries, the usual convention for the mother-figure.

Another pose is found, but rarely in Egypt, with one hand covering the breast and the other the lower front part of the trunk ; it is common in representations of Aphrodite, the Greek avatar of the mother-goddess, a famous example being the "Venus dei Medici," done in the mode of the Cnidian Aphrodite ; the pose has been commonly interpreted as pointing to what are termed, in eighteenth-century phrase, "female charms," but it should rather be taken as indicating, at least in its origin, the two physical functions proper to the mother-goddess, fertility and nourishment. A more emphatic method of representing her nutritional function is to show her nursing an infant ; this was, in Mesopotamia, the conventional pose of the goddess of child-birth, Nintud, one of the manifestations of Nin-khur-sag ; figurines of women carrying children are known from very early times but none have apparently survived showing the suckling of the babe, though there are some indications that it was used then, for archaizing examples have been found, belonging to the Saitic period, which appear to have been copied from models of the Old Kingdom—a common practice in that period. Terra-cotta examples dating from the 12th Dynasty are known ; one is exhibited in the British Museum with two infants on the lap, while in the Berlin Museum a beautiful group in copper, of the same age, has been given a precise definition agreeing with current theology, for it bears on the base the name of Isis. This is unique, or nearly so, as is a fragmentary little jug, of fine red earthenware, dating from the 18th Dynasty, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, which is modelled in the convention which became later, in the Saitic period, rigidly conventional. It is not till the latter period that we meet with many examples and then they are very numerous—but of course objects of that comparatively late period have a much greater chance of surviving than the earlier ones and there may well have been many more of the earlier ones than their present rarity would indicate. The Saitic examples are, with rare exceptions, referred to Isis and Horus whose popular worship rose at that time to a great height, to be continued and even enhanced in later

ages, till the rise of Christianity, and spreading besides to countries outside Egypt : the Horus infant has usually his finger to his mouth and wears a lock of hair down one side of his face, both features being Egyptian conventions to denote youth—the Greeks, misinterpreting them, took Harpocrates (the Greek form of the Egyptian phrase “Horus the Youth”) as the God of Silence (*note 2*). A group in terra-cotta, illustrated in my article in the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology* (pl. X, 1) is in the Greco-Roman style of art and might at first sight be taken for an Italian image of the Madonna and Child, showing us, incidentally, how near the latter group is to that of the earlier pagan one which has undoubtedly exercised on it great formative influence traceable in many another significant detail (*note 3*).

It is evident that the jug mentioned above, modelled in the form of the sacred group, is not the invention of an artist in genre, but that the vessel must have had a special use connected with holy things, perhaps ritual : the jug-idea is exceedingly old, dating to the Early Predynastic age from which some specimens have survived in the shape of the mother-figure with her broad, more than merely matronly, hips ; made of burnished earthenware, black or red, they are but summary representations, lacking arms and head and with breasts of no conspicuous size ; but they formed convenient receptacles for a liquid which was doubtless of a sacred nature and equated, as Dr. Naville suggested long ago, with the goddess's milk. A jug of the black incised ware of the Early Predynastic age, a little later than the foregoing, is shaped in the regular fashion of the Mesopotamian figurines, broad-hipped, with hands supporting the breasts, and wearing a necklace. From the 11th Dynasty a fragment has survived of a mother-pot—as these vessels have been named—which has the breasts pierced with holes to allow the passage of the liquid, thus emphasizing the symbolism of the jar : in the 18th Dynasty roughly made vessels were modelled with hollow breasts elongated to form prominent spouts ; others are without heads and have only rudimentary arms but are provided with ample rows of necklaces. The little red jar of the same Dynasty, previously mentioned, of fine burnished ware, carries the mother-theme still further, being shaped as Isis nursing Horus on her knees. The mother-pot has been found as late as the Ptolemaic period and so it ranges, like the mother-figure, through the whole of Egyptian history.

The amuletic use of the figure was not confined to graves and foundation-deposits of temples; certain finds in the temple of Deir el-Bahri of the 18th Dynasty and the great number of specimens surviving from the later periods, often in bronze, indicate that it served also as a popular charm, made probably, like other amulets, by temple servants.

The popular cult of the mother-figure prevailed, as we have seen, in all ages of ancient Egypt and was shared by the whole country. Each town had its local goddess, as we can deduce from the cult of Hat-hor which was founded on that of the figure, just as in India each Hindu village has its *mariamma* (see p. 211), and, as in India these local goddesses are often equated with the great ones of Hinduism, so in Egypt they come to be identified with Hat-hor; thus it arises that in the later period Hat-hor is recorded, in an inscription on her temple at Denderah, as the local goddess of a great number of towns; and in places where there was a cult of other definitely named goddesses, she was identified with them (see Lanzzone, *Diz. Mit. Eg.*, pp. 872-887, and Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. I, pp. 431-4).

At some time the mother-figure, as noted previously, became personified as a fertility goddess, adding later to this quality, in some countries, when agriculture became supreme, that of Mother Earth—a natural development, specially noticeable in India. In Mesopotamia Nin-khursag is one of the earliest of her avatars, another typical one is Nin-tud, goddess of childbirth, but the best known is Ishtar, the Ashtoreth of the Hebrews and Astarte of the Greeks, famed as the goddess of love—again a natural development, in view of her original function. The goddess, then, took a multitude of forms, in Mesopotamia as in India, where indeed she is addressed in hymns as possessor of countless names and forms and her interchangeability with other goddesses is treated as an enhancement of her glory. Hat-hor, in an inscription at Denderah, receives the same epithets (see Lanzzone *op. cit.*, p. 866) and Plutarch attributes the title “myriad-named” to Isis in her Hathorian quality. Hat-hor was the early Egyptian personification of the mother-figure; her name signifies “the house of Horus,” that is, the centre, or seat, of the Horus-tribe which so beneficially unified the country (see pp. 205-7); a text referred to by Lanzzone (*op. cit.*, p. 880) calls the goddess *Mut-her*, that is, “the mother of Horus,” while Plutarch interprets the name as

"the Earthly House of Horus" and some scholars, led perhaps by the remarks of Plato as quoted by Plutarch, take the name to mean the place whence Horus sprang, in other words, the womb which bore him, thus making of Hat-hor his mother as indeed she became, in a later myth. She first appears at the beginning of the dynastic age, with the cow's horns and ears which were always her attributes and which of course must have originated as such in the predynastic period: of this proofs are evident in a palette of the Later, or even Middle, stage of that period, which was carved in low relief with her cow-head, somewhat stylized and accompanied by stars, and also in the contemporaneous cow-head amulets in costly materials such as ivory and amethyst which show how highly they were valued (*note 4*).

The identification of the mother-goddess with the cow was sufficiently logical: when the ancient hunters learnt how to domesticate her (*see notes*, pp. 210-and 211), the regular supply of what might be deemed almost living food must have appeared to them in the light of a grace truly divine the source of which must be treated with great veneration, she would thus acquire without difficulty the godship with which we find her endowed.

The cult of the cow-goddess was established no less in Mesopotamia than in Egypt and very likely originated there, for it is found firmly settled in very early times. The points of resemblance between Hat-hor and Nin-khursag, her Mesopotamian counterpart, are remarkable: both were primitive cow-goddesses, both were called "Lady of the Mountain," like Parvati in India or the Great Goddess in Crete; each was "Queen" or "Mother" of the gods and each gave sacred milk to the kings of her land; as Hat-hor was protectress, and even mother, of Horus, with whom the king of Egypt was always identified, so was Nin-khursag the "Mother of kings" (*note 5*). These epithets show the exalted rank held in both countries by the goddess and it is therefore not surprising to find Hat-hor, in protodynastic Egypt, the most prominent of the deities; in the 3rd Dynasty, it is true, Osiris is seen to hold a very high place, but only, as far as present records show, as the high god of the dead. At the period in which the cow-goddess first appeared in Egypt, Mesopotamian influences are seen to have been freely entering the country, a most significant indication being the carved knife-handle of Gebel el-'Araq, mentioned on p. 52, which is undoubtedly of Egyptian origin, for the scenes carved

on it represent events in Egypt and its material is hippopotamus ivory, an Egyptian product; yet its style is eminently Mesopotamian, with its group of a Gilgamesh-like hero, in Mesopotamian robes, subjugating a pair of lions, heraldically opposed, so common a subject in all Mesopotamian art. Mesopotamian culture at this time was probably, in the light of present evidence, at a higher level than Egyptian; its road of entry into Egypt was by the Red Sea and the desert track from the coast by Coptos to Ombos where there was a large predynastic settlement. The first contact was thus with Upper Egypt and it was this contact which probably stimulated the people of that region and gave them the strength necessary for the conquest of the Delta under the leadership of the Horus tribe; the adoption by the latter of the cow-goddess as patron, besides their original Falcon-god, would indicate that they recognized the superiority of the new cult, coming from the source of their heightened vigour, and thus points to the conclusion, just suggested, of the superiority of Mesopotamian culture at that time. As the cult of the cow-goddess was in essence the same as the older one of the mother-goddess, the worship of the latter in her various local manifestations continued doubtless much as before, the main difference being the addition of cow's horns and ears to the images used.

The further fortunes of the Hat-hor cult are of great interest; they show how durably an ancient concept can survive, in spite of the many modifications that it has to undergo to make it fit in with new developments in social and theological conditions, and they reflect with considerable exactitude the course of such developments.

To begin with, when the part of the male in effecting birth was well established in common knowledge, the unique character of the mother-goddess's function was lost and her position, and that of the various goddesses who were manifestations of her, was radically altered. The male deities were now recognized as sharers in the function of fertility and the female, hitherto independent, had to adjust themselves and come into relationship with them. They thus became their consorts; the local gods took the goddesses of their districts as wives and, where there was no goddess with a definite name, the wife took the god's name with the feminine suffix—*t*, as *Amunet*, the wife of *Amun* (note 6). Hat-hor herself underwent the yoke and became, somewhat naturally, the wife of the elder Horus, of Edfou, the divine head of the conquering

Falcon-tribe. Her headquarters were at Denderah and there she was recorded as giving birth to a young Horus, "Uniter of the Two Lands"—a most significant title; there is also another Horus-youth, "son of Isis" (*Harseisis*), who will be dealt with later. Each year, at a fixed date, the image of Hat-hor was carried in a noble boat-procession, attended by princes, to Edfou, there to visit her consort in his temple and after fourteen days to return (see any good guide to Egyptian temples, such as those of Baedeker, Baikie or Weigall, and, for the annual visit, Blackman in *Myth and Ritual*, pp. 32-34). Hat-hor is often described as nursing her infant in the Delta marshes and is herself commonly pictured as a cow issuing from the reeds with which the marshes are clothed, for the Egyptian peasant, then as now, pastured his cattle there in summer-time, despite the poor condition to which this practice brings them.

The temples of Denderah and Edfou and the Hat-hor chapel in Queen Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri testify that she was worshipped till the latest period as a great goddess, one of the company of national deities; but she had long ceased to be the supreme Mistress of the earlier, simpler times since which not only had the male deities become established in the highest places but a new cult had settled firmly in the land, that of Osiris with his sister-wife Isis—so firmly indeed that before long Isis had usurped the place of Hat-hor in general worship, taking from her her very crown of sun-disk and horns so that the Greeks took Isis for an original cow-goddess and identified her with the distracted Io—so different a personage! Other goddesses also appropriated her attributes: the sky-goddess Nût, feminine counterpart of Nû, the god of waters, took the form of the celestial cow and Hathorian titles were shared by most goddesses, especially that of "Queen of Heaven"; they took for themselves her sycamore-tree from which she is pictured as appearing to the expectant souls of dead adorers, quenching their thirst with her sacred water and offering them the food of life; in such pictures the name of Nût will sometimes appear when Hat-hor should have been inscribed (see "Blue and Green," by the present writer, in *Ancient Egypt*, 1932, part ii): it is possible even that Sirius, the star of Isis, was originally attached to Hat-hor, as the Evening Star to Ishtar (and Venus), for the predynastic palette mentioned on page 423 displays stars surrounding her head and tipping one horn, while in

the Greek period Sirius was allotted to her as well as to Isis.

Yet Hat-hor survived in popular affection ; the amuletic figurines were doubtless always connected with her ; she was the kindly Inima of the Egyptian wife, helping her in child-birth, as Nintud did in Mesopotamia and was also, like Ishtar and Aphrodite, the goddess of love, named so in an inscription of the 12th Dynasty and described, in another at Denderah, as giving to kings the love of women. The humbler folk and especially the women, would adhere, amid the welter of syncretism that swamped the old religion, to the earlier concepts, simple and more deeply rooted ; if this was the case for bull-worship (see p. 203), much more must it have been so for a cult as closely connected with the primary instincts of man as that of the Mother-goddess. Bull-worship re-emerged in full official parade at the Bucheum and Serapeum, but the cult of Hat-hor did not attain to such high honour, except of course in her own temples, doubtless because she had been largely replaced by Isis who, at the time of these renewals, was the most popular of Egyptian deities. In one respect, however, Hat-hor not only held her old rank but even advanced it, that is, as protectress of the dead, for the little round mats inscribed with magical formulæ (*hypocephali*) which were placed under the mummies' heads were painted with the image of the cow-goddess who was to help them in the other world ; in a Greco Roman papyrus concerning the ritual of embalmment, published by Maspero (*Memoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre*), a passage quoted by Lanzone (*op. cit.*, pp. 867-8) consists of a prayer to Hat-hor to restore life to the organs of the dead man and places certain of the mummy-bandages under her special protection. Again, a mummy chest in the museum of Leyden is decorated with a picture of the Hat-hor cow conveying the dead man on her back, accompanied by his falcon-soul, to his paradise, thus allotting her the powers of the ancient ferryman of the Pyramid Texts, the Egyptian Charon (Lanzone, *op. cit.*, pl. CXXXII) ; finally, in a papyrus published by Schiaparelli in his *Libro dei Funerali*, dating from the era of the Roman Antonines, the lady Sais declares herself to be in death not an Osiris but a Hat-hor ; she has ousted the age-old god of the dead and become, somewhat surprisingly, their supreme mistress in his stead : this was of course an exceptional case but it shows to what a position Hat-hor had attained with regard to the Underworld.

The reader has doubtless been struck by the similarities in the development of the mother-figure in Egypt, Mesopotamia and India : each region has of course its peculiar features but the main line of evolution is much the same, being conditioned by similar modes of life, based on organized riverian agriculture. In Mesopotamia commerce took early an important share in the national life, cities remained strong and often independent, unity did not always prevail as it mostly did in Egypt ; but in both cases a lowly and laborious peasant life, tied almost inexorably to the earth, was the broad base of the social edifice, with its brilliant apex of mighty King and Court. Similar conditions may doubtless be predicated of the ancient culture of the Indus, but too little of it is yet known to make definite statements possible. These conditions belong to the material field of ancient life, but the mental—including of course the emotional—was equally important, perhaps even, for such a creature of the mind as man had become, more so. The adjustment of mental to material was now of the first necessity and it is no cause for surprise that the course of this adjustment, as reflected in religious ideas, was very similar when material conditions and needs were alike. Undoubtedly there may have been emotional aberrants, such, perhaps, as the great Egyptian preoccupation with a future life ; there may have been extraneous additions—frills, as it were—caused by actual incidents or even by dreams and visions, so important to the primitive mind ; many customs also survive their usefulness, like the human appendix physiologically or, in dress, the sword-belt buttons at the back of a morning-coat. All these features must be taken into account in any analysis of a people's culture, nor must we lose sight of possible diffusion of customs and ideas from their original centre—a large and thorny question of which it will suffice here to say that whenever diffusion occurs, the ground must have been ready for it, the receivers must have been attuned to the new arrival, for one reason or another, or it will not be able to establish itself against the strong innate conservatism of the human mind. (A ready example is that of the adoption of Semitic goddesses mentioned on page 419.) In material things, such as the use of metals in preference to stone, the advantage is very great and apparent, but in the mental and emotional not so quickly discernible. Yet the latter element is no less operative than the former ; we have seen a clear instance of it in the case of the Kongo people who adopted the use of idols from their victorious enemies (see

p. 213). In this case, a typical one, we see a very potent cause of diffusion in the attribution of material power and success to superiority in the spiritual world; a people religiously minded, as most primitives are, to a degree hardly divined by the sophisticated, can hardly conceive of superiority in worldly power except as founded on spiritual force; the Egyptians—the most religious of peoples known to the classical world, as Herodotus declared—displayed accordingly, after their conquests under the New Empire, a greatly heightened sense of adoration for their national gods and it was not till political security had crumbled away and they became the easy prey of foreigners that their religious system began to decay and a promiscuous syncretism took the field.

NOTES

1. For illustrations see an article by the present writer on mother-figures and the mother-goddess in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. XV (1929), pp. 29-47. Illustrations of other related objects are also given and references to their sources : as these are available to any reader desirous of undertaking further investigation, they will not be repeated here and only references not mentioned in that article will be recorded.

2. The exceptions illustrate the interchangeability of the various manifestations of the original mother-goddess, discussed on page 7 ; they were doubtless quite local in use, made for the followers of a particular form of that goddess whose cult was strong enough in her own locality to resist complete absorption in that of Isis.

3. It may be of interest to note some of these details, as follows : doves are connected with the Madonna as with various avatars of the mother-goddess (see the last note of p. 211 ; to those quoted there we might add the Mesopotamian Ishtar and the Persian Anah-it) ; Isis has given her the symbol of the moon, originally the sun-disk which formed, with a pair of cow's horns, the goddess's head-dress (taken by her from Hat-hor), but the Greeks mistook it for the moon and it was through them that she became known abroad. Like Aphrodite, Isis was mistress of the sea and, from her connection with the Pharos of Alexandria, patroness of seamen, as the Madonna still is ; both have stars as symbols, as also had Ishtar and Aphrodite. Lastly, ancient mother-goddesses in all regions were always decorated with jewellery—necklace, bracelets and so on—as were the goddesses who sprang from them ; Hat-hor, the first of the Egyptian-avatars, was actually considered by early scholars as the patroness of jewellery, perhaps also because of her epithet of "golden" (*nubti*), which, however, was shared by the other principal goddesses. The ancient goddesses of Hindu India never lack their precious ornaments and the Madonna of every Catholic district has her treasury of jewels—and clothing, too, like the images in Egyptian temples : in India the goddesses still reign, in Christian lands they have been dethroned but the void in popular affection has been largely filled by devotion to the Madonna who has thus become, in effect, their heiress ; she too, has her various local manifestations, the claims and status of each one being jealously upheld by her devotees, at least in rustic parts, against those of other localities. (Pre-Hellenic Greece offers an interesting parallel in the divine "Maids" (*korai*) of mostly uniform type, worshipped by each little community : see Gilbert Murray ; *The Rise of the Greek Epic* p. 78).

5. The bovine head of the palette is considered by Mr. Wainwright to be that of the "celestial bull," but his first attribution was to Hat-hor which seems to fit better with all the circumstances (*J. of Eg. Archæ.*, vol. XIX, pp. 44-5).

5. See the present writer's article in the *J. of Eg. Archæ.*, vol. XIII, p. 245, also, for Mesopotamian connections, pp. 240-1 and 243-5.

6. Amûn was the great patron-god of Thebes which also had a primitive mother-goddess, the vulture Mût, whose name means "the

mother," a likely indication that she was a primitive manifestation of the original mother-goddess, earlier perhaps than even Hat-hor, but of less importance because of her local character. Yet she reigned over a large district, eventually becoming a symbol for Upper Egypt, and it was probably reverence for her high and independent status which caused the theologians to invent a feminine counterpart of Amûn to be his consort; however, so great did Amûn become that he was awarded the consortship of Mût too.

G. D. HORNBLOWER.

(To be continued.)

**AN ORIGINAL ACCOUNT OF AHMAD SHAH
DURRANI'S CAMPAIGNS IN INDIA AND THE
BATTLE OF PANIPAT**

(FROM THE PERSIAN LIFE OF NAJIB-UD-DAULAH, BRITISH
MUSEUM PERSIAN MS. 24,410)

IN the second year of Alamgir's reign, corresponding to 1169 Hijri, (which year began on 8th October, 1755), rumours of the coming of Ahmad Shah Abdali became very strong, and Najib began to correspond with Ahmad Shah. Imad-ul-mulk (the Delhi wazir) requested Najib to take (fresh) oaths, saying, "The promise that you had made to me in the camp at Ballamgarh you have discharged. Take a fresh oath now." Najib gained time by procrastination and did not swear. When Ahmad Shah arrived near, Najib too went to the city (of Delhi); in his letters to ^{14b} Abdali he stated, "I too am an Afghan, and you ought to preserve the honour of Afghans. In this country I have gathered round myself 25,000 Afghans. I have prepared the other Afghans of Gangapar (Trans-Ganges) who number 40,000, to enter your service. You come here without any suspicion (anxiety). Imad-ul-mulk has not the strength to oppose you. I am his greatest ally. As I have become obedient to you, there is none other left here (to help him)." When Ahmad Shah arrived near Delhi and Imad after meeting him was placed under surveillance, two or three sardars of Imad-ul-mulk of the ^{15a} Afghan race, like Shah Dil Khan and others, entered the camp of the Afghans, and the Marathas who were 5,000 troopers, fled away. Twenty-one thousand men whom Imad had in his artillery department and whom he had dismissed two months earlier, and the Mughlias* whom he had expelled from the city a year before—and some of whom he had put in stocks and chains on account of their insolence in demanding their outstanding pay—now came to Najib and saw him with the greatest respect.

* Known as the *Badakhshi Risala* or troops recruited from Central Asia.

Najib kept his camp on the further side of the river Jamuna, but went alone to the mansion of Dara Shukoh and lived there. He frequently visited Ahmad Shah. Ahmad Shah started for the Jat country. Najib came opposite (to him) on the further side of the river, and at 16 *kos* from the city, his men seized and took away the elephants
 15b of Imad, including an elephant named *Koh-rawan*, on which Muhammad Shah used to ride. He brought the parganah of Sikandrabad into his own possession, and after the day when Ahmad Shah made a massacre in the city of Mathura (3rd April, 1757) and at night marched onward, Najib and his army remained there for three days and plundered much money and buried treasure and carried off many beautiful females as captives. After a short time Ahmad Shah marched away to his own country, making Najib-ud-daulah *Mir Bakhshi* of Hindustan and plenipotentiary (*mukhtar*) with Alamgir II, who was very friendly to Najib. Najib took possession of the *mian-doab* country close to Delhi, such as Dasna, Mirat, etc. He himself lived in Delhi.

After eight months, Imad with Ahmad Khan Bangash,
 16a Raghunath Rao (brother of) the Peshwa, subahdar Malhar Rao, Shamshir Bahadur, Naro Shankar (administrator of Jhansi), Babu Patil Rao, and others, and their vast forces, came against Delhi. When they arrived near, Emperor Alamgir began to write letters to Imad, and sent him food and fruits, through eunuchs, unknown to Najib; he took strong oaths and said, "You are my son, and I am a prisoner in the hands of this Ruhela; otherwise, I am eager to see you." Composing Hindi (Hindustani) verses to this purport, he sent them (to Imad). In the meantime the Marathas plundered the old city. In the Old Fort of
 16b Sher Shah, Bakhtawar Khan, the *chela* of Mian Qutb Shah, who was *qiladar* of it on behalf of Najib, was slain. That day Najib plundered the mansion of Imad in anger for it, at the instigation of Qutb Shah; some men were slain and utter dishonouring (of women) took place. After the plunder, the women of Imad came out of the harem, to the outer door, on foot, with burqas thrown over their persons; from that point Saifuddin Md. Khan put them in carts (*raths*) and conducted them to the house of Rajah Nagar Mal. Inside the city walls Najib-ud-daulah started a fight which continued for some days; many men dispersed, and only a few remained with him; in spite of this, the Ruhelas on some occasions sallied out of the gate in the city wall and fell upon the trenches. One day, issuing

from the Turkman Gate, they fell upon the trenches of Janka Rao who was the companion of Rajah Delir Singh, the diwan of the wazir, and carried off his flag. One day, 17a coming out of the Lahor Gate at noon, they severely beat the men of the artillery who were in the Old Idgah under the command of Abdur Rahman Khan Dilzak.

Within one month peace was settled on the following conditions : that Najib should go back to his own estate and the wazirship should be given to Imad, who would administer the palace-fort ; Ahmad Khan Bangash should be *Mir Bakhshi*. Najib agreed, and (coming) out of the city, encamped at Ghat Barari, seven *kos* from the fort of Delhi, on the bank of the Jamuna. Raghunath Rao's army was close at hand ; many Brahmans used to come to see (him) and Raghunath Rao used to pass close (to the Ruhela camp) for bathing in the Jamuna, and the Brahmans complained to him against cow-killing and said that 17b in that army extreme irreligious acts (*bid'atha*) were practised, which they in going to bathe in the river had witnessed with their own eyes ; and in Raghunath's own ride also fresh bones of cows came into view. Raghunath Rao sent word to Subahdâr Malhar Rao Holkar—who was the medium of negotiations with Najib,—to make Najib refrain from cow-killing. Malhar sent a message to Najib, saying, "Such is the desire of Raghunath, and you too are on a journey. Suspend cow-killing for a few days." Najib refused, saying, "This practice is one of the religious commands (*amr-wa-nahi*), and I shall never give it up." When this was reported to Raghunath Rao, he grew very angry and said, "If this does not cease tomorrow, I shall chastise them." Subahdâr Malhar Rao sent high mediators to Najib, to say, "This man is our master. We have 18a made an agreement of friendship with you. If, God forbid it, some mischief befalls you, I shall be known to all the country as a breaker of faith. He is his own master and commands a strong force, with several sardars like me under him. You should, as a favour to me, refrain from this practice." Najib replied, "Go and tell the Subahdar, 'He is a son of Baji Rao, the ruler of the Deccan, and all the other sardars of the Deccan are with him. Ahmad Khan Bangash, the son of Md. Khan Bangash Bawanhazari, who is the leader of the Afghans of India, and thirdly Imad-ul-mulk who is the head of the Mughlia and the Wazir of India, are with him,—while we are only five thousand soldiers sitting down here. If we are slain by this vast 18b force, it would be a glory to us.' Men will say, 'The whole

18b world united and after pledging its faith, has (falsely) killed one soldier.' It would be a disgrace to you. If (on the other hand) we work marvels, we shall win name and honour in all the world. A man does not die a second time. Secondly, according to our religion, if we gain the victory, all the world would fall into our hands, but if we are slain, spiritual bliss would come into our possession. Then, giving up both spiritual and mundane profit, what (other) thing should we prefer ? I shall never show regard for Raghunath Rao, and what God wills will take place tomorrow." In his own house (camp) he addressed the Afghans. "Comrades ! There cannot be a greater victory than this. Gird up the loins of your resolution. Either martyrdom or the title of holy warriors (*ghazi*) is the choice before us."

The Afghans were animated by the dominating spirit
19a of this man, and set their hearts on dying. Next morning, Raghunath Rao rode out with his army. Najib remained ready in his own camp. Malhar Rao, kept all his own troops armed and completely equipped, standing between the two armies, while he himself went alone to Dâdâ Sahib (Raghunath Rao) and said, "They are a small body, and I have, by your order, pledged friendship to them. Slaying them is not very difficult, but it would be contrary to religion." Raghunath Rao replied, "In this affair of religion, I shall not listen to anybody's advice." At last the Subahdar said, "Your father used to listen to my word. You ought to hear it." But Raghunath did not agree ; he set off. The Subahdar seized the reins of his horse and said, "If you (wish to) kill me, place your step forward. Otherwise I shall not let you (go)." So saying he dismounted and stood on the ground. Raghunath, getting very angry, argued with
19b him, but saw no remedy. With tears in his eyes he turned back. At last Najib took post in the territory seized by him and became supreme in the customary way.

From that time he (began to) write to Ahmad Shah Abdah, "All this misery has been inflicted by the infidel Marathas on all our people. You are the Emperor of the Muslims. It is your duty to remedy this affair a little." Ahmad Shah replied, "I am engaged this year in this country because on one side of me Nasir Khan has rebelled, while Darvish Ali Khan of Herat has risen in revolt on another. God willing, when I am free from the entanglement in this country, I shall remedy your business." Najib sent a message to the Trans-Ganges, "The Marathas

have taken away the honour of all Hindustan, and none dare face them. For once tie up your loins, and join ^{20a} together; I shall set forward in this matter. Shah Jahanabad is the capital of Hindustan. Its wazir is the ally of the Marathas. The old Rajahs, who are zamindars and possess territory and troops, have agreed to be tenants of the Marathas and pay them money year after year. The only lands that remain free are Trans-Ganges and the Doab. So, when they have expelled me from the Doab, it would be your turn and that of Shuja-ud-daulah. When I am crushed, you will be able to do nothing." Those sardars gave an evasive reply, professing their inability to perform this task, and said, "Formerly we had a war with Safdar Jang the Wazir; he brought the Marathas and ruined us. After a long time we secured our release with ^{20b} extreme difficulty. If we now attempt this hostility to them, the Wazir of Hindustan who is in the hands of the Marathas, with the Emperor will again come against us, and we shall have to fight the Emperor. Leaving aside the power of the Marathas, this would be a most disgraceful thing. They have a very large army, and have defeated all India. Men who had held kingdoms for thousands of years have agreed to pay tribute to them. The Emperor is led by them by the hand. What can *we* do? If after crossing the Ganges—which is not an easy task, the Marathas come towards us, they too will meet with great difficulty, and then at that time we shall do what we ought to." Najib saw that the Afghans and Shuja- ^{21a} ud-daulah had not the courage to confront the Marathas and wrote to these sardars and Shuja, "As you have not the strength to fight them, I shall bring Ahmad Shah Durrani into the mood to march in this direction. You should all give written undertakings that you agree to side with the Shah at that time, and fix a certain amount of money for the (support of the) *vilayet* troops who will come hungry." They all said that they agreed with their life and soul. "If Ahmad Shah comes, we shall be present with him." All the sardars gave such undertakings under their own seals. Najib sent all these letters to Ahmad Shah. Ahmad had gone against Nasir Khan Baluch, he promised ^{21b} that he would come (to India) in the winter and do what was due to Islam, as his aim was the benefit of the Afghans.

One year passed in this way, during which a fresh army under Jankoji Sindhia, son of Appaji Sindhia, arrived. But this general was very young, and his affairs depended upon his uncle Dattaji Patil. They first arrived

at Delhi, their friendship with Imad-ul-mulk was broken and matters passed on to war. Dattaji took from him by force a large cannon named *Attock*, the equal of which in size did not exist in India, and made peace on the following condition, "We are going to fight Najib. You send with us a force of your own under a high general." So Imad sent Rajah Dilbar Singh his Diwan and Bahadur Khan Baluch with 5,000 troopers with the Patil. Last year Raghunath Rao had gone to Lahor and Tukoji Holkar had planted outposts in the Panjab. To Multan also a Maratha named Dado Sidheshwar had gone.

22a At this time Sabaji Patil, on behalf of Dattaji Patil, started for Lahor, while the Patil himself with Jankoji went to the Doab after crossing the Jamuna. Najib came to confront them; between them peace proposals were made and interviews took place. Dattaji conceived in his mind a design to arrest Najib during an interview.

22a According to this plan, he one day summoned Najib. (He) came in light kit (*jarida*). At the door of the consultation room they were told that (other) men would not be let in. But some Afghan sardars did not agree to this; Ahmad Khan Afridi, zamindar of Lohari, with two brothers and ten other people among his sardars and personal guard, entered. Najib-ud-daulah, guessing (the danger),

22b rose up quickly, and the Patil too did not press him much (to stay). Najib came back to his camp and said, "It is not good to meet these men. Their looks seem malignant to me." So, on becoming aware of this treachery, he marched away after 2 or 3 days towards his own parganahs which were on the bank of the Ganges. On the bank of the river, there is a hollow place on the edge of the water, which is called *Shukartal*.* The ground was very low and Najib made his encampment there. Near it he built a bridge over the Ganges and constructed earthwork *sangars* round the place, planting artillery on the walls of the *sangars*. Sardar Sindhia took possession of all the

22a country of Najib and planted *thanahs* everywhere. Najib despatched agents every month to Ahmad Shah, and sent word to the Afghan sardars and Shuja, "These Marathas have now come against me, and I alone have not the strength to resist them. You join me." But they wrote the same evasive replies (as before) and said among them-

* *Shukartal* (spelt as *Shukartar* in Atkinson's *N. W. P. Gazetteer*) lies in the Muzaffarnagar district, on the west bank of the Ganges, some 16 miles due east of Muzaffarnagar city. Around it are ravines sloping down to the river, and traces of Zabita Khan's entrenchments.

selves, "Najib is a mad man ; he has thrown himself into the mouth of the fire, which is still raging, in the hope of aid from Qandahar." They themselves, being proud and fearless through (their reliance on) the violence of the Ganges, whiled their time away (doing nothing),—till at last Sindhia, after conquering all the country of Najib, arrived near Shukartal, and skirmishes began between the two sides.

Frequently Dattaji Patil rode out near the *sangar*, and half a *kos* on this side of Shukartal had made an earthen *gilacha* (fortalice), where he used to sit down, and the ^{23b} Ruhela infantry and cavalry also used to sally out of their *sangar* and fight ; the war always continued in this manner. Najib always forbade the Ruhelas to go far from their *sangar*. One day the Ruhelas went too far. The Patil said, "These despicable men should be trodden down under our horses hoofs." He told off 2,000 troopers for the fight and from the central place (*Kamargah*) himself with all his personal troops began to move slowly. Najib on seeing the dust, said, "On other days the dust used to rise in front. The dust which is visible to-day on this side is not free from harm." He took out his good *bargandaz* infantry, and placed them (in ambush) on the edge of a *nala* where the ground was low and free from ^{24a} water and was on the way of the coming of troops in that direction. In the twinkle of an eye the (Maratha) troopers appeared opposite and a face-to-face battle took place. When the Marathas made a charge, the Ruhelas fled away fighting and the troopers took up pursuit of them. Just then Dattaji Patil, from one side of the centre, with 7 or 8 thousand well-mounted cavalry—all well dressed, naked sword in hand, gave their horses the loose rein, and from the midst of the dust the pattas (long swords) and spears of the Deccani troopers mounted on Arab horses flashed like lightning. As soon as they arrived near the *sangar*, and from this side guns and rockets were fired, the face of the (Maratha) army turned towards the *nala*, and the 10 or 12 thousand Ruhelas who were seated there, at once fired their muskets when the (Deccani) troopers arrived twenty paces from them ; two thousand muskets were discharged at one time, so that in the army of Dattaji Patil corpses were heaped up. It came to such a pass that a Ruhela seized the bridle of Jankoji Sindhia with one hand and struck him with his sword with the other, so that some wound was inflicted on Jankoji's arm. His *bargirs* slew the Ruhela with their swords. Dattaji Patil,

going out with his troops slowly, took the path to his camp. Nearly 500 brave Deccani troopers and good horses fell on the field. On Najib's side 100 men endured wounds from spear and sword, and about 50 troopers were slain. From that day assault was stopped. Najib sent envoys in succession to Ahmad Shah and wrote, "In the hope of your help, I have fallen into the hands of the Maratha infidels. It is very near that the destruction of the Afghans would take place in spite of there being an Afghan Emperor. So long as I am alive, I shall not slacken in sacrificing my life and slaying infidels." He wrote to the Afghans of Trans-Ganges and to Shuja-ud-daulah, "The turn has now come for pressing me hard. For six months I have been fighting and not one of you have come to my aid. Such a day is in store for you also."

The Marathas then took counsel that the work could not be done by open attack; as food reached Najib's army by way of the bridge that they had thrown over the river Ganges, they (the Marathas) should cross the Ganges in any way that was possible and attack the homes of the Ruhelas, so that the band of their assembled gathering may be torn and they may be scattered; thus they could be hard pressed. By any means they ought to cross the river. They began to search for a ford. Suddenly a Gujar land-holder joined them and offered to show them a ford; in the hope of reward he pointed out a ford to them. Twenty *kos* from Shukartal, on the further side of the Ganges, there was Shânpur, a village of the former Rajahs of the lower hills, from which the skirt of the hill was 10 *kos*; there Najib had made a house, buildings (*makanat*) and cultivation, a *madrassa* and a mosque; and every one of his dependants had built his own house. It was called *Najibabad*. The family of Najib with his young sons was there. Shuja-ud-daulah, wishing to aid, reached the Ruhela country, and also all the Ruhela sardars (viz) Hafiz Rahmat, Dundi Khan, and Mullâ Sardâr Bakhshi, became ready, but they did not come out of their own boundaries. Shuja arrived in their midst. When the Marathas found the ford, a sardar named Bhurê and another sardar crossed the Ganges; they began to plunder and fire the villages and (thus) stopped the coming of grain to Najib. He became distracted about his women. The Marathas plundered all the country up to 3 *kos* of Najibabad. And the family of Najib, becoming alarmed, planned to flee to the forest; very great difficulty fell on them. The Afghans who were engaged in fighting

in the camp, becoming bewildered, said, "Whatever one does is for (the safety of) his family. We are in this plight and the enemy have reached our families. We have no remedy." Najib reassured them, saying, "Remember God. Ahmad Shah is coming. From the day when I began sitting down here, I have decided on death. Do not cherish any foolish design now. Whatever is to happen will happen. Seek no other remedy than fight."

Then Shuja-ud-daulah sent Umrao Gir and Anup Gir Gosains to make forced marches and chastise by skirmishes ^{26b} the enemy force that had reached this side of the Ganges. The two Gosains marched all night, hastened over a long distance, and at dawn came upon the enemy's camp. At once they swept away the firmness of the Marathas and began to fight. The Marathas who were quite off their guard, became bewildered and took to flight. The Gosains slew many of them; the rest fled away and were drowned in the river. Shuja, on hearing this news, arrived near, and the Marathas became very much depressed but did not withdraw from the siege of Shukartal. Suddenly messengers came from Ahmad Shah to report that that Emperor was coming from Kabul to this side and had sent them (in advance); they brought his letter for the Afghan ^{78a} sardars in which he urged them strongly, saying, "I have put off the business of Turan and Iran out of regard for the honour of the Afghans, and started on this holy war and you, in spite of your nearness to Najib, have not come to his aid! It is now proper that you should quickly join him, and clear that land of the thorn and brambles of the infidels before my arrival. God willing I shall very soon destroy the infidel tribe by one blow." As soon as this news spread,—and the news reached Delhi before the coming of the messengers—the Marathas who had been in the Panjab, like Tukoji Holkar and others, fled away towards Lahor. The news of it reached Dattaji Patil; he became distracted, at once withdrew from the siege of Shukartal and began to march towards the river ^{27b} Jamuna. That day Najib, beating the music of rejoicing came out of Shukartal and made a tour. Shuja reached the Ganges. The people of Delhi all fled away. Imad-ul-mulk, too, sending his family to the forts of the Jats, himself started for the army of Dattaji and Jankoji. Dattaji Patil had his camp in the country of Barha near Muzaffarnagar, when Imad the Wazir joined him and they all marched towards Saharanpur. Ahmad Shah Abdali arrived near Buria and Mustafabad. When the news of it

reached Najib, he traversed 15 *kos* in one day and advanced towards Ahmad Shah, writing to him to come towards
 28a Panipat and other places, as the Marathas were on this side of the river, "If you yourself cross the river, I shall join you with the sardars of Trans-Ganges, like Hafiz, Rahmat and others."

When he arrived opposite the camp of Dattaji Patil at Kunjpurâ and learnt that Ahmad Shah was ten *kos* distant from that place, he wished to attack that army alone (*jarida*). Five thousand cavalry under a Maratha named Bhurê and one thousand Mughalia of Imad under Md. Said Khan Qipchaq, having crossed the Jamuna, were laying their hands (on the country). As soon as they crossed the river they were sighted by the advanced skirmishers of Ahmad Shah, who sent a report of it to Ahmad Shah and began to fight. Bhurê advanced, charged the hundred skirmishers or so who were there, captured ten horses from them, and wounded 5 or 6 men out of them.
 28b Their entire army attacked these (Afghans) and the Afghans fell back fighting the Marathas, while the Marathas advanced with loud cries and tumult. Meantime the news having reached Ahmad Shah, he detached Shah Pasand Khan, the leader of his vanguard (*qarawwal*) with 4,000 troopers. When their flag (*nishan*) came in sight, the Mughalias who had often before witnessed fighting with the Durrani, withdrew to one side. Shah Pasand Khan at once arrived against the Marathas, and opened a hot fire with matchlocks. Ahmad Shah sent another squadron (*dasta*). When these arrived, they immediately attacked the Marathas from two sides, and Bhurê fled away utterly broken. Nearly four hundred of the Marathas were slain. When the fugitives arrived near the camp, Dattaji Patil himself rode out towards the battlefield. When the
 29a noise of musketry arrived and little of the day remained, each side remained standing at its own place. The entire army of Bhurê was plundered and wounded, the remnant entered their camp. Shah Pasand Khan after cutting off the heads (of the slain) flung them down in the market square of the Shah's encampment.

Next day, Dattaji Patil, with 10,000 well-mounted troopers, by a rapid march, hastened (away).

Here it happened that Ahmad Shah after fighting Bhurê, crossed the Jamuna and moved towards the Ruhelas. The Patil, on learning of this, turned back and came to his camp (again). Ahmad Shah met Najib close

to Mirat. The Afghan sardars—Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Dundi Khan, Sadullah Khan, Faizullah Khan, Mulla Sardar—all came soon afterwards and saw him. From Kunjpurâ Dattaji with Jankoji (*masnad nashin*) took the road to Delhi. On the first day he reached Karnal, on the second Panipat, ^{29b} on the third Sonapat; on the fourth he encamped in the parganah of Barari, on the Jamuna, seven *kos* from Delhi. Ahmad Shah with the Afghan sardars encamped at Loni, on the side of the Jamuna opposite to Delhi. Two days after the arrival of Ahmad Shah, Patil and other Marathas sent their baggage (*bungah*) towards Rewari, 20 *kos* from Delhi.

DATTAJI SINDHIA SLAIN

On Wednesday (9 January 1760) Ahmad Shah rode forth; Najib undertook the command of the vanguard and started for the halting place of Patil. Sabaji Patil with 700 men of Dattaji, was standing at the ferry of the ^{30a} river, which was fordable. The army of Najib crossed the river, with litter-carrying elephants and the flags of the foot Ruhelas, and arrived at the stream on this side of the river, 3 miles from which the Patil, and Jankoji, also Imad, were posted. The Ruhela infantry engaged in battle with Sabaji. The news reached Dattaji that the Ruhelas had crossed the stream also, on hearing which he himself rode out. Jankoji also rode out after an hour. At that place the Ruhelas charged Sabaji, who, unable to stand against them, came to this side of the *nala*. The Ruhelas, assembling from the further side, slew his men. Only a few remained with him, when Datta and Janko themselves arrived. Dattaji, spear in hand, gave the ^{30b} rein to his horse and, severely defeating the Ruhela troopers, pushed them back beyond the *nala*, and himself arrived near the flags of the Ruhela infantry. A bullet entered his eye, another hit Jankoji in the hand. The Ruhelas crowded together and cut off the head of Dattaji. Jankoji was forcibly dragged out of the battlefield by his bargirs who seized the bridle of his horse. Sabaji Patil with 700 men was slain. Najib saw that (enemy) troopers had entered among his infantry. He quickly arrived, charging. The Ruhelas who had cut off (Maratha) heads brought them before Najib. Najib recognised the head of Dattaji. The men said, "His colour was very dark, while the skin of this head looks yellow. Besides, the enemy's force, in full strength and equipment, with flags, to the number of nearly 20,000, are standing in front, while these few

hundred troopers, galloping their horses, had fallen upon us. The first man among them who had flung his spear was this." Najib replied, "On account of the loss of
 31a blood, his skin had turned yellow. The man who used to gallop foremost in this army was Dattaji. I had on some occasions sat down in his company and know him well." The head was taken to Ahmad Shah, who praised him much and asked, "Was this man the leader of their army?" Najib replied, "Yes, he it was, and a nephew of his is the (nominal) commander, but all authority was in this man's hands."

Ahmad Shah gave effect to every advice of Najib; the charge of conducting negotiations with the chiefs of India. Hindu and Muslim alike, and the command of the vanguard were assigned to him.

Another Maratha force, under Malhar Rao Holkar came from the Deccan to this side of Jainagar. He was friendly to Najib from before, and all negotiations used to be carried on through him. The force of Jankoji with the
 31a wounded Jankoji, joined Malhar, and engaged in confronting Ahmad Shah, and for some time in the hills of Mewat, near Jainagar, the Marathas took to light marching (*jarida*), while Ahmad Shah followed them under the guidance of Najib. Finally the Marathas came towards Delhi, and crossing the Jamuna went away plundering. Ahmad Shah arrived behind them, Malhar Rao on getting news of the coming of Najib fled away. The commander of this van was Sambhaji Ghorparê, who had 8,000 troopers; he was slain in parganah Sikandra, while his son Faqir Ghorparê was captured alive by Abdali, and many of his men were slain. Najib counselled Ahmad Shah, "By your fortune, this Sindhia and Holkar have been driven back to their own frontier with a thousand disgraces, and have not the strength to fight till another army arrives from the Deccan. It is now the summer season, and the
 32a rainy season too is close at hand. This year you ought to encamp at Koil, because so long as the Marathas are not totally uprooted it will be difficult for us to remain in Hindustan. I shall undertake to provide the expenses of your army." So, Ahmad Shah decided to canton in parganah Koil, and he gave to Najib the country that was in Imad's possession. Najib brought a small sum for expenses and paid it to Ahmad Shah. Then news came that Sadashiv Rao *alias* Bhau, the brother of Balaji, better known as Nana, the Peshwa, whose servants all the Marathas were, had marched from the Deccan and

came to this side in order to fight Ahmad Shah. Meantime in this hot weather, Ahmad Shah wrested the Koil country and other parganahs such as Faridabad and Sadabad, which were in the possession of the Jats. After 15 days' exertion he captured the fort of Sabitgarh* built by Sabit Khan, faujdar of Koil, which the Jats had made extremely strong, divided into three parts, filled with good pieces of artillery and provisions for three years, dug a deep ditch round it and named Ramgarh. The whole country of Mian Doab was given by Ahmad Shah to the Afghans.

The rainy season came to an end, rumours of the coming of the Marathas became very strong; Najib called Shuja from Lucknow and introduced him to Ahmad Shah. When the Marathas, under Sadashiv Rao Bhau, arrived at Mathura, Suraj Mal Jat and Imad the Wazir who were at Bharatpur came and joined the Bhau. Ahmad Shah had left in the fort of Delhi Yaqut Ali Khan, who was related as a brother (?) to his own wazir, with 300 troopers with an artillery chief and *zarrab-bashi* and 300 Hindustani infantry. The Bhau from Mathura sent Malhar Rao Holkar, Jankoji, Balwant Rao, Imad, and Maharajah Brajendra Bahadur *alias* Suraj Mal Jat, in advance, and these having arrived engaged in laying siege to the fort of Delhi, and occupied the city by riding into it.

SACK OF KUNJPURA

After three days, on 11th Zihijja in the 1st year of Shah Alam, 1173 A.H., (24 July 1760) the Bhau also arrived, rebuked the sardars for their delay (in taking the fort), and after 13 days gained possession of the fort by terms. Inside the fort, he stripped the silver ceiling of the Diwan-i-khas and coined 14 lakhs of rupees with it, and for some days he waited. Ahmad Shah, too, marching from Koil, encamped near Shahdara on the other side of the Jamuna, 2 *kos* from Delhi. It grieved him greatly that Delhi was in Maratha hands, and he could see it with his own eyes from two *kos* off, but on account of the raging of the river Jamuna could not cross over. The Bhau sent his outposts around the city and planned that as Durrani could not come to his bank on account of the flood in the river, he would go to the further side of Sarhind and conquer all the country. So, marching, he reached Kunjpura, 60 *kos* from Delhi, and wished to capture it. In Kunjpura

* Modern name *Aligarh*.

its zamindar Najabat Khan prepared for fight. Sardar Samand Kh., a leading follower of Ahmad Shah, who was alone (Parishan) in Lakhi Jangal, also came into that fort with 500 men. A Ruhela named Qutb Shah, an important captain (*jamadar*), who was in that tract, also arrived with a small force. Najabat Kh. told both to enter his fort, as they had not the strength to fight in the open. But they refused and replied, "You remain ready within the fort and we shall dismount below the walls and fight skirmishers. When we are overpowered, we shall seek refuge in the fort." Najabat Khan said that it was not wise, and that they should enter the fort and fight for two months, after which Ahmad Shah would come to their rescue. Samand Khan, out of excessive pride, did not agree, but encamped under the fort walls.

The Bhau, marching with his entire army,—which was above one *lakh* of troopers, with heavy artillery, and making Ibrahim Khan Gardi who had 12,000 Gardi troops under him, his vanguard, turned his face towards the fort. Samand Khan and others, who had not in all even 2,000
35a troopers, came out and engaged in fighting. Ibrahim Khan began to fire his cannon in the European manner; these men charged with their horses for some time, but found it impossible to reach the enemy. Ibrahim delivered an attack with his guns once; the Bhau with all his army and the riders on elephants assaulted one place. Samand Khan was slain; the rest of his men fled towards the gate of the fort and a great tumult arose. When they arrived below the wall, Najabat Khan from within opposed their entry and shut the gate. The soldiers of Samand Khan and Qutb Shah himself said, "You are not allowing the men of the (Abdali) Emperor to enter within. It is clear that you are in concert with the Marathas. But it does not matter. Ahmad Shah is alive. Tomorrow he will call upon you to answer for your conduct." In short, after much tumult and disturbance, they made him consent. During the dispute the Marathas arrived near,
35b and as soon as the gate was opened, and these men crowded into the fort, the Marathas also with all their troops that were behind entered the fort pellmell with them. They plundered the entire fort, and took Najabat Khan and two of his sons, with torment and hardship, to their camp and slew them. Qutb Shah jamadar, who had been captured, was beheaded after two days. Only one son of Najabat Khan, named Dilir Khan, remained. They dug up the entire fort, and found much wealth there. All the camels,

horses, grain and guns within it fell into their hands. They dishonoured the inmates of the fort, and greatly rejoiced. (17th Oct. 1760).

HOW ABDALI CROSSED THE JAMUNA AT BAGHPAT

When the news of it reached Ahmad Shah, his heart burnt extremely. Summoning the Afghan sardars he told them, "I cannot bear it that, in my life-time, Afghan ^{36a} people should be disgraced. Find out a ford in any way you can and inform me, that I may quickly cross over." His men searched but could not find any. The Shah marched along the bank of the Jamuna towards the Marathas, and encamped near Baghpat, 14 *kos* from Delhi, seeking a ford. The news reached Bhau that Ahmad Shah was marching to that side and had reached Baghpat. But his mind was free from anxiety about (the enemy's approach) by reason of the high river and he abandoned the idea of advancing (towards Sarhind) from that moment. He posted one thousand horse, by way of watch, on the bank of the river Jamuna at the *ghat* where there was a probability of the enemy's crossing, near Sonapat, 20 *kos* from Delhi, to stay there day and night. Ahmad Shah after waiting for four or five days, one day himself rode forth, came with all his army to the bank of the river, ^{36b} stood and summoned the Ruhela sardars and Shuja and told them, "You are the chieftains of India. It is surprising that you do not know any ford over this river! Now certainly a ford will come to my sight." They all replied, "We people are actuated solely by selfishness, while your Majesty has undertaken this long and distant journey and is undergoing hardship, solely for guarding us. But we are helpless." Ahmad Shah said, "The work has now passed beyond human contrivance; the work has to be done in reliance on God's will. Relying on God, drive your horses into the river just where we are standing." Reciting the *fatiha*, he moved his horse towards the edge of the water. The proclaimer (*jarchi*) shouted out that the troops should enter the river. All at once the whole ^{37a} army drove their horses into the river and safely crossed it. At some places the horses had to swim, and in other places their feet touched the bottom. When they arrived near the (other) bank and found dry land, the mud was so great that neither man nor horse could make its way. He hit upon the plan that branches of trees should be thrown down on the mud to make a path. To all the army,

including the grand wazir, order was issued that every one should bring some branch or grass or leaves, whatever he could find to his hand. On that bank there was a jungle of *jhau*—which is a kind of wood, having no leaf, but very thin branches. The grand wazir himself alighted from his horse, and cut off a branch of it, and every Khan out of the 8,000 clansmen of the Emperor broke off a little
 37b with their own hands and threw it into the mud. The whole army, in the same manner, brought bundles and threw them into it, so that in one *ghari* a height of two yards was effected, and the entire army passed over with ease. The artillery was tied to the waists of elephants and taken across the water. All the army crossed without calamity, only 10 or 15 men out of the entire camp perished.

When the Emperor arrived on the further side of the river, he asked Najib where the force sent to the ferry by the naked Marathas was. Najib replied that they were posted 6 *kos* off. Ahmad Shah ordered Shah Pasand Khan, the leader of his skirmishers, to hasten there and prevent the Marathas from taking to flight, so that not one of them might escape alive. Shah Pasand Khan, with 4,000 horse,
 38a started from that place, taking the men of Najib with himself for showing him the way. In two *gharis* he arrived near them; they prepared for fighting, but when they found the Afghan army coming at the charge, they lost heart and turned their faces to their own encampment. Shah Pasand Khan, arriving near, brought them under the fire of his muskets; after a little *bargandazi* (musket firing), he attacked them with the sword from all four sides, and slew them entirely. After cutting off their heads, he came back to his own camp with the heads, in the course of 6 *gharis*.

THE RIVAL ARMIES AT PANIPAT

Next day the Afghans marched forward, and arrived near Panipat on the third day. From the other side, the Bhau too marched and came towards Panipat, encamping
 38b close to the *gasba* of Panipat, Ahmad Shah was 3 *kos* on this side of the city; and skirmishing began between the two armies. Provisions of grain used to come to the Bhau's army from Delhi through the efforts of Naro Shankar, who was *qiladar* there. From Puna to Shah-Jahanabad every day caravans used to come to every stage, and material for artillery, powder, horsemen and infantry and articles repeatedly arrived. Ahmad Shah rode out

every day in the morning, alone with (only) his son Timur Shah, and ordered his squadrons (*dasta*) to get ready and stand outside the camp. The Afghan sardars and Shuja were similarly ordered not to move out of their positions without previous order. Himself coming to the field, he stood with only a few equerries before his horse, but ^{39a} no other kind of trooper of the contingent of the father or the son. He had no (gorgeous) dress like *jigha* (aigrette), etc., on the head, only a black cap and over it a *shal* and a red tunic of broad cloth, a quiver at his belt and a bow in his bow-case. Timur Shah was in a similar dress. He ordered the captains of his skirmishers to bring reliable intelligence; they, coming up close to him from all four sides, brought news. Whenever the Maratha army took horse in their camp and issued to the plain, Ahmad Shah ordered any squadron that he liked to advance, and they going forward skirmished. None could deliver an assault without his order. From a distance he looked at the dust. If the dust came more towards him, he used to say, "My men are defeated," and ordered another squadron to go to ^{39b} the right or left and fall upon the enemy's waist. If he saw that the dust was moving further away, he would send 2 or 3 squadrons at the same time to pursue the enemy up to such and such a place. If that was beyond the power of the squadron, they advanced one arrow's flight (only) and he himself went into the plain and looked at the fight from a distance, and did what appeared to his mind to be proper. At times he would issue such orders to the Indian generals as he considered fit. Instead of *harkarahs* (spies), these skirmisher troopers brought news in rapid succession, in such detail as "They are fighting with muskets, or have begun to ply their swords,—so many have been slain, so many wounded—a flag of this colour or an ^{40a} 'amari and hauda of elephant of such a colour has come opposite to us." In this way he passed two *pahars* of the day, and bringing out one enclosure (*kanat*?) for necessary acts and one very small tent, pitched them there. His wazir, who was entrusted with full authority, made great friendship with the people of India, his title was *Ashraf-ul-wazra* and his name Shah Wali Khan. His sardar (which means *Mir Bakhshi*) was named Jahan Khan, his *Zabtbeigi* was Abdullah Khan, his *diwanbeigi* was Fathullah Khan Sadduzai, the son of Ahmad Shah's *khala*, and known as the Lame Nawab. Baz Chang Khan Bangash and Barkhurdar Khan Abchakzai (the *darogha* of foraging), Mahmud Khan eunuch *Ghular aghashi*, Sayyid Rahmat Khan ^{40b} Topchi, Mir 'Atai Khan and Jarji Karim Dad Khan, all

these were his chief generals, and Nasaqchi bashi, Kushk Aghashi Maruf Khan, Zanki Khan, Bazu Khan Arzbegi,—and all the sardars of Hindustan were present at the time. So long as the Emperor was on his horse, all these stood on foot around him, and remained engaged in talking. When he sat down in the tent, they too went to the tent, and used to make their speeches standing. But Hafiz Rahmat was often ordered to sit down at the time of dawn which was not the time of holding Court, because he had memorised the *Qur'an*.

In the camp of the Bhau provisions arrived from the Mian Doab and from Delhi. Najib said to Ahmad Shah, "I have many outposts in Mian Doab, but over the environs of Delhi for 10 or 12 *kos* I have no control. If a small force of your troops is granted to me I can make them accompany my '*amils* and send them to Shahdara to enforce their authority, so that provisions which come to the enemy's camp by that route may be stopped." Ahmad Shah appointed one thousand troopers from the brigade of Jarchi Karim Dad Khan. From Sikandra and other parganahs the '*amils* of Najib accompanied them, and they plundered the country near the city up to Shahdara, slaying everyone that they could seize. From Delhi Naro Shankar the qiladar sent (some) Maratha infantry, (under) Jivaji Bakhshi and Mir Khan Nathu. But these could do nothing; giving up some men to slaughter, they took to flight and came back to the city, and so this route became
^{41a} closed. After this Ahmad Shah told Jarchi Karim Dad Khan and Mir 'Atai Khan, "All my troops have been undergoing hardship (campaigning) for two years past, while you have recently come from Qandahar. You ought to exert yourself and prevent supplies from reaching the enemy's army. Do this service at least." These two generals under the guidance of Musi Khan, a Baluch sardar, and other sardars of the country outside the city, fell on the supply convoy twice, slew all who were with the supplies, so that the coming of provisions by the direct path was stopped.

Whenever the Bhau gave fair wages to the Banjaras resident in Panipat and other places, these men, as they knew the work, conveyed the grain to the camp in one night by some obscure path (*be-rahha*); it was difficult to bring it by day or openly. Meantime, scarcity of funds
^{41b} appeared in the camp. The Bhau ordered Naro Shankar to send treasure with great caution. Naro Shankar gave to 500 troopers 500 ashrafi each to tie round his waist

and go quickly to the Bhau's camp. These men started at night and near the dawn, while the sky was not yet clear, the regiments of Karim Dad Khan and Atai Khan met them, shook them by a discharge of muskets, and drawing their swords fell upon them and slew them all; only two or three men who fled with their lives, came back to the city. All the treasure sent was plundered. Their horses and heads were brought to Ahmad Shah. Thereafter terror appeared in the Bhau's camp. One month passed in this kind of war. One day the Ruhela infantry under Sultan Khan, the brother of Najib, were fighting, when Sultan Khan came and told them, "If you infantrymen show courage, to-day we can expel the Marathas with the sword." The foot soldiers agreed. The Marathas used every day to bring artillery (out of the trenches) and carry them back to their encampment when four *gharis* of the day remained. When they were taking the guns (back) the Ruhelas charged them; the Maratha troopers turned their backs and these pursued them and arrived close to the Maratha camp. From that place all the troops, horse and foot, came out in distraction. Very little of the day now remained. Near the sunset a wondrous tumult began, when the entire Maratha army engaged in fighting. The Ruhelas were only 2,000 cavalry and 3,000 foot; their troopers fled away in confusion, and the infantry holding up their flags arrived near the *sangar* and tried to enter it. The Maratha cavalry could not fall upon them, on account of the Ruhelas firing their muskets. Just then Ibrahim Khan Gardi and Balwant Rao, who was the superintendent of the Bhau's artillery, arrived with all the infantry. The Ruhela infantry exerted themselves to the utmost; so much so that Balwant Rao received two musket bullets in his stomach and fell down. On the other side Ibrahim Khan Gardi and the artillery men worked hard; 1,500 Ruhelas were slain; the rest started (on their return) fighting, and when the darkness of the night descended they reached their camp. Najib was very much upset at the slaughter of the Ruhela infantry and grieved greatly.

At this time the Wazir Shah Wali Khan's mind inclined towards making peace at the request of the Marathas. The medium of these negotiations was Hafiz Rahmat Khan whose heart inclined to this course because Najib had been originally a poor stranger among the Afghans of India and had now become an *amir* higher than Hafiz Rahmat and others, and as Shuja-ud-daulah also had come there through the instrumentality of this man (Najib) his prestige had

greatly increased. So Hâfiz suggested that Imad-ul-mulk should be made wazir of India, and Shah Wali Khan also desired that the wazirship should go to Imad and peace be made with the Marathas. Shah Wali Khan impressed
 44a these ideas on Ahmad Shah, who agreed. It became known to Najib. In the morning he came to the darbar and said to Shah Wali Khan face to face, "Yesterday 4,000 of my brethren were slain, and I hear that some spiritless person wants to make peace and give up the Afghans into the hands of the Marathas. Such a man is a great coward and no Afghan. I say in the face of Ahmad Shah frankly that he is the Emperor of Islam and the honour of the Afghans requires that he should not throw his own tribesmen into the hands of the Marathas." He also spoke some other harsh words with reference to the makers of the peace. Shah Wali Khan became angry, rose up, said in Pashtu only the words "*Gu makhor*" (Don't talk nonsense) and went away. Najib inclined Sardar Jahan Khan and
 44b Qazi Idris, who had great influence over the mind of Ahmad Shah, to his side and explaining to them the religious aspect of the question sent them to Ahmad Shah. There Sardar Jahan Khan said, "May I be your sacrifice! making peace with infidels is remote from kingship, because we are still strong and no defeat has fallen on our army. These Marathas,—what bad treatment have they not accorded to our men in Lahor, and plundered Samad Khan at Sarhind, and what did they not do to Najib in Delhi? Only yesterday at Kunjpura what dishonour was not done to Afghans? Imad-ul-mulk first killed the Emperor (Alamgir II), and all this disturbance is his creation." Ahmad Shah replied, "I know these facts and am displeased with Imad. (But) now I have no money to support my troops. The country that has been wrested
 45a from Maratha possession, I have given to the Afghans. They are themselves well off., but my troops are dying (of hunger). If I demand money from them by force, I shall get a bad name. These Afghans have not the decency to understand these facts of themselves and help my troops (with money). Now I have, solely out of love for them, gone through this campaign for two years and all these hardships. Otherwise, my kingship does not depend upon beating the Marathas. I have girt my loins for a holy war solely for God." Qazi Idris said, "Hold to these words, cast your eye on your faith, and do not allow any kind of greed to influence you in this matter, because the merit of *jihad* would be lost (thereby). The kingship that God has given to you does not depend upon pecuniary help

from the Ruhelas. The Ruhelas are oppressed and have complained to you. If, then, you do not do them justice ^{45b} in spite of your power, you will be asked to account for it before God. The world is for a few days only. You saw the case of Nadir (Shah), what shape it assumed in the twinkle of an eye. Fear not the enemy, fear not the lack of money for expenses, fear God rather." During this conversation, all the Durrani sardars said, "The Qazi speaks well. In this holy war we are obedient to your ^{45b} wishes in every eventuality. Whether we are hungry or ^{mib} with full stomachs, we shall not lessen our exertions." Ahmad Shah said "Recite the *fatiha* (for fighting) and the peace is given up." The Maratha envoys were dismissed.

Then news arrived that Govind Pandit, known as Govind Bundêlê, who was 'âmil of parganahs Kalpi, Shukohabad, etc., was coming towards the camp of the Bhau by way of the Mian Doab; he had 10,000 troops with him and ^{46a} was plundering the parganahs belonging to Najib. Ahmad Shah ordered Jarchi Karim Dad Khan and Mir 'Atai Khan, not to let him enter the camp (of the Bhau). These two sardars, with Karim Khan, a jamadar of Najib, crossed the river, in one day and night, traversed 50 *kos* between Sikandra and Mirat, and at sunrise fell upon the camp of Govind who was totally off his guard; they cut off the head of Govind Pandit (22 Dec. 1760). His son Balaji with some of his personal followers (*makhsusan*) issued from the encampment with extreme difficulty and began to roam in the wilderness of calamity, and that army of ten thousand troopers was completely plundered. On the fourth ^{46b} day the head of Govind was flung in the bazar of Ahmad Shah below the *Manzil-i-numa* (balcony).

Thenceforth scarcity of everything appeared in the Maratha camp, and they in fear constructed *sangars* and dug a moat one Deccani spear in depth. In the manner of skirmishers, they used to sally out every day and afterwards return to their camp. This went on for two months. For shortage of food—which did not reach them on account of Ahmad Shah being in the way—the Marathas became very weak; and also during this period they did not also once gain predominance in fighting. So they became helpless.

BATTLE OF PANIPAT, 14 JANUARY 1761

One day the Marathas came out of their *sangar*—with all the artillery and Ibrahim Khan Gardi, Holkar and

Sindhia, and engaged in battle. Ahmad Shah, according to his custom, got all the squadrons (*dasta*) ready and ordered them to skirmish. One after another the Marathas,
 47a displaying superior force, fell on the skirmishers. The news reached Ahmad Shah in succession; he himself rode out, saw that the entire enemy army with their guns had come out to the field and were advancing. The Bhau sent Ibrahim Khan Gardi opposite the Indian sardars i.e., Shuja-ud-daulah, Hafiz Rahmat, Dundi Khan Bangarh and others; Malhar Rao Holkar was standing facing Najib. The Bhau himself, with all the *huzrat*—which is the Marathi word for the chief's personal guards—set out against the division under Ahmad Shah, keeping big guns in front of himself. From dawn, when the battle began, to three hours after it, the fight was with guns and rockets. Then the
 47b troopers began to fire their muskets (*barqandazi*) and use their spears. When the Marathas pressed the skirmishers Ahmad Shah sent Jarchi Karim Dad Khan and Mir Atai Khan to reinforce them. The troops of both these sardars fought well. The wing under Ahmad Khan Bangash and Dundi Khan was opposed by Ibrahim Khan Gardi and other troopers who fought in superior strength, so that many of the men of Dundi Khan were slain and his division was shaken and some of his followers even fled away, his elephant retreated 50 paces. The Bangash also made a stand,
 48a but great pressure was put upon him. On Shuja and Najib, on that day, no blow fell.

At noon, the Bhau on horseback and Wiswas Rao, the Nana's son, on an elephant, delivered a charge and engaged in fighting at close quarters with spear and musket and sword. Mir Atai Khan was slain. Ahmad Shah saw that his troops were now very hard pressed; he summoned the *Bash Ghul* squadrons—which means his slaves who numbered 6,000 men—and cried out, "My boys! This is the time. Encircle these men." The three squadrons of slaves moved from three sides and brought the vanguard of the Bhau's army under musket fire all at once, and swept away their firm stand. The Maratha vanguard retreated and mixed with the division under the Bhau himself. A great tumult arose; men turned their faces to flight.
 48b The Bhau's personal guards showed some firmness and kept standing at some places. One squadron of slaves, numbering 2,000 men, (which is one full *dasta*), came from the right and after firing off their muskets went away to the left. Another squadron which came from the left, after emptying their muskets, went away to the right.

The third squadron which came from the front, discharged their muskets at the Bhau's vanguard and then turned to the rear. Before the enemy could recover, these men had loaded their muskets again and arrived, the left squadron on the right wing and the right squadron on the left wing, while the squadron that had been originally in front fell on the rear. During this circular manoeuvre, they quickly discharged their muskets from one side and went ^{49a} away to the other. It looked as if on all four sides troops were attacking the Marathas simultaneously. The fighting went on in this manner. The Maratha soldiers who had been spread over the field drew together into a knot at their centre. It came to such a pass that these three squadrons enveloped that *lakh* of troopers and revolved round them.

When Ahmad Shah saw that the Maratha army was shaken and some of them had taken to flight, he ordered the squadrons of his wazir to aid the slaves. The wazir's squadrons joined the slaves. At this time a bullet hit Wiswas Rao, who was in reality the sardar of the Bhau's force, and the picture of the defeat of the Marathas became visible. The Bhau arrived near Wiswas Rao and saw that the Rao was lying on his elephant and his feet were dangling on the side of the elephant's head. The Bhau, ^{49b} becoming broken hearted, set his mind on death, and with his personal followers—who were old and highly salaried—gave the rein to his horse. Ahmad Shah saw that the Marathas, making a great noise, and charging straight in front, were coming out to the front of the wazir's squadron. He ordered his Zamburchi-Bashi to gallop his Zamburak-camels forward, and fire 1,500 zamburaks simultaneously. (At this discharge) the well-mounted troopers of the Bhau and most of the sardars personally known to him, were brought down, and (the remnant) turning their faces went back. The slaves and the wazir's squadron engaged in their work on all sides of them. The second time that the Bhau made a charge, he proved helpless before the zamburaks, gave many of his men up to slaughter, and turned back. On both these occasions, the Zamburchi- ^{50a} Bashi advanced and the Marathas fell back. Ahmad Shah himself stood near the zamburaks. When three hours of the day still remained, the enemy began to flee in group after group. Then Ahmad Shah saw that they had now no strength left. Only some personal elephants (of the Bhau), the supreme flag and four or five thousand troopers remained, that were going slowly to this side and

that in order to save their own lives. So he at once ordered the regiments of Khans—which means the clansmen of Ahmed Shah—(to engage). The squadrons of Khans, 8,000 troopers, all together sallied from their place and fell upon the Maratha army.

50b At this time the Bhau was slain and his head was cut off among the (other) heads. The entire army of Afghans, Mughalia, Ruhela and Shuja, fell upon these people, and plunder began. Property (*usbab*) beyond limit fell into the hands of the troops. The pursuit was kept up till sunset, but when night fell the victors withdrew from the chase. In the *sangar* the booty that fell into the hands of the Khans was beyond counting, and the regiment of Khans did not, as far as possible, allow other troops, like the Iranis and Turanis, to share in plunder; they took possession of everything themselves, but sold to the Indian troops handsome Brahman women for one *tuman* and good horses for two *tumans* each. Whomsoever they found up to sunset they beheaded without a thought. In the moat
51a hundreds of Maratha soldiers with horses had fallen (dead); the corpses were uncountable, so that for some years after it was difficult for the peasants to cultivate these fields on account of the skeletons. Many men of the army who had taken refuge in the *gasba* of Panipat, were sought out by the Durrani and killed wherever found.

Malhar Rao escaped in safety through the kindness of Najib. Jankoji Sindhia too had come out of the field, but was slain by the villagers of the neighbourhood which is called the Haryana district. There were twenty *bargirs* with him; but highwaymen came and took away the clothing and horses of most of them, and they gladly gave these up and escaped with their bare lives. Only (some)
51b who said that they could not go on foot and hesitated to give their horses up, were slain. The villagers of Haryana killed with their sticks Antaji Mankeshwar who was a sardar of 2,000 troopers. Those who survived went to the country of the Jats and were there given one *seer* of flour each. The hundreds who were wounded perished of the severity of the cold. Some men recognised the corpse of the Bhau by his dress. Najib showed the Bhau's body to many of the Marathas who had been made prisoners, and asked, "Is this really the corpse of the Bhau?" Many men who at that time claimed to be related to the Bhau, pointed out marks on it and said, "This is truly the Bhau's body." This conversation took place in the presence of Ahmad Shah. Ahmad Shah entrusted the body to his

wazir. Ashraf-ul-wazra, who was a man of peace with all, ^{52a} requested Shuja to direct his Hindu (officers) to do what was proper, so that that Nawab (Shuja) made the corpse over to the Gosains and they burnt the body according to the rites of the Hindus. The wife of the Bhau named Parbati Bai was mounted on a mare. After the fall of the Bhau the *bargirs* with great exertion and difficulty took her out, covered 60 *kos* in seven pahars, and arrived near Ballamgarh, which is 12 *kos* from Delhi, and thence took the road to their home more slowly.

Nana Peshwa, who had reached Maheshwar, and Janoji Bhonsla who was with him, on hearing this news turned back in bewilderment and took the road to the Deccan. Near Basoda (close to Bhilsa) his brain became affected ; very often he used to cry out for his son named Wiswas ^{52b} Rao, aged 18 years, and heave pathetic sighs. In a few months he died.

Ahmad Shah entered Delhi. Wakils of the Jat with Rajah Nagar Mal—who was an old imperial *mutasaddi* and had been diwan of Khalwa, enjoying honours under Md. Shah, Ahmad Shah and Alamgir II—came from the Jat forts and saw Abdali. The camp of Ahmad Shah was pitched near the city of Old Delhi. Rumours arose that he would march towards the Deccan. Najib gave the advice that, if that king went to Malwa, a vast amount (of tribute) would be collected. The Jat Rajah also agreed through Najib to pay a *peshkash* and send a contingent to accompany Abdali in this march. The Marathas also knew it for certain that Ahmad Shah would go ^{53a} to the Deccan. But the Durrani made a great row and said, “It is three years since we have been undergoing great hardship, and no profit whatever has come to us in this war. When Indian territory has been conquered, you have bestowed it on the Ruhelas. As for the booty, the Ruhelas have purchased these also from us at low prices, giving two annas for one rupee, and we had to sell by reason of our being hungry. If we had gained a victory of this sort in Iran or Turan and defeated an army of one lakh of troopers, what gain would not have come to us in the form of horses, gold and silver ? But in the Maratha army all the men are with naked buttocks and without clothing, a stick is their sole weapon ; only mares which ^{54a} do not fetch more than four *tumans* each have been captured from them. We shall never stay in India this year.” Besides this (refusal), owing to the summer heat, many soldiers and horses (of Abdali) perished. In short, the

Durrani urged it very strongly, and Ahmad Shah had no help but to retreat. Najib undertook to pay the expenses of the Durrani troops also and said, "No fighting is now left to be done. If you go to Malwa, I shall bring Nizam Ali Khan to join you on the Narmada, and a spacious and rich kingdom would come into your possession." But Ahmad Shah, out of regard for the feelings of the Regiment of Khans, at once marched for Qandahar. Shuja and the Indo-Afghan sardars went back to their homes.

At the time of marching away, Ahmad Shah, by the advice of his own wazir, sent the robe of the wazir of India to Imad-ul-mulk and wrote to him to come and enter the city of Delhi, declaring him plenipotentiary on behalf of Abdali. 548 Yaqub Ali Khan, the brother of Shah Wali Khan, conveyed the pen-case and *Khilat*, etc., of the wazirship of India (to Imad) at Mathura, and Imad began to build castles in the air. Najib-ud-daulah marched from Delhi to Baghpat. In the fort of Delhi were the mother of the Emperor Shah Alam II and (Prince) Mirza Jawan Bakht, passing their time in fear and trembling on account of Imad. At this time Najib sent them a message, saying, "Whenever Imad would gain supremacy here, it is certain that he would set up another Emperor, or he would throw down Shah Jahan II whom he had made (Emperor)."

JADUNATH SARKAR.

THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM

27. INLAND NAVIGATION

IN the technique of communications the chief difference between the empire of the caliphs and medieval Europe is to be found in the paucity of waterways in the former. Muqaddasi (p. 19) can enumerate only twelve navigable rivers in the whole of the vast empire; the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Nile, the Oxus, the Jaxartes, Saihan, Jaihan, Baradan, the Indus, the Araxes, Nahr al-Malik, and the river of Ahwaz.¹ Of these neither the three in Asia Minor (Saihan, Jaihan, Baradan), nor the two Caucasian (Nahr al-Malik and Araxes), nor the Indian frontier-river² can strictly be included in the territory of Islam, so that with the exception of the Nile only Mesopotamia with its appendage Khuzistan and the extreme North-east offer systems of inland navigation. And of these northern Mesopotamia offers serious difficulties to such navigation, at any rate on the chief streams. One of the best explorers of the country observes that "in Ferghanah the Syr (Jaxartes) cannot carry even a fishing

(1) This is probably in accordance with actual practice, although Istakhri (p. 99) enumerates in his native province Persis only "eleven great rivers, which carry vessels, if they are launched on them." The river of Afghanistan, the Helmand, which has its sources in the Hindu-kush and the other Indo-Afghan mountains, was navigable only when the water was high (Ibn Hauqal, p. 301). Strabo (XV, 1) talks of the Jordan having been navigated upstream by the Phoenicians. In the Middle Ages this no more happened than it does now, and only small vessels sailed on the Dead Sea between Zoar, Jericho, and other district of the Jordan depression (Edrisi, ed. Brandel, p. 4).

(2) "It takes 70 days' journey for the Kashmirians to get to Mansurah. They sail down the Indus, where the water is highest at the same time as in the Tigris and the Euphrates. They pack cuscuss roots in sacks, each of which contains from 700 to 800 pounds, insert these sacks in skins, which they smear with pitch so as to render them watertight, and tie them together in pairs, so that they can stand or sit upon them. In 47 days they reach the port of Mansurah, no damp having reached the roots" (*Merv. de l'Inde*, p. 104). Apparently the 47 days refers to the distance from the mouth of the Indus (Transl.).

boat.”¹ Both the level of the water and the beds of the Oxus and the Jaxartes change so constantly and so seriously that the Russian steam navigation on the former has been stopped, and has the greatest difficulty in maintaining itself on the latter. “No vessel, however light, can negotiate the current at Kilif (middle course of the Oxus) when the water is high.”² On account of the irregularity of the currents and the numerous sandbanks not one of the towns on the Oxus was built like Baghdad or Wasit on both sides of the river, with the exception of this Kilif.³ Still, navigation was practised everywhere on the tributaries and main canals.⁴ There are no lakes worthy of consideration for extended voyages, although the greatest, the Lake of Urmia, is some ten times the size of the Lake of Constance, and the Dead Sea twice the size. Thus Syria, Arabia, and Persia come between the systems mentioned above, being vast tracts wherein inland navigation is impossible. This was the case no less in the Middle Ages than now. On the other hand the conditions of Babylonia are exceptionally favourable for inland navigation, owing to the fact that the level of the Euphrates is somewhat higher than that of the Tigris, so that vessels are easily carried eastward on the canals which are derived from the former, and can without serious difficulty be propelled westward. In the 4/10th century full advantage was taken of this convenience. A number of the most diverse forms of river-craft (of which a short list is given by Abul-Qasim, ed. Mez., p. 107, to which must be added in the 4/10th century the “flier” *tayyar*, and the *hadidi*, pl. *hadidiyyat*, which, e.g., waits before the door of the Babylonian governor)⁵ sailed about Irak; the noise made by the boatmen constitutes together with the creaking of the water-elevators the sound that is most characteristic of the national civilization. In the “twenties” of this century the general Ibn Ra’iq said: “To sail in a flier on the Tigris, and hear the cries of the boatmen is dearer to me than dominion over all Syria”⁶—a sentiment of home-sickness for which he paid with his life. The Euphrates, which is navigable from Samosata, served for the

(1) V. Middendorf, *Memoires de l'Academie de St. Petersbourg* VII, vol. 29, p. 189.

(2) Von Schwarz, *Turkestan*, p. 425.

(3) Muq., p. 291.

(4) Istakhri, p. 301, foll.

(5) Misk. VI, 44, 57, 111.

(6) Tallquist, p. 29.

conveyance of goods between Syria and Baghdad, but passenger traffic despised the canals. A magnate travels from Damascus to Jisr Manbij, where he embarks on the Euphrates for the metropolis; visitors come out to meet him at er-Rahbah, then at Hit, and finally at Anbar; here he takes to horse-back.¹ According to this, for speedy travel Anbar corresponds with the modern Felujah, near which it lay; there, as now, there was a bridge of boats over the Euphrates.² The distance from Baghdad is 12 parasangs.³ There too the canal leading from the Euphrates to Baghdad started.⁴ It should be added that in those days the course of the upper Euphrates was also different from the present; not only Hadithah, but Anah and Alo-sah were on islands.⁵

Goods carried in bulk on the Euphrates were timber from the Armenian mountains, and olive oil from Syria, which were floated down on rafts, further pomegranates, which rolled through the country on the mighty *qerqurs*, mentioned as early as by Herodotus and Livy as Mediterranean craft.⁶ They had a breadth of from 60 to 20 yards. Canal traffic flourished most luxuriantly in the neighbourhood of Basrah, where the old chronicles talk of 120,000 navigable brooks. Ibn Hauqal thought this an exaggeration, but afterwards admitted its possibility, when he had seen there within the distance of an arrow-shot a great number of brooks whereon vessels lay. For a length of two days' journey a continuous series of canals extended from the city to the sea, with palm groves, villas, and places of entertainment. Most of these channels held sea water, and at ebb the greater number of the Basran canals were empty.⁷ Traffic was also in full swing on the Tigris; Armenian goods came through Mosul, which besides supplied Baghdad with the vegetables and fruit of its mild climate.⁸ Even the pilgrims from the north came by water; in the year 348/959 "a thousand" of them, who were sailing down the Tigris in ten large boats, (*zauraq*) were drowned.⁹ Baghdad itself was a sort of Venice;

(1) *Wuzara*, p. 810.

(2) e. g. for the 4th century, Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 125.

(3) Ibn Khordadbeh, p. 72.

(4) Abulfeda, *Geography*, p. 52: "At Anbar, on an estate called al-Felujah, the Nahr Isa starts."

(5) Mas. III, 40, where the text has incorrectly *Tausah*.

(6) *Wuzara*, p. 257.

(7) Ibn Hauqal, p. 158.

(8) Muq., p. 188.

(9) Misk. VI. 234.

"the people in Baghdad come, go, and cross by water; two-thirds of the property of Baghdad lie in the river."¹ Barges could put in at several of the bazaars, and at every moment the narrow streets had to cross the water on tall arches of masonry. At the beginning of the 4/10th century there were counted 30,000 boats employed in passenger and goods transport; the ferrymen's guild had to pay duty daily on earnings amounting to 90,000 dirhems. These public conveyances were neither in form nor in name identical with the round *guffahs* in use now; they were called *sumairiyyat*² "vessels of the people of Sumaira."³ The sum given is likely to be correct; even in these days a ferryman (*juffaji*) often earns a Mejidi (between four and five dirhams).⁴ The court alone disbursed 500 dinars every month in payment for its boatmen.⁵ Besides these a vast number of private craft were afloat; the wealthy citizen of Baghdad was obliged to have an ass in his stable and his flier (*tayyar*) on the river. The river played a dominant part in the social intercourse of the great world. About 200/800 the Caliph Amin had six pleasure boats (*harrakat* "burners") built in the shape of a lion, elephant, eagle, horse, dolphin, and snake.⁶ In the year 333/944 the state "flier" of the Caliph was called the Gazelle.⁷ The remains of the Caliph al-Radi were carried to their resting place in a gondola in the year 329/941.⁸ After the defeat of the great Dailemite rebellion in the year 345/956 Mu'izz-ed-daulah sailed through the city in his boat with the captured ringleaders following behind; the populace stood on the bank, showering blessings on him and curses on the others.⁹ In the year 364/974 a meeting took place on the water between the prince 'Adud-ed-daulah and the Caliph: "all the world was there in skiffs and gondolas; one could go from one bank to the other on the craft."¹⁰ When in the year 377/987 the prince Sharaf-ed-daulah sailed for his coronation by the Caliph, tents were

(1) Muq., p. 124.

(2) Shabushti, *Kitab ed-diyarat*, fol. 17a, 26b; *Kitab Baghdad*, ed. Salmon fol. 36b; *Sumairiyyat ma' baraniyyat*.

(3) According to Dozy the word is a corruption of the Greek *sellarion* (Transl.).

(4) *Mashriq*, IV, 992.

(5) *Wuzara*, p. 19.

(6) Tabari, III, 952 foll. attested by a poem of the contemporary Abu. Nuwas.

(7) Mas. VIII, 377.

(8) *Kitab al-'uyun wal-hada'iq*, III, Berlin, fol. 188 b.

(9) Misk. VI, 218.

(10) Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 477.

pitched on the banks of the Tigris, and the houses on both sides of the river splendidly decorated.¹

In order to render passage possible, the bridges of boats in Baghdad had on their eastern side two movable pontoons (*zanbariyyat*), which could be drawn out.² The bridges of boats at Wasit had such passages on both sides.³ A peculiar method was employed on the Tigris for towing vessels upstream. A long hawser was secured at some point upstream, the men engaged in towing stood on the vessel itself, having over their shoulders a noose⁴ attached to the hawser, just as on Assyrian representations heavy loads were dragged on land. The men in front steadily pulled at the hawser till the whole of it was piled in neat circles on deck. The operation was naturally accompanied by incessant singing. Between Samarra and Baghdad, near the little town 'Alth, there was a difficult place, called al-Abwab "the Gates," where the river dashed down a rift between rocks. Vessels had to anchor there and hire a pilot (*hadi*). The pilot kept his hand on the tiller till the vessel had got through.⁵ It was in South Babylonia that shipping was faced with the most serious obstacle which interfered with the navigation of the Tigris during the whole of the Arabian period. Between Wasit and Basrah cargo had to be transhipped to small boats, as the Tigris divided here, and entered the region of the marshes (*Bata'ik*). Here there were only isolated channels in which the boats seemed to be gliding through lanes of reeds, with only an occasional glimpse of clear water. Along these lanes huts were erected on reed mats each holding five men, whose business it was to see to the safety of traffic on these fantastic waters. Their guard-houses were circular beehives, without windows, since only thus could they protect themselves from the terrible plague of midges.⁶

In spite of vigilance Babylonia below Baghdad was by no means safe during the whole of the century. The robbers were mainly Kurds; in the year 328/940 as important a personage as the Prince Bajkam was killed by Kurdish robbers near Wasit where he was hunting.⁷ Khwarizmi

(1) Ibn al-Jauzi, Berlin, fol. 125 a.

(2) Ibn Abi Usaibiah I, 179; Gildemeister, NGGW 1882, p. 489.

(3) Muq., p. 118.

(4) *Qamaya*, Abulqasim, p. 108; not in the Dictionaries.

(5) Shabushti, *Kitab ad-diyarat*, fol. 88 b.

(6) Ibn Rusteh, p. 135.

(7) Yahya b. Sa'id, fol. 85 a.

uses "the Kurd attacking the pilgrim" quite as a proverbial phrase.¹ In the later 4/10th century there is special mention of a Kurdish chieftain Ibn Mardan, who ambushed the vessels, and secured ample plunder, although the vessels usually went in fleets—whole caravans of vessels (*kar*).²

Another famous robber chief of the 4/10th century was Ibn Hamdun, who carried on his operations between Baghdad and Wasit. He was a romantic Rinaldo Rinaldini, chivalrous and generous towards the poor, and only fleecing the rich;³ his splendid career became proverbial.⁴ A robber king of the Marshes, 'Imran b. Shahun, rose to political importance. He demanded payment by the government officials for the convoy which he provided, and defeated Muhallabi, the vizier of the mighty prince Mu'izz-ed-daulah. There was nothing that the vizier could do but nominate him viceroy of the Marshes in the year 339/950.⁵

On one occasion the pirates attacked a very exalted company, who were going downstream to meet a magnate. The company contained the vizier, and the two heads of the house of 'Ali er-Radi and el-Murtada. Attacking them from their *harraqat* ("burners," a sort of rivercraft) the pirates shouted: "Out with the cuckolds!" which gave the Caliph's secretary, who was one of the company, the opportunity for the witticism: "They must have spied upon us, else how could they know that our wives were unfaithful?"⁶

Still more serious damage was done to the inland commercial navigation by the official highwaymen, especially the Hamdanids in Aleppo, who were distinguished not only for their chivalry, but still more by their inordinately stupid system of taxation. The most famous prince of this house, Saif-ed-daulah, utterly ruined the chief inland port of Syria, Balis at the bend of the Euphrates, by the heavy transit duties which he imposed. In the space of a few months he is said to have extorted about a million dinars from traders who had their barges there laden with wheat and their rafts with oil.⁷ In Babylonia also inland

(1) *Rasa'il*, p. 79.

(2) Ibn al-Hajjaj, *Diwan*, London, fol. 170 a; X, p. 218; *Kitab al-Faraj*, II, 107.

(3) et-Tauukhi, *al-Faraj ba'd esh-shiddah*, II, p. 108.

(4) Tha'alibi, *Umad al-mansub*, ZDMG, VIII, p. 306.

(5) Misk. VI., 171, foll: Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 362, 368 foll.

(6) Yaqut, *Irshad* I, 235.

(7) Ibn Hauqal, p. 119.

duties were imposed. About the year 300/912 duties were levied at two points between Baghdad and Basrah;¹ at night the river was closed by the tax-collectors. "On both banks of the Tigris two ships were tied together and made fast to the bank, and ropes stretched across the water, with their ends fastened to the ships so that nothing could pass."²

Navigation on the Nile was in such volume in the 4/10th century that Muqaddasi was astounded by the numbers of the vessels which were at anchor or sailing at the wharf of Old Cairo. "An Egyptian asked me: Whence art thou?—From Jerusalem, I replied.—A great city that, he said, but my friend, God prosper you! if all the vessels which sail hence to distant countries and to the Egyptian villages were to come to Jerusalem, they could remove its inhabitants, with their goods and chattels, and the stone and timber of the houses, so that people would say: Once there was a city here!"³ The point at which the continuous navigation of the Nile ceased was also the point at which Egypt ended.⁴ Asuan was the great mart for the Sudan; trade was carried on not, as might be supposed, by Egyptians making their way to Nubia—trading was never a special characteristic of the inhabitants of the valley of the Nile,—but by Nubian traders from the Sudan, who disembarked their goods above the cataracts, and conveyed them on camels for twelve days by the side of the river.⁵ The region south of the second cataract was strictly closed to all strangers, a measure which goes back to the history of ancient Egypt.

(1) Ibn Rusteh, p. 184.

(2) Ibn Rusteh, p. 185.

(3) Muq., p. 198.

(4) Mas. III. 40; 'Abdallah b. Sulaim (end of the 4/10th century, cited by Maqrizi; see Marquart *Die Beninsammlung*, p. CCLXIX.)

(5) Edrisi, p. 20/21.

THE OLDEST WESTERN ACCOUNTS OF CHINESE PORCELAIN

PORCELAIN was invented in China between the seventh and eighth century of the Christian era and it differs to this day from all other pottery in its nature and manufacture, including those which approach it nearest, like the Meissen or Dresden china. As I am informed by my colleagues acquainted with Chinese literature, Chinese authors generally state that the Mongols destroyed all ancient porcelain, and the fact remains that we possess in the many collections no pieces which can safely be dated before the thirteenth century of the Christian era.

For this reason the account found in the Book on Precious Stones by Al-Bêrûnî, called *Al-Jumahir fi Ma'rifat al-Jawahir*, deserves special attention. The date when Bêrûnî composed this work can only be approximately fixed, but it certainly is one of his last works, and is dedicated to Maudûd, Sultan of Ghazna, and therefore must have been written in the first half of the fifth century of the Hijrah, the early eleventh century of the Christian era. As will appear from the translation which follows there were collectors in Islamic countries; it may be possible that specimens may have survived in Oriental collections, and I should be happy if such pieces could be made known, if they exist.

After giving an account of a lead-glass called Minâ which is supposed to be manufactured to this day by the Sâbi'ans in the 'Irâq, Bêrûnî gives the following account of Chinese porcelain. It is the thirty-second chapter of his book and, as I am contemplating to publish the whole work in the Arabic text with a translation, the present translation is intended to draw attention to the importance of the whole work.

Translation

ACCOUNT OF CHINESE PORCELAIN

There are made here (he means in Afghânistân) from the pure pebbles, mentioned in the account of the

Mînâglass, together with a mixture of clays such vessels, but they are Nabatæan* and coarse, not genuine.

I have heard concerning the genuine Chinese porcelain, that when they have done the utmost in reducing to dust-like powder the pebbles which they possess in better quality than any one else, and which are described as being transparent like crystal, they cast them into receptacles made of buffalo-hides and the workmen take to pounding the mass with their feet while the mass is moist. Each man works a fixed time and then transfers the material to the receptacle of his neighbour after his time of work is spent, and he takes to working in the same manner. So they take turns in working and resting from the work ; and the aim in this is that not one moment is lost in pounding, because it hardens and spoils otherwise. So they carry on till it has reached the desired state, being sticky and able to be stretched like the dough of bread, and it is kneaded with calcified burned tin.

Sometimes they make from it vessels and when they are dry they dip the outside and inside with that calcified tin. Then they are put into the oven.

Bâr Yanâi the Sâbi'an mentions that these vessels are imported from a place called Yang Chou, one of their places.

Another reporter states that when the material reaches the degree of perfection, they put it into troughs and continue moving it with their feet from ten to one hundred and fifty years—nay, sometimes it lasts for four hundred years—inheriting it from father to son.

The vessels are like glass. When they break, they melt them again and repeat their manufacture.

The two brothers say : The best Chinese vessels are those of apricot colour, of fine texture, made of sharp clay which is stretched by pounding, then those of reseda colour, and then the speckled ones. Sometimes a single piece will fetch the price of ten dinârs.

I had in Ar-Ray a friend, a merchant from Isfahân, who was my host in his house. There I saw all that was in it in the way of vases, sugar-basins, wash-basins, plates, jugs and drinking-cups—nay, even ewers, cups, censers, lamp-stands and lamp-holders and other utensils, all made of Chinese procelain and I was amazed at his good taste in all that elegance—.”

For better understanding I must add a few remarks. The two brothers whom he mentions are frequently referred

* By Nabatæan the Arabs always mean something inferior.

to by Bêrûnî and they appear to have been the court jewellers of Sultân Mahmûd.

The working of the material for very long periods is an established fact, even if a figure like 400 years is a wild exaggeration.

The name of the Sâbi'an, who knew the place from whence the porcelain was exported, is uncertain as the three manuscripts at my disposal all differ. I am informed that the place-name is correct, the Chinese records state that the porcelain was carried from the interior down the Yang Tse river to the coast-town Yang Chou, which exists to this day.

THE OLDEST ACCOUNT CONCERNING TEA

The last work which Bêrûnî wrote was probably his work on drugs. He states himself in the introduction that he was over eighty when he wrote it, and a note by Ghadhanfar in the only preserved copy of the Arabic text states that he never made a clean copy of it. Unfortunately this manuscript has lost many leaves and the account on tea is not in it. Fortunately we possess a Persian translation in two manuscripts, one in Aligarh and a more complete version in the British Museum (Or. 5849). It is from the latter that I have translated this account (fol.49).

Translation

"CHA. It is a kind of plant and its mine (so) is in the land of Chîn. The letter Chîm is the same which the Arabs transcribe with the latter Sâd, and pronounce the word like Sâ. They boil this plant and put it in four-cornered bags to dry.....and it is of great use and wards off the effects of drink. It is for this reason that they export it to the land of Tibet, because it is the habit of the people of Tibet to drink much wine, and there is no other remedy as efficacious against its harm. The persons who bring it to the land of Tibet take no other price in payment except musk.

"In the book *Akhbar-i-Chin* it is recorded that this plant is thirty times more subtile (than what?), that its taste is sweet with slight bitterness but, when boiled, this bitter taste leaves it. They handle it dry and say that they drink it with warm water with their meals and assert that the drinking takes away the heat of the inside and cleanses the blood.

“People who have reached the place where it grows in China, say that the residence of their emperors is in a place called Pan Chou. In the middle of this town is a river, large like the Tigris at Baghdad. On both sides of the river are taverns, drinking houses and places (Mawâdi—brothels?) and in these places they drink tea just as in India they take Bhang in well-known places. The revenue of those places goes into the treasury of the emperor and the sale and purchase of tea is prohibited to any one except the emperor and his agents. Their law is that any one who sells or buys, without the permission or command of the emperor, tea or salt is considered a thief and such thief is killed and his flesh is eaten. The revenue of these places which we have mentioned belongs, with the revenue from gold and silver, to the emperor alone.

“Someone says in his Qârabâdîn (Pharmacopœa) that tea is a plant the mine of which is in the land of China, where they make it into cakes and export it to foreign lands.

“Thus they report concerning its discovery: The Emperor of China was angry against one of his courtiers and commanded that he be removed from his presence and banished to the mountains. This person was yellow-faced and ill and one day driven by excessive hunger he went to the mountain-peaks, when he came unawares upon this plant. He ate from it and in a short time regained his health and became handsome and strong-looking and by continuing the diet upon it he attained perfect health and strength. One day one of those who were in the entourage of that Emperor saw him and became an eye-witness of his healthy condition and informed the Emperor about it and concerning his change in health. The Emperor was astonished and gave command that he should be brought into his presence. When the Emperor saw his stature, he took it as a good omen, and wanted to know the reason of his changed condition and asked him about the cause of his return to health, and demanded an explanation. He confessed what had happened and explained the virtue of that plant. They fetched some of the tea plant and made experiments with it so that they became aware of its value and employed it among their medicaments.”

The above translation must be considered a tentative one only, because the London manuscript is considerably damaged by water. I am also not sure that Bêrûnî cited the book called *Akhbar-i-Chîn*; and it may be possible that

this portion is an addition of the Persian translator. On account of the habitual carelessness of Persian Kâtibs in copying foreign names the name of the Chinese city may also be wrong. By the "*places*" I assume that here we have to do with similar institutions to the *Tea Gardens* in Tokio and other Japanese towns, as otherwise the government supervision remains inexplicable. Those better acquainted with the ancient Bhang-houses in India can perhaps give a better or similar explanation.

As regards the phonetical explanation at the beginning of the translation it must be borne in mind that the Arabic script of those days did not know the Persian Chîm چ with three points, which was a much later introduction, and the Arabs when putting this sound in writing invariably employed the letter Sâd, as for example in the word Chîn in Persian, which is always given as Sîn in older Arabic works.

EXTRACT FROM THE AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT OF BERUNI
ENTITLED TAHDID NIHAYAT AL-AMAKIN LI TASHIH
MASAFAT AL-MASAKIN

In the introduction to this work the author complains of the unreliability of the records of travellers in foreign countries and that those who had real knowledge did not commit their knowledge to writing. He also states that many parts of the known world have altered considerably in historical times, so that the accounts of earlier authors are discredited though they may be perfectly correct. The following translated extracts may be of general interest, as they throw light upon earlier civilisation and show that an extensive trade existed between the Persian Gulf and China.

Translation

"In days not far distant from our times there was among the masters of Sirâf a learned pilot named Mâfannâ, and one of the captains engaged him for a very high fee to pilot him to China and, when they came to the gates of the country, which are rivers that flow into the sea between high mountains, a tempest arose which prevented them from slipping into the river-gate which leads to Khân Fû, which is the first of the ports of China and this was the harbour for which they aimed. Therefore Mâfannâ made for another port than the city of Khân Fû. The captain,

not satisfied, demanded that he should go back to sea and aim for Khân Fû. Mâfannâ warned him of the dangers of the sea, after he had got him into safety ; but the captain would not listen and the ship was turned back into the waves of the sea. Then a gale arose and wrecked the ship, but Mâfannâ cast himself upon a plank which floated with him and he remained three days and nights in the water when a Junk (Sunbuq) passed which came from Sumatra to China and had lost its way. They picked him up as he was well-known as a pilot and were delighted at having come upon him and asked him for guidance. Then he demanded a fee and the captain became angry and said : " Are you not satisfied that we have saved your life, that now you demand a fee. You are only a partner in our common salvation." He replied : I am not going to guide you on the right road unless you give me money ; for death and the arriving in this state of destitution in China are the same to me. The captain of the junk said : " Unless you guide us on the right road, I shall put you back where you were." He said : " Do as you like ! " So they cast him back into the water on that plank and sailed away and wandered about till they all perished. So Mâfannâ remained in the water two more days till another junk passed which had lost its way. They asked him for information and what he wanted for his trouble. He said : " I want a fee else you can put me back to the waves." So they gave him two hundred Mithqâls of gold and he took the steering-gear into his hand ; then he cast the Barad, which is a heavy piece of lead with which is sounded the depth of the ocean and the height of the submarine elevations, and extracted some of the soil from the bottom of the sea and smelled it, till he made sure of the place where he was and turned the ship in the right direction and was saved."

Khân Fû is the ancient name of the modern Cantoan and the description is perfectly correct as the entrance to the harbour is guarded by high hills.

Sîrâf, a town on the Persian Gulf, had renown as a sea-port in ancient times, and the pilot Mâfannâ may not have been a Muslim on account of his peculiar name. In another passage Bêrûnî tells us that at 'Abbadân at the entrance of the Shatt al-'Arab, leading up to Al-Basrah, were burned nightly huge beacons to enable ships coming from India, China and Africa to find the port even at night. How long this practice lasted will probably be

difficult to ascertain, but I believe the Mongol invasion did away with all such institutions.

In his account of *Lead* we are informed by Bêrûnî that this metal was not found in China and fetched on that account high prices.

The following tale from his *Kitab al-Jumahir* illustrates this.

Translation

“ One of the merchants of the seas related as follows : It used to be our custom that we carried goods for poor people as we expected a blessing through it. One day we were at Ubulla and had got ready our ships for the voyage to China when an old man came up to us and said : I have a request to make with which I have approached others, but they have disappointed me about it ; so I have come to you, trusting that you will not do the same. I said : What is it ? He replied : “ I shall not tell you till you have given a firm undertaking.” So I did. Then he brought a bale of lead weighing about ten maunds (Manna) and said : “ My wish is that you order it to be carried till you reach such and such a deep sea and then command it to be thrown overboard.” I said : “ I shall not do that ! ” He replied : “ And what about your undertaking ? ” So he urged upon me till I accepted the bale and entered it into the ledger under his name together with his address in Al-Basrah. Now when we came to that deep sea God Almighty on account of the storms made us forget ourselves, not to mention that lead. Then we reached our destination and sold the goods which we had brought, when a man came and asked us whether we had any lead. I replied : “ We brought none.” Then the steward reminded me of that bale and I said : “ I had to act contrary to my undertaking, then why shall I not sell it ? ” So the man bought it for 120 dînârs and I purchased for the owner some of the valuable goods of China. Then we went away (and having reached home) the old man did not come to me. I therefore went up to his house and made enquiries about him and was told that he had died. I asked : “ Has he left no heirs ? ” They said : “ He had a nephew in one of the seaports and his house is in trust in the hands of a trustee appointed by the Qâdî. Then I was perplexed and returned to Ubulla and sold those wares for seven hundred dînârs. I was there one day when a man came up to me and said to me : “ Are you so

and so ? ” I said : Yes. He said : “ Did you make a voyage to China and sold there a bale of lead last year ? ” I replied : Yes. He said : “ I was the purchaser and when I cut it open to make use of it, I found it to be hollow and inside twelve thousand dinars. Now I have come with them to you. Take them ! ” Then I said to him : “ You have made matters worse ; the money does not belong to me.” Then I told him the tale. He smiled in amazement and asked : “ Did you know the old man ? ” I replied : “ No ! Except what I have told you.” Then he said : “ That was my uncle. He had no other heir beside me. He used to illtreat me to such an extent that I was forced to flee from Al-Basrah seventeen years ago. He intended to turn his property away from me, but God decreed otherwise in spite of him, as you see. So I gave him the seven hundred dînârs and he took possession of the house of his uncle and lived in the utmost comfort.”

F. KRENKOW.

LUSTRED TILES FROM SAMARRA IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

DURING my stay at Oxford, Sir Michael E. Sadler, Master of University College, created in me an interest to see the art treasures of the Ashmolean Museum, and here I saw the above tiles grouped along with "Recent Acquisitions."

Knowing of similar tiles in various museums and collections, these at first sight did not excite any particular interest; but, being involved in studies of Oriental Art, I returned to them and made a more careful study with a view to calligraphy, and while studying the Quranic verses worked upon them, I noticed the date, and something more which was of great interest. My curiosity raised, I asked Mr. Clark, the keeper of this section, if the title displayed under the tiles was correct, for the group of tiles was labelled "Lustred Tiles from Varamin 13th century." He kindly informed me that they were labelled after the manner of the British Museum tiles of the same category. However, I was not satisfied that the title given them was correct and, after consulting a freehand drawing of the inscription in question which I made while in the Museum, I formed the opinion that this particular part of the inscription was either the name of the artist, or some portion of a Quranic verse, generally found on such tiles.

Other pieces of these tiles in different collections have been referred to by the following authors.

Wallis—*Goodman Collection*, 1893.

Butler—*Islamic Pottery*, 1926.

Migeon—*Manual of Musulman Art*, 1927.

Hobson—*British Museum Guide to Islamic Pottery*, 1932.

Falke—*Majolika*, 1896.

Burlington Fine Art Club—*Persian and Arab Art*, 1885.

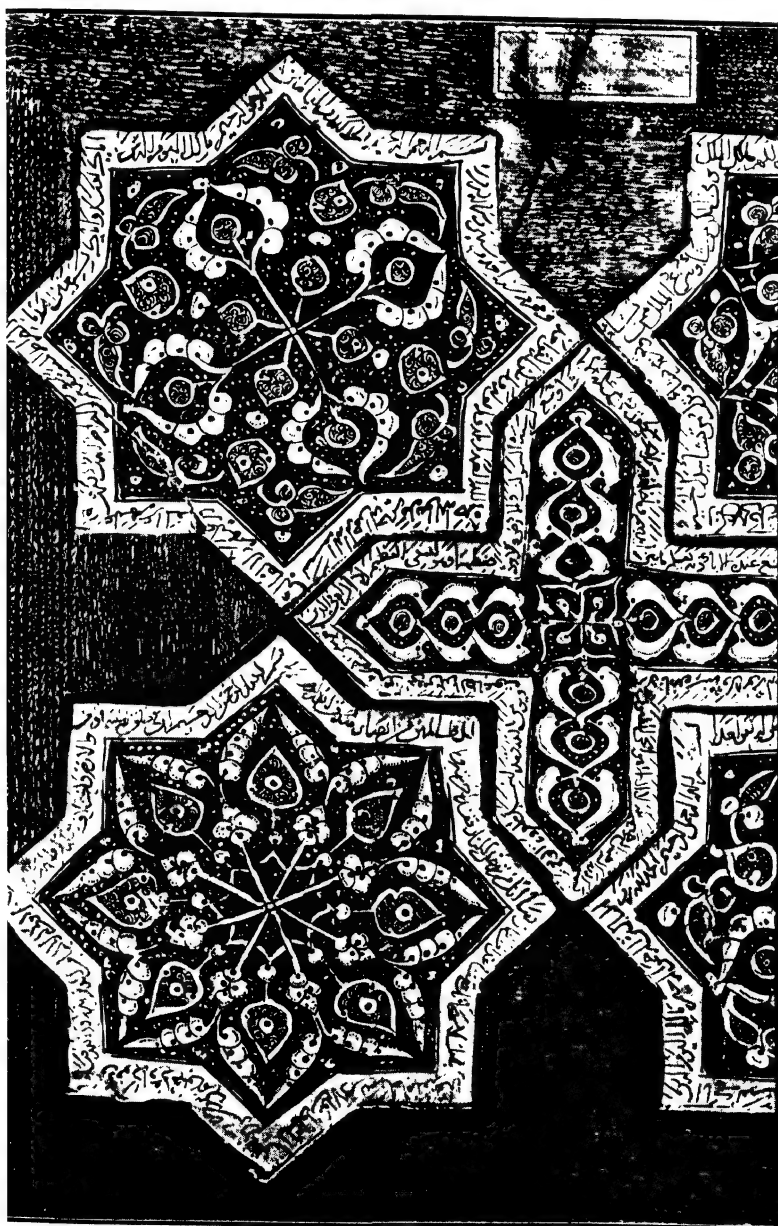
Dimand—*Handbook of Mohammadan Decorative Art*, 1930.

A

هـ احد (ی) وستين و ستا يته بسر من را

"In Muharram (1st month), year six hundred and

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Lustrated Tiles from Samarra in the Ashmolean

Because these tiles once covered the walls of the Mosque of Imâm-Zâdah Yahya at Veramin during the 13th century, all these authors assign the origin of these tiles to Veramin near Rhages, but I can now definitely state that the place of their manufacture was "Samarra," a fact which I have discovered on the Ashmolean group reproduced here. All the tiles of this group, including those of the Ashmolean, bear the date 661 A. H.—1262 A.D., the only difference being the month of the year; we note with pride, however, that our Ashmolean group bears the name of Muharram, the first month of the Islamic era, and a complete group of five tiles.

My reading of this portion of the inscription is as follows :—

فی محرم سنه احد (ی) وستین و ستماية بسرمن را

"In Muharram—(1st month), Year Six hundred and sixty-one; at (Delighted is he who saw it) Samarra."

For the philological order of Samarra, the great work Yâqût's Geography, can be consulted. He quotes two couplets of two famous early poets of Arabia (Hussain bin Zuhak d. 251 A.H.—865 A.D. and Buhtari d. 284 A.H.—897 A.D.—vide Vol. 3, p. 14,) who mention Samarra on the same grammatical lines as we find on those tiles :—

(1) Of Zuhak

سرمن را أسرمن بغداد قاله عن بعض ذكرها المعتاد

(2) Of Buhtari

لارحلب وامالى مطرحة بسرمن رآه مستبطن لها القدر

In the first couplet we find the same ending of word Samarra as on the tiles and in the latter the beginning of the word is with the same preposition (ب) (at) as on the tiles.

It is strange that this Ashmolean group is the only one which bears the clear name of Samarra, but I feel certain that further research would reveal traces of the word Samarra on the others. One would expect to find on the many tiles still in existence in various museums and collections, an inscription giving us some detail of the monument they once adorned, but personally I do not

think that information of this character was ever placed upon this class of tiles.

Tracing the history of the Abbasid Caliphs between 656 and 660 A.H. —1258-62 A.D.—we find that the disorder caused by the Mongol raids over Mesopotamia prevented for the time being the cultivation of Art ; but just after this period, when the Caliphate had been transferred to Egypt, Malik-us-Zahir established order and, as Suyuti mentions in his well-known work *Tarikh-ul-Khulafa*, p. 193 (Cairo), caused many colleges, congregational mosques, etc., to be built, in order to restore learning, such as a college in Qasram, and a mosque in Hasamia near Mausil. This shows us that in the environs of Baghdad works of art were still produced, and, as these lusted tiles prove, it was the centre for their manufacture and exportation to other cities ; this latter point being strengthened by a study of the date and Quranic verses whether on the star or cruciform design of tiles, and by their thickness. Another point in favour of my theory of their manufacture and exportation from Samarra is that not a single tile gives us any information of the monument from which they have come, but simply bears a holy verse, a date or the name of the place of manufacture " Samarra . " If therefore the tiles which once adorned the mosque of Imâm-Zâda Yahya at Veramin were manufactured locally we should expect to find the name of Veramin upon them, but as has been pointed out this is not so : they bear the name of Samarra, which proves that these tiles were manufactured in Samarra, and thence exported to Veramin to decorate the Mosque of Imâm-Zâda Yahya.

With regard to the mode of design, the decoration on these tiles is quite characteristic. Sometimes the design is in circular form, with plant, animal or human figures in the centre, a fact which suggests that these various groups of tiles could not all have been used in the decoration of one mosque, and further it is against the principles of Muslims to use designs embodying the human form in their mosques. It is quite evident from the various designs found on these tiles, that they were manufactured either for the decoration of mosques or houses and may quite well have been made to the design of the people who ordered their manufacture.

The collection of tiles in the British Museum bears evidence of being the earliest specimens of Samarra tiles

used by Muslims. They are of different shapes—square, hexagonal etc.—with pale-brown, or pale-green glaze, (Hobson, p. 95), their beauty being due to the fine taste of the Abbasid Caliphs, who made Samarra so that, indeed, “Delighted was he who saw it,” for according to the words of Yâqût, every Caliph shared in its embellishment, and endeavoured to surpass the good works of his predecessor. The same kind of tiles may also be seen at Kairwan and Tunis, both of these places having once been under the influence of the Abbasid Caliphs as G. Marcais mentions when writing about the tiles of the Grand Mosque of Kairwan :—“The texts on which this tradition rests mention two sets of tiles, one which was imported by the Emir from a source not named and the other which was made by a man from Baghdad” (Hobson, p. 95). This is a further support to my claim that the capitals of the Abbasid Caliphs were the centre from which works of art were made and then exported.

Someone has claimed that the star tiles were quite extinct in Samarra after the 10th century, but I am certain that this Ashmolean group contradicts such a statement, and that long after the 10th century Samarra produced this and other styles of tiles, and had an influence on Islamic art in other parts of the world.

If we arrange such tiles in chronological order we see that those in the Freer Collection at Washington bear the date 336 A.H.—947 A.D. Those of the Kekelian Collection bear the date 515 A.H.—1121 A.D. (Hobson, p. 95). One very interesting example with figures in the collection of Major Gayer Anderson, Cairo, which was shown at the International Persian Exhibition, London, 1931 shows 606 A.H.—1121 A.D. The group reproduced here and others of the same class are of 661 A.H.—1262 A.D. Other examples of dated tiles are to be found in the South Kensington Museum dated 663 A.H.—1264 A.D., Metropolitan Museum tiles in relief dated 707 A.H.—1308 A.D., and in the Arthur Collection in Algeria dated 710 A.H.—1310 A.D. (Migeon 2, p. 200), and so on. If we look at all of these tiles, we see the influence of one genius working through all.

The Mohammadans first used this star design in the arcade of the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem, in 72 A.H.—691 A.D., and this piece of work is ably discussed by Captain Creswell in his recent monumental work—“*Early Muslim Architecture*,” p. 213, fig. 229, plate 11.

After studying these specimens of Muslim art. with their different modes of design, we come to the conclusion that at Samarra three groups of art are met with, namely of Persian, Byzantine and Mesopotamian character, the reason for this being that both the Omayyad and Abbasid Caliphs, whose riches were a great support to artists and encouragement to art, employed artists from these parts, and their masterpieces have been the basis of real Muslim Art.

M. ABDULLAH CHUGHTAI.

HUGHLY IN THE DAYS OF JOHN COMPANY

HUGHLY—once the greatest port of Bengal, next to Satgaon—whose fame for commerce so much impressed Ralph Fitch, a pioneer merchant of London, that he, on his return to Europe in 1591, “thrilled London with the magnificent possibilities of Eastern Trade”; on whose soil nearly all the great European powers staked everything in the 17th century to establish their commercial supremacy; where during the early days of British rule, the well-to-do European ladies and gentlemen (including the wife of the Governor-General Warren Hastings) used to meet for the benefit of their health;¹ where once stood the historic “Hughly house” of Mr. and Mrs. Motte—² now, shorn of its past fame for commerce, health³ and opulence, presents a sad spectacle and a perplexing problem to the modern generation of Bengal.

In spite of this lamentable change, Hughly even to-day possesses as much historical interest as any city in Bengal or indeed in India. The memories of many nations, both Indian and European, cluster round it; and every village on the right bank which forms the eastern boundary of this district is associated with some historical or noteworthy event. The present decadent villages—Satgaon, Trebeni, Pandua, etc.—are striking instances. Trebeni in the eighteenth century was a seat of great Sanskrit learning and the famous *Pandit*, Jagannath Tarkapanchanan, the Sanskrit tutor of that great linguist and scholar, Sir William Jones, was an inhabitant of this village.

(1) *Old Calcutta Gazettees* contain several advertisements of houses to let at Hughly, Bandel and Chinsura.

(2) Friends of Warren Hastings and his wife Marian.

(3) An evidence of the healthiness of the Bengal villages in the 18th century can be found from the following extract from the *Bengal and Madras Papers*, vol. I. page 198 :—

“A native of Bengal named Deoldas aged about 40 years came to the Cossimbazar Factory; he lives about 8 miles from Cossimbazar, of a gigantic stature and make being 7' 1" in height, all his limbs well-proportioned, his voice big and walks straight.”

Though it is known that Hughly was first founded by the Portuguese in the sixteenth Christian century, there is a considerable difference of opinion as to the exact date of its foundation. According to W. W. Hunter, this city was founded in 1537.¹ But L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S., rejects this statement. He says :—"The Portuguese could not have settled at Hughly before 1550, because the great Portuguese history *Da Asia*, published in 1552-63, makes no mention of Hughly and its map does not shew the place." Again F. B. Bradley-Birt, I.C.S. in his *Romance of an Eastern Capital* fixes the date as 1575. There are no papers in the archives of the Imperial Record Department bearing on this point.

The *Dutch Dagb Register*, 1631-4, contains the earliest record extant, from which we get the following account of Hughly :—"In June 1632, Hughly was attacked by the Mughal forces and carried by assault at the end of September, very few of the Portuguese escaping. Four hundred prisoners were paraded before Shah Jahan in July 1633 and were given their choice between turning Muhammadans and perpetual imprisonment. A few adopted the former course and were rewarded." Faria Y. Sousa,² a Portuguese Historian, also corroborates the above statement. The news of this Mughal attack on Hughly³ first reached the English at Manikpatam.

After the Mughal occupation of Hughly, the seat of the "royal" port of Bengal together with the records and offices was removed from Satgaon to Hughly. The importance which Hughly thus acquired induced the English East India Company to start a factory there. But the year in which the English established it is under dispute. Hunter specifies the date as '1640-1'; but from the *Dutch Dagb Register*, 1631-4, p. 445, it transpires that it was some time between 1631 and 1634. But this statement, again, is not supported by the contemporary English records. William Foster of the India Office puts the date

(1) *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. V, second edition 1885, p. 490.

(2) *Asia Portuguesa* by Faria Y. Sousa, vol. III, page 495; according to Mughal story, Emperor Shah Jahan was worked upon by a favourite wife, who was a fanatical votary of Islam. Shah Jahan himself was as lax and indifferent in religious matters as any of his predecessors.

(3) *Dutch Dagb Register*, 1631-4, p. 145; according to the *Badshahnama*, the siege of Hughly lasted from 11th June to 10th September 1632.

as 'beginning of 1651,' a fact which is corroborated by the following statement of Sir William Hedges, who came to Bengal in 1682 as the Governor of the English factories in the Bay of Bengal:—"The Captain of the *Lioness* (which sailed from England in February 1650) after arriving at Balasore despatched James Bridgeman, the chief merchant of the aforesaid ship with Edward Stephens as his second, and William Blake and Taylor as assistants, to make a settlement at Hughly and gave them long instructions and edifying admonitions dated the 14th September 1650, which showed how excellent were the intentions of the English East India Company. 'Principally and above all things you are to endeavour with the best of your might and power the advancement of the glory of God, which you will best do by walking holily, righteously, prudently and Christianly in this present world so that the religion which you profess may not be evil spoken of and you may enjoy the quiet and peace of a good conscience towards God and man and may always be ready to render an account in a better world, where God shall be Judge of all.' It thus appears that the year 1651 is the most probable date of the foundation of the East India Company's Factory at Hughly which gradually became the chief station of the Bay with agencies at Balasore, Patna Cossimbazar and Rajmahal. Mr. Bradley-Birt, in his, *Romance of an Eastern Capital* also supports this view.

From the following extract of a letter written by the founder of the Hughly Factory, James Birdgeman, from the ship the *Lioness* at Balasore to the Company dated December, 15, 1650, we get some insight into the trade of Hughly about the period when the Hughly Factory of the English Company was first started. The extract¹ runs thus:—"Raw silk (at Hughly) is better and cheaper than formerly, but it is desirable to buy them in February or March when the price comes to 85 or 90 rupees per maund. Saltpetre is plentiful though customs and freight raises the price at Hughly to $1\frac{3}{4}$ rupees per maund. Dry ginger fetches $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 rupees per maund at Hughly. At Hughly may be procured beeswax, long pepper, civet, rice, butter, oil and wheat—all at about half the price of other places." We further find that, besides the above articles, saltpetre, sugar and gumlac were also available² at Hughly at this period. The following extract from the writings of Captain Alex Hamilton throws light on the state of Hughly

(1) *Factory Records*, 1646-50, p. 337.

(2) *Ibid* 1651-4, pp. 95, 110.

nearly half a century after the establishment of the English factory there :—" Hughly is a town of a large extent, but ill-built. It reaches about two miles along the river's side from Chinsura to Bandel, a colony formerly settled by the Portuguese, but the Moghal's *faujdar* governs both at present. This town of Hughly drives a great trade, because all foreign goods are brought hither for exportation. And the Moghal's custom-house is at this place. It affords rich cargoes for fifty and sixty ships yearly, besides what is carried to neighbouring countries in small vessels ; and there are vessels that bring saltpetre from Patna, above fifty yards long and five broad and two and a half deep and carry above two hundred tons. They come down in the month of October, before the stream of the river, but are obliged to track them up again, with strength of hand, about a thousand miles. To mention all the particular species of goods that this town produces is far beyond my skill ; but in our East India Company's sales, all the sorts that are sent hence to Europe, may be found." The opening of the Hughly Factory was marked by great activity on the part of the English factors for foreign trade. On February 20, 1651,¹ a junk arrived at Gombroon (in Persia) from Hughly, piloted by John May (formerly master's mate of the *Lioness*). He brought a letter from the factors at Hughly to the Company's officers at Gombroon ' desiring some Persian horses for the Prince of Hughly .' So a couple were shipped in the junk which sailed again on April 10, 1651."

In 1651 the English established their factory at Hughly, full of confidence in the goodwill and co-operation of the Moghal Empire. But in less than ten years that confidence had been utterly destroyed. They had seen their friend and patron, Shah Shuja, driven to his death in Arakan ; they had seen India torn with fratricidal wars ; they had seen how little control the Central Government could exercise over the arbitrary proceedings of its subordinates. They were therefore forced to consider in what way they could best protect themselves and their trade against the oppressions of the local officers. The seizure of English commercial boats and the consequent dispute with the Nawab Mir Jumla marks the beginning of a new period in the history of the English in Bengal—a period of growing anxiety and danger.² However, after passing through several difficulties, the Hughly Factory about the

(1) *Factory Records*, 1651-4, p. 63.

(2) *Annals of the East India Company* by Bruce, vol. I, p. 532,

year 1657, became the head agency of the English trade in Bengal, independent of Madras but under the control of the President and Council at Surat with subordinate agencies at Balasore, Cossimbazar and Patna. George Gawton¹ was chosen to be the first Chief Agent at £100 per annum with headquarters at Hughly. Matthias Halstead was chosen as Third there at £30 per annum ; William Ragdell as Fourth there at £20 per annum ; Thomas Davis as Fifth there at £20 per annum. For the post of Second at Hughly at £40 per annum, William, A. Court was at first nominated ; but a dispute over his taking a servant with him caused the Company to cancel his appointment. Jonathan Trevisa was then next appointed in his place at home who embarked in the vessel *Persia Merchant* for Bengal. But before his arrival at Hughly, Gawton died and Trevisa was appointed as the Chief Agent of the Hughly Factory on the 27th March 1658 by the Home authorities. Trevisa, on reaching Madras in October 1658, lingered for some time there and again at Masulipatam, alleging want of opportunity for a passage to Hughly and the necessity of waiting for money to provide presents to the Nawab. Thus it was not until November 1659² that he arrived at Hughly, his headquarters.

The year in which John Trevisa took charge of the Hughly Factory was most momentous in the annals of Hughly. In this year Mir Jumla's troops were in possession of the city. Moreover, on account of the ill will³ displayed by him towards the East India Company's servants in Bengal, coupled with the civil war that was desolating that province, the trading operations of the East India Company during this year were carried on under the gravest disadvantages. Some idea of how the trade of Hughly was affected can be derived from the following extract from a letter of Matthias Halstead to President Andrews on the 13th September 1660 :—⁴ "The Governor of Hughly had a strict order from Mir Jumla last year to hinder the shipping off of your goods and stop our trade." Again a Balasore letter⁵ of 28th October, 1659 says "that the Nawab sent for John Ken, commanding the Governor of Hughly (where he was) not to suffer fire, water nor victuals to be brought them till

(1) *Factory Records*, 1655-60, pp. 188-9.

(2) *Ibid* p. 275.

(3) *Ibid* p. 275.

(4) *Ibid* p. 295.

(5) *Ibid* p. 292 (f. n.)

he was sett (sic) forwards." The Dutch merchants of Hughly were also maltreated. We find in the letter written by Matthias Halstead to President Andrews dated 13th September 1660 the following passage :—" At Hughly also the Second of the Dutch was imprisoned ten days and narrowly saved his life ; nay, they could not have a letter pass but under my convert (sic)." It appears from the Factory Records that, to humour Mir Jumla, the Dutch Chief (Directeur) Mattheus Van den Brouke visited the aforesaid Mughal General at his headquarters. This visit is referred to in a letter¹ from Shelden dated the 5th July 1659.

About the year 1661 there was a proposal " to procure² the making of taffaties (silk goods) at Hughly, by procuring the weavers, etc., to come and live there from Cossimbazar." But in a letter³ to the Company dated 15 January 1662, the Madras Factors reported that their colleagues in Bengal were of opinion that " it will be difficult to bring inhabitants from Cassambazar (sic) to live in Hughly for the making of taffaties and working of silk ; but they make it something probable that conditions may be made with the merchants and weavers in Cassambazar to bring that manufacture down to Hughly." However, we find from a Madras letter to the Company dated 12th January 1665⁴ that " Cassimbazar (sic) can never be reduced to Hughly. The weavers will not be persuaded to go there." From this it is evident that the proposal for indenting silk weavers from Cossimbazar to Hughly fell through.

Towards the end of 1661 some important changes happened to the Hughly Factory.(1) It was again made subordinate to the Agent and Council of Madras.(2) The title of " Agent " was changed to " Chief of the Factories in the Bay." (3) Jonathan Trevisa,⁵ so long " Agent " of the Hughly Factory, was superseded by William Blake who was appointed as the " Chief of the Factories in the Bay " on the 18th December 1661. But from the records we find that Blake could not proceed to Hughly till the year 1663.⁶

The year 1664 was not very favourable to the European

(1) *Factory Records*, 1665-1660 p. 288 (f. n.)

(2) *Ibid* 1661-1664, p. 68.

(3) *Ibid* p. 65.

(4) *Ibid* p. 402.

(5) *Ibid* p. 160.

(6) *Ibid* p. 287.

factors of Bengal. It appears from the records¹ that they somehow or other incurred the displeasure of the Nawab Shaista Khan and hence were placed under certain disabilities. A Dutch letter from Hughly dated 17th October 1664 says that "the Governor of Hughly had informed them of Shaista Khan's order that the Europeans must be content with earthen dwellings in place of stone." The result was that the Portuguese were obliged to pay 1,000 rials for having erected a church without permission; while the English who had built a stone gateway to the factory had to compound for 600 rials.

In the year 1665 a new factory was built by the English at Hughly, a quarter of a mile higher up, converting the old factory into a general warehouse while the new one was the residence of the chief and the factors.

About 11 years after the establishment of the second factory (1676) a very important question regarding Hughly was discussed when Streynsham Master, the President of Madras, came to Bengal on a tour of inspection. The question was whether Hughly or Balasore was the more suitable place for the residence of the Chief; and the Council decided in favour of Hughly² as 'the key of Bengal.'³ So in the year 1676 it was decided by Streynsham Master's orders to enlarge and repair the existing English Factory at Hughly. The following extract from the Diary of Streynsham Master (written in old-style English) dated the 25th November 1676 throws much light on this point:—"By reason that the Chief and Council in the Bay will henceforward reside in the Factory of Hughly where there is a want of accommodation and

(1) Dutch *Dagh-Register*, 1664, p. 593.

(2) But Mr. Hedges speaks against the choice of Hughly thus: "As a centre for the English trade, Hughly had many defects, which could not be remedied by any improvements in the pilotage of ships. It was separated from the Bay by a long and dangerous river and was therefore hard to defend from the sea; it stood on the west bank and was therefore easy to attack from the land. And the founders of the Hughly Factory had done their best to add to these faults. The large, badly built Hughly town, with its narrow lanes, stretched for about two miles along the river-side—North of it was Bandel, the ill-fated Colony of the Portuguese; South was the Dutch settlement of Chinsurah. Near the middle of the town a small indentation occurred in the bank, forming a diminutive whirlpool, called by the name of 'Gholghat.' It was this spot, hemmed in on all sides by closely packed houses, hard by the residence of the Mughal Governor, which the English, with shortsighted rashness, chose as the site of their Factory."—*Hedges' Diary*, vol. II, pp. 288-40.

(3) *Hedges' Diary*, vol. II, p. 286.

necessary apartments for so many married persons, upon a survey of the buildings it was judged necessary to remove the cook-room it standing inconvenient and being covered with thatch was also dangerous and to build another with brick to secure the whole and to set up necessary apartments to make the Factory capable of accommodating four married persons of the Council and also to make a Penthouse to preserve the house southward." In 1679 he again visited Bengal and at a "Consultation" held at Hughly on Friday, 12th December 1679, he formulated some regulations, entitled* "Regulations for the better ordering of the Company's affairs in the Bay," by which the trade of Bengal was placed under the general control of the Chief and Council at Hughly.

About this period the trade of Hughly was almost at a standstill owing to the activities of the "interlopers" and the exactions of the Mughal customs officers. So about the year 1681 the Court of Directors determined to make the factories of Bengal again independent of Madras and to set them upon an independent footing. With this purpose they superseded Vincent, the then Chief of Hughly, and on November 14, 1681 appointed William Hedges with special powers to be their Agent and Governor in the Bay of Bengal, assisted by the famous Job Charnock as second in command and a Council of five others who were already engaged in the English factories in the Bay.

Then ensued one of those comedies that enliven the pages of the annals of the English in Bengal. On January 28, 1682, William Hedges set sail from England. But within a month Thomas Pitt, the grandfather of the Earl of Chatham, who was the chief interloper, started from England on the *Crown*, an admirable vessel for speed, to the utmost rage of the Court of Directors, and reached Bengal in July 1682, eleven days before Hedges. He sailed up to Hughly, with all the state and pageantry due to the Governor of the English factories in the Bay and, proclaiming himself the authorised Agent of a newly founded Factory, took up his quarters at Chinsura and, with the assistance of Dutch and Bengali merchants, began to build warehouses and start a new trade. Vincent, the dismissed Chief of Hughly, eagerly joined him and they together negotiated with the native governor of

* *The Bengal and Madras Papers*, vol. I, pp. 228-88. This volume contains interesting correspondence between 1677 and 1682 regarding the commercial affairs in the Bay.

Hughly, and under the title of the "New English Company" obtained commercial privileges and a parwana to build a factory.* Thus in eleven days Pitt stole a great march on Hedges.

In the midst of this confusion William Hedges arrived in Bengal, the first independent Governor of the English factories in the Bay. Hedges appealed to the Nawab Shaista Khan—the then Nawab of Bengal—against Pitt's illegal conduct. Though Hedges procured an order for Pitt's arrest, yet the order was never executed. The interlopers easily purchased the favour of the Nawab by paying all the dues that he demanded of them. So Hedges was powerless to touch them.

Gradually the audacity of these interlopers reached what the Court of Directors considered the "height of impudence." The trade of Hughly suffered so much check and became so disorganised by these interlopers and illegal customs exactions by the Mughal officers that it was settled that Hedges should go to the Nawab personally at Dacca to settle the "interloper" and "customs" questions once for all. At Dacca he got some "promises and fair words" which proved quite useless in the long run. For, on his return from Dacca to Hughly, Hedges found that the Company's boats were still stopped and their goods seized while he was quite powerless against the exactions of the Mughal customs officers. The Court of Directors became completely disgusted with him and he was dismissed in 1683. John Beard, a feeble old man, was appointed in his place. Before he could do anything substantial he died at Hughly in 1685. He was succeeded by Job Charnock, then Chief of Cossimbazar and second member of the Council, in April 1686.

The situation which Charnock had to face on his assumption of the office at Hughly was critical; (1) the interlopers were mischievously active; (2) Hughly being unfortified was under the precarious protection of the *Faujdar* of the Nawab or the Viceroy of Bengal and his troops; (3) the Court of Directors who were burning to take revenge on the interlopers actually sent a small expedition against the then Nawab of Bengal—Shaista Khan. Over and above this, a fracas took place between the English soldiers of the Hughly Factory and those of the Nawab on the 28th October 1686. Job Charnock, who took charge of Hughly factory only in the previous April,

* *Hedges' Diary*, vol. I, pp. 55 and 180.

was driven out from the place on the 20th December 1686 and forced to take shelter at Sutanati, a village near Calcutta ; but it was only through the kindness of the good viceroy, Ibrahim Khan, that Charnock was able permanently to fix the English headquarters at that place on the 24th August 1690. This was the day on which the first seed was sown, out of which the present city of Calcutta gradually grew up to its present size. The history of Hughly during the few years after the English first established their headquarters at Sutanati is interesting. We find that during the year 1693 the piece-goods trade at Hughly was highly flourishing and that a Bengali named Mathura Das¹ was an opulent dealer in *Mulmulls*, *Rumals*, *Hummums* and other silk articles. It may also be noticed here incidentally that about the year 1697 an Armenian merchant named Marcar built a church at Chinsura.

About 1699² a new Company under the name of "the English Company trading to the East Indies" was formed in England under a charter of King William. This new Company established their headquarters and factory at Hughly. But in the end the old and the new companies were amalgamated in 1702 and *Calcutta* became their headquarters about 1704.

Though the English made Calcutta their headquarters in 1704 yet they did not entirely sever their commercial connection with Hughly so long as that town continued to be the seat of the Mughal *Faujdar*—a period during which Hughly remained highly famous for the political influence of the Muhammadans. But we find from the subsequent records that the treatment by the Mughal *Faujders* at Hughly of the officers of the Company was not uniformly good. In 1708 the then *Faujdar* of Hughly gave much trouble to the English by stopping their trade and imprisoning their servants ; and in 1713³ the English had to send 60 soldiers to Hughly to protect themselves against another stoppage of their trade by the *Faujdar*. To prevent such interruptions the English had occasionally to pay money and presents to the Nawab and also to the Hughly *Faujdar* and his subordinates, as the following examples will show :—

The records of the year 1748⁴ shew that the Company

(1) *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, by H. B. Hyde, 1901, p. 19.

(2) *Hedges' Diary*, vol. II, p. 206.

(3) *Wilson's Early Annals*, vol. II, xli.

(4) *I. O. Consultations*, vol. 1748-51, p. 27.

had to pay the then *Faujdar* of Hughly an annual present of Rs. 2,750 due in November. The Despatch from the Board to the Court of Directors dated 18th September 1752 (paragraph 111) also tells us that on the arrival of the Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah at Hughly in that year on the invitation of the Dutch and French Governors the Company paid a suitable present to him. We further find from the records of 1754 that in that year the Company again "sent the Nawab a present of a Persian horse and some fine wax-work and also to the *Faujdar* of Hughly and his Dewan Nandakumar."

In spite of the money and presents paid by the English Company to please the Mughal authorities of Hughly, cases still occasionally occurred of ill-treatment of the former by the latter. About the year 1758,¹ the officers of the East India Company at Hughly engaged some "coolies to clear a spot of ground belonging to them to settle a market." On this "Solaimon Beg, the *naib* of the Hughly *Faujdar*, placed four *Simtaburdars* at the Company's old factory at Golghat (in Hughly), threatened to cut down the English colours there, planted a pair of Moor's colours close by the English on the Company's ground and drove away the *coolies*." Again from a letter² written by Rowland and Sinfray to the Board, dated Calcutta, 24th March 1767, we find that the then *Faujdar* of Hughly, Mirza Qassim, illegally demanded from the French, the delivery of a French Armenian subject named Khawaja Mirza to him on some ridiculous ground for punishment—a fact which made the French very angry.

The name of Hughly will always be remembered in connection with the Bengal famine of 1769-70, one of the greatest calamities which befell Bengal in the early days of the East India Company's Indian Administration. It is highly pleasing to find in a letter from the Nawab Muhammad Riza Khan to the Board dated 26th May 1772 that he made this city one of the many centres in Bengal from which charity was doled out for the "support of the poor." It ought to be noted here from the minutes of the Select Committee at Fort William, dated 26th May 1770 that Hughly was annexed to Burdwan about this period. As this change increased the duties of J. Graham, the then supervisor of Hughly, W. Lushington was appointed as his assistant.

(1) *Public Consultation*, Jan. 3, 1758.

(2) *Public Proceedings*, March 30, 1767.

Persian records which are in the custody of the Imperial Record Department contain much interesting information regarding Hughly during the latter half of the 18th century. We find from them that about the year 1770 this town played an important part in the construction of the new fort at Calcutta. A letter written by Raziuddin Muhammad Khan, *Faujdar* of Hughly, to the Board, dated the 4th February 1770, informs us that about 500 labourers were sent to Calcutta by him in that year on a monthly wage of $4\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per man and sardars at 6 rupees per man only.¹ Another important fact we learn about Hughly from the above records is that its *Faujdar*, in spite of the effect of the famine of 1769-70, remitted Rs. 94,000² to the Calcutta Treasury as its revenue in the year 1770. The Persian documents further inform us how the French tried to defend their Hughly fortifications about this period. We find from these papers that "the French intended to plant lines of bamboos on either side of their 'ditch,' which was destroyed in 1769, so that in the course of 6 months or a year they may form a defence wall superior to a stone wall." But, as the then *Faujders* of Hughly strongly protested against this, the French desisted from planting bamboos. We again find from the above papers that in the year 1773 Basanta Ray was the *Diwan* of Hughly and that he was requested by the then Governor General, Warren Hastings, to send his accounts every month to Rajbullubh who was appointed *Roy-Royan* of Bengal. In the year 1774 we find Khan Jahan Khan as *Faujdar* of Hughly. The Persian records of this year throw an interesting flood of light on the criminal administration of Hughly in the latter end of the 18th century. We find from them that one of the characteristics of the Hughly *Adawlat* of this period was the extensive use of flogging. From a letter³ of the *Maulvis* of Hughly *Adawlat* to the Governor-General dated 24th September 1774, we find that, according to the sentence of the *Adawlat*, 50 stripes each were given to Hulas Roy, Gada Kanta and Gopi Kanta and 30 to Dayar.

The account of Hughly will not be complete unless we glance at the history of the Dutch and French merchants of the Hughly district, who were also struggling hard like the English to plant on the soil of Bengal the flag of their commercial greatness in the 18th century. Towards the

(1) *Persian Calendar*, vol. III letter No. 55.

(2) *Ibid* letter No. 148.

(8) *Ibid* vol. IV. letter No. 1290.

end of the first half of the 18th century the Dutch and French relations in the above district became very tense. The Dutch Settlement at Chinsura was seriously threatened by the French. The Dutch were so much afraid that they earnestly sought for an Anglo-Dutch alliance.¹ In the year 1748² Huyghens, Director of the Dutch Settlement at Chinsura (Hughly), informed Richard Barwell, the then Deputy Governor of Calcutta, that "the French by the force of arms had taken possession of the Dutch Company's garden³ at Chinsura and thereby had broken the neutrality of the Ganges." The tension of the feeling between these two nations rose to such a pitch that the Dutch authorities "prohibited⁴ all manner of intercourse between their Settlement and Chandernagore and also gave orders to their pilots not to give assistance to the French."

Such is the history of Hughly for nearly 150 years from the middle of the seventeenth down to the end of the eighteenth century.

(1) *Public Consultation*, July, 748.

(2) *Ibid* 3 January, 1749.

(3) According to Stavorinus, a famous traveller, the garden stood in the centre of Fort Augustus, having three terraces rising one above the other, ornamented with flowers.

(4) *Public Consultation*, May 1748.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

AL-MANFALUTI—AN EGYPTIAN ESSAYIST

And it is of His signs that you see the earth drooping, but if We cause water to descend upon it, it trembles and swells. Verily, He who brings it to life, brings the dead to life. Verily, all things are within His power.

Qur'an.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

Mustafa Lutfi al Manfalûtî was born in 1876 at Manfalût, a prosperous Upper Egyptian country town, lying between Tell al-Amarna and Assiût ; his father was a judge in the Muslim religious courts. In the male line he claimed the honour of descent from the Prophet Muhammad ; his mother was of Turkish origin.

As a boy he went to a Qurânic school in his native town. At the age of twelve, he had committed the Qurân to memory and went on to the University Mosque, Al-Azhar, in Cairo. Here he spent his time in haphazard but extensive reading of poetry and *belles-lettres*. This scandalized the staff of the University who, when they found a book of poetry hidden in the folds of his clothes, were as horrified, he says, as if they had found "a bottle of wine in a school-boy's locker or a lover hiding in a girl's bedroom."

Like many of his contemporaries he became an admirer of the famous reformer Muhammad 'Abduh upon whom he was in constant attendance for some ten years. After the latter's death, Manfalûtî returned to his home in the country where he lived in retirement, writing a little poetry, but remaining quite unknown to the general public until in 1908 he began to publish in the "Mu'ayyid" newspaper the articles which made him famous. From that date onward, for sixteen years, he continued to publish articles and other literary work, though the total volume of his writings is small. Among his most widely read publications are various translations from the French, notably *Cyrano de Bergerac* and *Paul et Virginie* ; these

translations, much admired for the beauty of their language, were made at second hand as Manfalûtî knew no language except Arabic.

Manfalûtî's disposition was gentle and retiring. This did not, however, save him from serving a period of six months in prison on account of a poem which was held to be offensive to the Khedive 'Abbâs Hilmi.

After the war of 1914-1918, Manfalûtî became an ardent supporter of the nationalist leader Sa'd Zaghlûl under whose leadership he hoped that a united and regenerated Egypt would win complete independence.

Throughout his life Manfalûtî kept to the national Egyptian costume and refused to adopt Western dress.

He died in 1924 at the age of forty-eight.

Manfalûtî's essays, some of which are presented in English in the following pages, have been severely criticized by eminent Egyptian writers of the present day, notably by Al-'Aqqâd and Dr. Taha Hussein. They are nevertheless of interest for several reasons. In the first place, they mark a stage in that revival of Arabic literary activity which is one of the happy features of the last hundred years ; for they were the first short articles published in the Arabic press which combined high literary quality with popular appeal. In the second place they were written in a sparkling, melodious and lucid language which came as a revelation to a public accustomed to the lifeless artifices of the Arabic decadence. In the third place, their extreme popularity in the Arabic-speaking world, from Baghdad to Marâkesh, seems to indicate that they have real merit, or at any rate that they appeal to sentiments very widely spread in the modern Islamic world and therefore of interest to Western students.

Their position in Egypt today is that, while men of letters are a little ashamed of the well-thumbed Manfalûtîs which still occupy a space in their book-shelves, less sophisticated readers weep at their artificial pathos and impressionable school-boys commit to memory the pages which they find most moving. The Western reader may perhaps be interested in the unfamiliar outlook and in the glimpse it affords of the half-Westernised East.

The contradictions of Manfalûtî's thoughts, or perhaps we should rather say of his emotions, are obvious. He cannot help regretting his lost belief in the intercession of

the Saints, though he holds it responsible for the decadence of Islam. He argues that difference of opinion is a law of human progress, yet is outraged that more than one political party should exist in Egypt. He denounces religious fatalism and yet, in a study of a father's grief, makes the mourner regret that he so far forgot the respect due to God as to apply for aid to a doctor. He warns his readers to avoid the uncritical adoption of Western models as they would the mange; yet he himself as a writer is completely dominated by an outworn French romanticism.

Characteristic of modern Egypt is the desire to combine ideals which we were accustomed to think of as incompatible, "to take patterns from Egyptian Thebes, from Phœnicia, from Baghdad and from Cordoba." Till recently the desire to revive Pharaonic glories in Egypt was unthinkable, probably because of the use of Pharaoh in the Qurân as a symbol of wanton tyranny; yet this ideal recently received official approval when the Egyptian parliament decided to commemorate the national hero Sa'd Zaghlûl by a monument built in the style of ancient Egypt.

Specifically Muslim is the consistently humane, religious and at the same time aristocratic outlook. When Manfalûtî urges consideration towards women or towards subject races, he bases his demand on the respect which his readers owe to the handiwork of God on the one hand and to themselves as Muslims on the other.

In conclusion, I wish to offer my thanks to Hasan Lutfi Efendi al-Manfalûtî, of Cairo, for his kindness in giving me information concerning his distinguished father's career, to Shafiq Ghurbal Efendi, of Cairo, for valuable help, and to Si Muhammad bu Ziân, of Fez, who first called my attention to these essays and communicated to me something of his own interest in them.

Cairo 1932.

NOTE

The following translation has been made from the 5th edition of the *Nadharât* (Essays) of Al-Manfalûtî, 3 vols. Rahmâniyah Press, Cairo, 1925. The third Cairo edition contains, at the end of the third volume, a series of essays dealing with the political events of 1921, which have been omitted from the fourth and fifth editions. The edition at present on sale in Cairo is the sixth, 1930,

COLLOQUY WITH THE MOON

Moon, looking down from high heaven, are you a fair bride, glancing from an embrasure of your castle, and are these stars scattered around you a necklace of pearls ? or are you a mighty king, enthroned, and these attendant luminaries houris of Paradise and cup-bearers ? or a precious jewel, sparkling, and this horizon the ring of fire in which the gem is set ? or a clear mirror and this halo the frame ? or an abundant fountain and these rays splashing streams ? or a glowing furnace and these satellites flickering flames ?

O bright Moon,

You have made light the whole earth, the lowlands and the highlands, the smooth places and the rough, the tilth and the main of the sea ; but can you bring light to the dark places of my heart, and cause day to break there, and chase away the overhanging clouds of care and sorrow ?

O bright Moon,

Between you and me is the kinship of resemblance ; you alone in your heaven as I alone in my earth. Tranquilly we two march in silence along the sorrowful path of the defeated, giving thought to none and by none given thought. And we two come out to one another in the darkness of the night and keep pace together and speak with one another. And I am seen ; and they think me happy, for the smile on my lips deceives them and my show of gladness. But if they could see into my heart and count the folds of care and sorrow, they would weep the tears of the unfortunate in the presence of misfortune. And you are seen ; and they think you happy and contented ; for your beauty deceives them and your serene forehead and your gleaming skin. But if they could see into your world, they would see that it is a universe in ruins, a dead world, where neither breeze blows nor bough moves nor man speaks nor voice of any living thing is heard.

O bright Moon,

I had a friend whose friendship gladdened my heart and filled my life with joy and delight ; and often in your sight and hearing I talked with him and he with me. And now that Time has parted us, cannot you tell me of

him and reveal to me his dwelling-place ? Perhaps he is looking up to you now, as I am, and speaking with you now, as I am, and asking the favour from you now that I am. See, as I stand here, his features are revealed to me, reflected in your mirror, and I see him weeping for me as I am weeping for him. And my desire is increased towards him and my grieving for him. Stay, stay long, that our meeting be prolonged and our converse be not cut short.

O bright Moon,

Why this slow descent towards your setting, as though you wished to leave me ? And why this gradual paling of your radiant whiteness ? And why this drawn sword that gleams horizon-ward above your head ?

Stay a while ! Leave me not ; go not away. Forsake me not. Only you I know ; amongst created things, I have no friend but you.

Ah, dawn has come. My companion has left me ; my friend has travelled on. When, ah, when, will the solitude of day be passed and the companionship of nightfall come ?

TRUTH AND FALSEHOOD

The following letter was addressed to me by a man of good position :

To the author of the " Nadharât " :

I had always heard of the virtue of truth and how God would infallibly reward the truthful while liars would be condemned to painful torment. I read, too, what the philosophers of the nations had written from ancient times until today, and found that they were all agreed that truth was the greatest of virtues and the source of all good qualities. They said that he who attained truth, and grasped it firmly to himself, could be absolutely certain that all his actions would be profitable. Thinking over this, it seemed to me certain that all my misfortunes and difficulties were simply due to the evil influence upon me of my lack of truthfulness. I decided that the belief which I had hitherto held, that there were many occasions in which falsehood was more serviceable than truth and more likely to produce a good result was simply a vain superstition and a prompting of the devil. So I swore to myself a great oath, calling upon God to witness that I should henceforth,

with His aid, exert all the courage and resolution of which I was capable in order to tell no single further falsehood as long as I lived.

May I now mention the five cases in which I applied my new principles, and tell you the results of my action ?

First case. Whenever a prospective client stopped at my shop, I told him in response to his enquiries, the exact truth as to the cost of my goods and the gain which I considered that I ought to make on the sale if the transaction was to be profitable. The client would then suggest a lower price and, when I refused, would go off, saying that my demands were excessive ; whereas in reality I was aiming at the same profit which I had always made on that article. Only previously I had always exaggerated the cost price and belittled my profit, so that when I told the truth people thought I was going to make an excessive profit, and went off to somebody else. This went on all the first day, until night fell without God's providence having enabled me to earn my day's sustenance ; after a few days I had got the reputation throughout the market of a grasping man who demanded unduly high prices, and soon nobody stopped at my shop at all.

Second Case. I was present at a gathering presided over by one of those traffickers in weak intellects who are known as Masters of Confraternities.* He sat there surrounded by his followers and acolytes, interpreting the doctrine of reliance upon God in a most peculiar way, going so far as to preach a doctrine of non-action, recommending his followers to let existence take its own course while they abstained from any effort to attain any specified end. This nonsense he supported by certain verses from the Qurân which he interpreted in a fashion of his own ; and by supposed traditions for which he had no more authority than that his predecessor had quoted them before him or recorded them in writing. In particular he kept on rolling off his tongue a tradition to the effect that

* Religious Confraternities whose members are united by devotion to some particular saint. These confraternities have elaborate and widespread organisations. The head of the confraternity is generally himself considered to have some of the attributes of saintship. The office is often inherited by the late occupant's son or other near relative. These organisations exert a powerful influence in the national life. They promote devotional exercises amongst their members and distribute charity. Some account of the less pleasing aspects of some of these confraternities is to be found in "Al Ayyamm" by Taha Hussein and (in French) in "Mansûr" (an Egyptian childhood) by Ahmed Deif and Bonjean.

“ if you were to rely on God as you ought, he would provide for you as he provides for the birds who go empty and return full.”* This was too much for me and I began to protest. “ The evidence which you have brought to prove your case, Master, in reality proves the opposite ; the tradition which you adduce in support of laziness was intended by him who preserved it to inculcate energy and effort. Don’t you realise that Almighty God only allows the birds to return full after they have been on the journey which he ordered them to make ? Moreover a bird’s needs are limited to a drop of water and a grain of wheat, while man is a being whose incessant desires and manifold requirements are hardly to be satisfied by the most continuous effort.

“ The truth is, my brothers, that you are not being frank with yourselves. Because of your inability to exert yourselves, you live in continual idleness ; and then, in order to avoid the stigma which this vice involves, you cloak your failing by glorifying with the name ‘ reliance on God ’ what is in reality a most degrading weakness. ”

At this point the Sheikh interrupted my discourse with a noisy and indignant groan, and called on his followers to throw out the “ agnostic—nay, atheist ” from the meeting. They were on me at once like a crowd of hungry soldiers on a ditty of soup, regaling me with violent blows till they had got me outside the door ; when I arrived home I was nearly dead.

Since that day, I can never walk past a group of people in my neighbourhood without their glancing at me contemptuously and audibly invoking God’s protection on themselves as if I was the devil himself.

Third case. I will not conceal from you, Sir, that I used to hate my wife so violently that it was only with the greatest difficulty that I forced myself to conceal my feelings and show her a constant affection which my heart in no way felt. By thus managing her, I was able to keep under my control some little property which she possessed. I saw now that this was the worst of all the lies in which I was involved, and I swore that I would no longer employ a veil of pretence to conceal the feelings which lurked

* This tradition is related on the authority of Ibn Hanbal, Al Timidhi and ul Nasâ’i ; the interpretation here given to it by the writer is that of Muhammad ‘Abduh in his commentary on Surat al-‘Asr : (Cairo 1845 p. 88).

within my heart. The moment that I carried out my resolution and there was cut off from her hearing that comforting stream of endearments to which she was accustomed, she began to be estranged from me. Our relationship was overcast, and from that moment it was but an evening and a dawn until the bond was weakened, the link loosed, and the chapter of Separation completed by the verse of Divorce.

Fourth case. I was present at a gathering which included several of those empty-headed persons who find the ordinary subjects of conversation boring, and therefore pass the time in gossip and personalities, criticizing other peoples' actions and endeavouring to penetrate and appraise their most personal motives. They seemed, indeed, to consider the human soul as a sort of chemical compound and themselves as analytical chemists whose duty it was to carry out a minute analysis. These people began to reach their tongues out at a man of great position who has, I believe, no equal amongst present day statesmen for his distinterested patriotism, his courage in facing opposition and the unparalleled misfortunes which have befallen him.

Now my own temperament is such that nothing is so offensive to me as to hear innocent people accused and virtue rewarded with evil, so that when they went so far as to call the statesman in question a traitor, it was more than I could tolerate.

"My good people," I said, addressing them in general, "though you have by now studied over a hundred pages of the book of liberty,* you are still slaves to superstition, victims of your idle imagination, eager to run after the first sedition-monger who comes along. If you behave like this, looking at people without consideration, and judging without knowledge, you will discourage those who are anxious and able to do good work, and deprive yourselves of the services of those who could help you most. It must make the reformer despair of success to see you the prey of every profiteer and the sport of every trifle. You let charlatans flatter you with the means which nurses employ to quieten little babies; and then, when a man of worth appeals to you for some work of value you dislike him as much as you love the former."

* The speaker's meaning is that one hundred years had passed since the Pasha Muhammed 'Ali (1768-1849), founder of the present Egyptian royal family, had set Egypt upon the path of liberty.

My only desire in addressing them thus was to do them good ; but they requited me with ill, and when I at last escaped from them I was clutching my head with my hands, not quite sure whether it was still attached to my body or not.

Fifth case. A poet carrying a big bundle of papers stopped me in the street as I was on my way to an urgent appointment, and asked me to listen to a poem which he had recently composed. Now I know these people from of old, and their poems, ancient and modern. So I made apologies and asked to be excused. This he would not allow but drew me with him to the side of the road, where he began to intone his poem to me line after line. I soon felt as if I was being given poison to drink, drop after drop, and began to long that he would hit me over the head with the whole of his poem in one terrific sentence, and so put an end to the cumulative torture, aggravated as it was by his unseemly play-acting. For every time that he came to the end of a line, he brought his face close to mine, gazing into my eyes to see what impression his verse had made upon me. If he saw a wry expression, he judged it the involuntary grimace of the man who swallows a mouthful of wine. This went on until he had recited fifty lines. Then he paused, explaining that we had reached the end of the first section of his poem. "In God's name," I said, "how many sections are there?" "Ten," he replied, "of which this, which you have heard, is the shortest." "Then will you permit me to tell you, sir," I exclaimed "that your poetry is bad? and worse than its badness is its inordinate length, and worse than either the croaking voice in which you recite. And worse than all three is your supposing that I have so little judgment and such poor taste that your insipid verse could console me for missing the appointment which was my only motive for leaving my house." At this, he hit me a blow in the chest, and I hit back, and then we went at it hammer and tongs until my arms began to ache. Finally I lifted my stick and struck him on the head, with no other motive, as God is my witness, than to get at the source of verse in his brain and put it out of action. As he fell in a swoon to the ground I snatched the poem, which slipped from his grasp, and tore it into pieces, thus delivering myself and future sufferers from their pain. Meanwhile a policeman came up and carried us both off to the police station and subsequently to the lock-up, from which I am now writing to you.

Such are the circumstances, author of the *Nadharât*, in which I find myself; and I ask you to give me your opinion upon them and to help me in this time of doubt and perplexity. For my conscience is sorely troubled in respect to the value of truth, now that I have seen that from the only five occasions in my life in which I have adhered strictly to it there has resulted my bankruptcy, the break-up of my home, a charge of atheism on one occasion, of treachery on another, and to crown it all, the ignominy and inconvenience to which I am now subjected here in prison."

My dear prisoner,

I thank you for your letter and I ask God to make your path easy for you and guide you to a right opinion in this matter.

Your complaint is that truthfulness has so injured you that you have come to doubt its value and even to think that it is the worst of vices instead of the best of virtues. I must reply to you, then, that you have abandoned yourself to despair without due cause; you should never have allowed the accidents of daily life and the misfortunes of this temporal world to influence your judgments so deeply as to affect your right understanding. You are not the first man on this earth to speak the truth, nor the first to meet with obstacles and suffer unjustly in that cause.

If you understood the true meaning of virtue and knew how to suffer with true patience for its sake, you would win a reward whose taste is far sweeter than the taste of life itself.

Virtue is not a means of livelihood or a path to wealth; it is a state of mind by the aid of which man can reach the highest degree of perfection of which he is capable.

The man who seeks virtue in order to multiply his wealth or increase his comfort has a low opinion of it and insults it, placing it on a level with the merchandise of the trader and the tools of the artisan.

It is not sound doctrine that a man should judge of his personal worth by the measure of his success in life, satisfied with himself if he is materially prosperous and worried if he is in straitened circumstances. There are multitudes of good men who are unfortunate; while many of the prosperous and wealthy are worthless characters.

The good man cannot be wholly satisfied with life unless he win the affection and respect of his fellow-men;

but this he cannot do unless he live among people who appreciate goodness and welcome it when they see it. This they will never do unless they are themselves good. Alas, the majority of those who control the sources of wealth are ignorant, uneducated people who hate the man who tells the truth because they see that he puts an obstacle in the way of their inclinations and desires, and criticizes their ignorance and stupidity : at the same time they are well-disposed to the prevaricator who justifies their practices to them and makes them fine fellows in their own eyes. For this reason the lover of truth must be able to face life's troubles and the hatred of his fellows, if he is to do good and educate mankind, just as the warrior in the Holy War must be ready to suffer and give his blood for the sake of victory.

Truth is a garden set in the midst of hateful environs. He who would enter into the garden must be prepared to suffer what prophets and apostles and philosophers and reformers and statesmen have suffered before him.

Just as the end of generosity may be impoverishment and the end of courage death, so in the path of every virtue there is an obstacle which blocks the approach to it and makes it difficult of attainment except for those who are sincere and patient ; in the case of Truth there is the barrier formed by the resistance of the majority in the path of the few who seek.

Did you wish, my dear sir, to be considered a seeker after truth and to win one of the most honourable distinctions which man can win without having sacrificed anything of your wealth or leisure ? Does Honour come thus, obedient and submissive, at the call of every suppliant ?.....

Does it trouble you that the ignorant should pass by your shop without stopping, and accuse you falsely ? Do you not know that such accidents are daily events upon the road that leads to the dwelling-place of truth and virtue ? Do you not know that your predecessors on the way gave up more than you have given up in the same cause, and yet never allowed themselves to despair and never repented of their resolution ?

If you are indeed noble, prisoner, you should welcome the prison and the hatred you endure ; and welcome a life of suffering. As God lives, I consider you far more worthy of respect than many whom the world thinks happy and calls great.

Do not reproach truth ; be covetous of it and love it jealously. Pay no heed to him who slanders it to you ; have patience. In a little while, the seed you have sown will grow and bear you fruit and spread its shade upon you ; you will find in your heart a contentment and delight which kings could not buy with their kingdoms, if they would, nor rich men with their millions.

NEVILL BARBOUR.

CARSTEN NIEBUHR—1733-1815

(On 17th March was the bi-centenary of the birth of Carsten Niebuhr, the German traveller and explorer.)

CARSTEN Niebuhr was born the son of a small farmer at Ludwigworth, near Lauenburg on the southern border of Holstein. He received very little school education and in his early youth worked on his father's farm. But in his spare time he studied mathematics by himself and managed to obtain lessons in surveying from a surveyor. When he was about twenty-five years old he joined the Danish Army. At about the end of 1760 King Frederick V of Denmark was persuaded by Doctor Michælis, a famous Hebraist of the time, to send out an expedition "to explore Arabia in order to solve biblical and geographical questions concerning the country." Carsten Niebuhr was one of the five men selected for the expedition. He learnt a little Arabic before the expedition left Denmark on 7th January 1761. The party first went to Egypt and from there by sea to Jeddah which they reached on 29th October, 1762. From Jeddah they went overland to Mokha and started their work. But the scorching heat of the country proved too much for them. Two of them, Van Haven, the philologist, and Forskal, the naturalist, died. The other three whose health had been shattered, thereupon resolved to leave the country. They went to Mokha and from there on 24th March 1764 they sailed for Bombay in a vessel which Francis Scott, an English merchant who was trading there, placed at their disposal. But Baurenfeind, the artist, the third man, and the Swedish servant who had accompanied the party, died on the voyage: and the surgeon, the fourth man, breathed his last soon after landing in Bombay. Niebuhr was therefore the only survivor of the party left. He stayed for fourteen months in India and in 1765 left Bombay for Europe via Muscat, Persia, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia,

Asia Minor and Cyprus. He arrived at Constantinople in February 1767 and in November reached Copenhagen. The two books which he wrote on his travels and explorations called "Description of Arabia based on the observations and researches made in the country itself" and "Travels in Arabia and other surrounding countries" were published in Copenhagen, Germany and France between 1772 to 1778. A curtailed English translation of the second book by Robert Heron was published in Great Britain in 1792.

In Arabia Niebuhr and his companions did two things. They explored the Yemen and a part of the Hijaz and collected information about the other parts of the peninsula which they did not visit.

Yemen is divided into three parts : (1) The low littoral strip, Tehama, which extends from the north of Loheia to the south of Mokha ; (2) The broad parallel zone of mountainous highlands as they arise out of Tehama, and the valleys. The valleys are fertile and most of the agricultural settlements, except Sanaa, are situated there ; and (3) The long and uneven declivity of the highlands which merges into vast inland tracts. Sanaa is situated in this zone.

Of these three zones Niebuhr and his companions explored the first one thoroughly and their work on it is unsurpassed. The second zone they explored less fully. They explored the coffee district—Yemen Al-A'la and the towns of Ibb, Yerim, Hadafa and Damar, but not the highlands so well. In the third zone they saw Sanaa and its environs, but little else.

They went to Mecca in April 1763, but soon left it, because they found that there the Europeans were liked much less than in the Yemen.

The information that they collected from conversation with the Yemenites and the Meccans was about the rest of the Hijaz, Hadramaut, Nejd, Oman and the territories of the Chiefs around the Persian Gulf.

Western travellers to Arabia may, roughly speaking, be divided into two classes—those of the adventurous, romantic type and those of the scholarly, scientific type. Niebuhr belonged to the latter class. Not for him—as for Burton and such others—thrilling adventures, hair-breadth escapes, wanderings with the Bedouins or going to Mecca in disguise. He went to Arabia with only one object : and that was to collect as much information about it as

possible. The part of the country that he explored was not large. But the little that he did explore, he explored thoroughly and the information that he collected about the other parts is invaluable. He is precise, accurate, and has got good descriptive powers. "He saw the universal in the particular and the essentials among the accidents of nature," says Mr. D. G. Hogarth in his "*Penetration of Arabia*." And the great thing about Niebuhr was that he was wholly free from individual, national or social bias and looked at the Arabs not as a superior towards an inferior but as an equal at an equal. Much therefore that he has written is as valuable to-day as it was 170 years ago. Both Botta and Playfair, his successors in Arabia, acknowledge the debt that they owe him. He was not the first western traveller to go to the Yemen. Ludovici di Varthema had visited it 260 years before him. But he certainly is the first scientific western traveller to explore that part of the country.

Although Niebuhr was only a little more than a year in Arabia his work on the country (and it is mainly by his work on Arabia that he lives) is comprehensive. He gives information about the geography, climate, Islam and its sects, aristocracy, common people, food, houses, metals, medicine and the antiquities of the country. He found that the Arabs were more civilized the farther they dwelt from Egypt. His information about the Bedouins is as valuable to-day as it was in the latter half of the eighteenth century. He tells us that there was no pan-Islamic sentiment in Arabia in those days; that the Sherif of Mecca would rather have marched against his Moslem overlord than against a Christian; and that the Yemen had shaken off the Caliph's yoke a century before then. Mecca in those days was not exactly a spiritual city. The Meccans were lax in their morals and thought more of money-making than of putting into practice the Prophet's teachings. The Imam of the Yemen was then the most powerful ruler in Arabia. The sheikhs, emirs and dolas were submissive to him.

An instance or two of Niebuhr's impartiality and fairness of mind may be given. Although the majority of Europeans in those days thought that the Arabs were fanatical, Niebuhr says that they were not so. He found travelling in Arabia as safe as in Europe. He also says that the Europeans were not justified in thinking that the Arabs were greedy and had thieving propensities. He found them in this respect no worse than the Europeans.

Some of Niebuhr's observations in India are interesting. In Bombay he found that the Indians lived longer than the Europeans, because the latter ate too much pork and beef, drank the strong Portuguese wines more than was good for them and persisted in wearing European clothes even in the hottest season. He found the English Government of the island very tolerant in religious matters. Among the officers of the East India Company's Bombay army he found, besides the British, Germans, Swiss and Swedes. He thought that the Mahratta Government of the country was good although arbitrary. Justice was impartial, agriculture and manufactures flourished and its subjects were happy and contented.

Besides the two books Niebuhr wrote several articles in German periodicals about the interior of Africa and the political and military condition of the Turkish Empire. He also edited the notes of his friend and colleague, Peter Forskal, on the flora and fauna of south-western Arabia. The book was published in 1775 and is still a classic on the subject.

Niebuhr's survey of the Northern Red Sea makes him the discoverer of the passage to India via Suez. With the help of Niebuhr's map Captain Holford ventured to go from Calcutta to Suez in 1772. Niebuhr's copies of the Babylonian inscriptions at Nineveh served Grotfend for his first attempts to decipher the cuneiform characters.

V. B. METTA.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

A PAGEANT OF OLD PERSIA*

READERS of "Islamic Culture" have already been made aware of the interest and importance of the vast collection of Persian works of art of all kinds which was exhibited at Burlington House in London from January to March 1931, by the very capable articles on the subject which Mr. G. D. Hornblower contributed to these pages. Now we have received a splendid volume wherein the catalogue of the miniature paintings in that exhibition is historically classified, intelligibly introduced and commented on, and some two hundred and twenty of the miniatures are reproduced, sixteen of them very beautifully in colours. The letterpress will be of use to those who know little of Persian Art, but wish to know more, as well as to those who are already well acquainted with the subject; while the catalogue and illustrations form a record which no collector can afford to be without. Mr. Binyon, in the Introduction, has described the scope and significance of the miniatures which were included in the Exhibition:

"It may be convenient to indicate here some of the points on which the Exhibition shed new light. For the first time the two portions of the History of the World by Rashîd Al-Dîn, one in the Edinburgh University Library and the other in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, were brought together. Also twenty-two paintings from the Demotte Shâh-Nâma, a manuscript which had never been seen in its entirety in Europe, and of which only a few pages had been reproduced, were lent by six different owners. For the art of the fourteenth century these two manuscripts are of capital importance.

"A group of manuscripts produced at Shirâz at the turn of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries revealed the fact

* *Persian Miniature Painting*: including a critical and descriptive catalogue of the miniatures exhibited at Burlington House, January-March 1931. By Laurence Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson and Basil Gray. London, Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1933, Price £6-6-0.

that the "Timûrid" style was already established before the invasion of Timûr, which the earliest of these manuscripts antedate. New light was shed on the early Timurid period, which was the period most brilliantly represented in the Exhibition. The fame of the libraries of Shâh Rûkh and Baysunqur was always great in the East, and at Burlington House we were enabled at last to substitute for tantalising literary allusions the actual evidence of superb works. Two masterpieces, the great *Shah-Nama* made for Baysunqur in 1430, a manuscript which Sir Thomas Arnold in his *Painting in Islam* alludes to as still existing but never described, and the *Kalila and Dimna* fables with their remarkable landscapes and their ravishing colour, were of outstanding importance. The fables enlarged our conceptions of landscape art in Persia.

"Another splendid fifteenth-century work now for the first time exhibited was the *Shah-Nama* belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, a manuscript which was known to very few and till the date of the Exhibition had never been described. Almost equally little known were the somewhat earlier *Shah-Nama* from the Bodleian, and the *Gulistan* of Sa'dî in the Chester Beatty collection, written in 1426 for Baysunqur by Ja'far, the same scribe who wrote the text of the superb *Shah-Nama* of 1430 lent by the Persian Government.

"It was one of the aims of the Exhibition to collect together as much as was available of the works attributed with more or less plausibility to Bihzâd. As every one conversant with the subject knows, there has been the most violent controversy and the utmost difference of opinion as to what are the authentic works of this the most famous of Persian painters. The Exhibition afforded a precious opportunity for examining the material and reaching some definite conclusions. Happily the generosity of owners made it possible to group together all the most important works which have been attributed to the master by one authority or another; and if no final agreement was reached, that is not to be wondered at when we remember the fluctuations of critical opinion over works that have been studied for far longer time in Europe, for instance, the works of Giorgione. Especially interesting was the first appearance in Europe of the *Bustan* from Cairo, containing what seem to be the best authenticated paintings by the master.

"Other artists whose individuality the Exhibition set in clearer light than before are Qâsim 'Alî, whose

contemporary reputation approached that of Bihzâd, and Mahmûd of Bukhâra, a painter whose design is of a quite distinctive character.

“Hitherto unknown miniatures by ‘Abd Al-Samad lent by the Persian Government were of great interest in connexion with the origin of the Mughal school, for this master, who changed his style after becoming court painter at Delhi, was seen in the earlier phase of his art, working in a purely Persian manner.”

The catalogue of the miniature paintings is classified under six periods marking phases, for each of which the authors have written an interesting and sufficient introduction. (1) Before the Mongol invasions. This is the time of the ‘Abbâsid patronage ; and because the mart or centre for the artist’s work was Baghdad, the work of this period is described as being in the “Mesopotamian style,” though its inspiration and its influences were outside Mesopotamia. The miniatures of this period here reproduced show few characteristics of the art we know as Persian. The same remark also applies with few exceptions to phase (2) which is described in the chapter entitled “The Early Persian Style and Fourteenth Century Changes.” With the exception of Plates XX and XXVII, the examples given seem to show strong Chinese or Byzantine influence, while in phase (1) the prevailing influence is obviously Byzantine. With (3) “The Timurid School” begins the style of painting which we know as Persian ; in (4) “The Later Fifteenth Century ; Bihzâd and his contemporaries” it attains full splendour ; in (5) “The Early Safawi Period” it is still brilliant though a thought perfunctory, and in (6) “Painting under Shah Abbas and his successors,” it is plainly decadent though still retaining the peculiar charm which comes, in the words of our authors, from the fact that “it admits no shadows to muddy the pure tones of colour, and secondly from its consummate use of the most brilliant colours, which it knows how to unite into a harmony. No other art uses so full and brilliant a palette without being garish. Thus it is that it communicates in a manner nowhere else surpassed a sense of the glory of the world ; the radiance of the sky, the incredible beauty of the spring blossoms, among which, clothed in their beautiful dresses, human beings love and hate, exult and grieve.”

If the authors’ contribution to this monument to Persian Art is interesting and distinguished, the reproductions

of the miniatures are a delight to which the fortunate possessor of this book returns again and again, discovering each time new beauty in their detail. The exceptionally lovely frontispiece, 'A Garden Scene' (date 1420), is from a *Shah-Nama* copied for Ibrâhîm Sultân, son of Shâh Rukh, who was Governor of Fars from 1414 to 1435. Above we see some ladies sitting idle at a window while beneath them, at the foot of garden-trees, a man is working vigorously with a spade. Plate XXVIII 44q, "The King of the Monkeys throws figs to the tortoise" (an episode from *Kalila wa Dimna*) is a beautiful garden design. Plate XXXVI A44 (S), a lion springing on a leaping ass, is perfect as composition and full of dramatic force, a quality which Persian pictures generally lack, as in the case of B44 (p) on the same page which illustrates another episode from *Kalila wa Dimna*, the crows advancing to set fire to the owl's nest. Plate LII, "Couple among flowering trees," exquisitely conveys the sense of stillness and seclusion. Plate LVII "A Garden Scene with dancers" (two pages of illustration) repays close scrutiny. Plate LXII A 79 (a), "A Mystic and Four Disciples" by Qâsim 'Alî 1485, and Plate LXVI 80 (d) "Mystics in a Garden" by the same hand are the best examples of this artist's work which we have seen. Plate LXVII 81, "Sultân Huseyn Mîrzâ in a garden" (about 1485) and the pictures following, up to Plate LXXII, "The Assault on the Fortress of Smyrua," all ascribed to Bihzâd, are, as that ascription shows, acknowledged gems of the collection. Plate LXXV 127 (c), "A Scene of drunkenness" by Sultân Muhammad, is highly comic. Plate LXXXIII 127 (a) "Polo," Plate LXXXIV B 127 (c) "A morning sermon" by Shaykh Zâda and "A Prince and his Court" by Sultân Muhammad on the same page; Plate LXXXV, "Zulaykha and the ladies of Egypt," attributed to Qâsim 'Alî; the drawings of animals and birds on Plate XCVII; Plate XCIX, A, 170 "A Youth" by Muhammad Mu'min, and B 286 "Line-drawing. Early XVIIth Century"; Plate CII, B, 113 "A Preacher and his Congregation, Bukhâra, mid XVI century"; Plates CIV and CV, which contain three pictures by 'Abdus Samad, and Plate XVI, 248, "A Young man with a hawk. Style of Muhammadi"—these were the selections we first made for special mention. Selection is, of course, absurd since the paintings here included have already been selected from the number of exhibits on account of some especial merit each possesses; but it is hard to know how

else to give the miniatures proper notice. As book-illustrations, they generally illustrate well-known stories of the East—the fables of Bidpai (*Kalila wa Dimna*), the tales of Majnûn and Leylah, Shîrîn and Farhad, Yûsuf and Zuleykha, the *Iskandar Namah*, *Maqamat al-Hariri*, the *Shah-Namah* of Firdaûsi and the works of other famous poets, such as Sa'dî and Jâmî. For one acquainted with those stories they possess an added charm, evoking a whole fairyland of legend, imagination and memory. It is a fact that Persian Art has a spiritual content, at any rate for the Oriental. In the introduction, which we have been tempted to quote already at some length, the author has, to our surprise, remarked on this in a passage which, though casual, is profound.

“ But just as the Sûfi poetry, taking its symbols from the ecstasy of the lover and his beloved and the intoxication of the wine-cup, can easily be misread, so in the paintings who shall say where the intoxication of the eye in light and colour, in sky and blossom, merges into the profounder ecstatic vision of the glory of the world and its Creator ? At any rate there is in the painters the same dwelling on the glowing distinctness of things (the apple, the grain of sand, the ear of corn) each in its place with its own infinite excellencies, which is habitual to the mystic poet, whereas we in Europe are accustomed to approach the idea of unity in the world through a process of understanding rather than through intuition.”

The restraint shown by the authors of the letterpress in limiting their remarks to what is requisite for information must be mentioned with approval, for it has made the work a model of its kind. In these days when superlatives are wont to be lavished on the mediocre, it is difficult to find distinct expressions in which to convey intelligibly to the reader the fact that one is treating of a work of quite unusual merit. We can only say that no State Library in India or in any Muslim land, no University Library, and no collector of Persian or Mughal paintings can afford to be without this most complete and beautiful of catalogues.

THE FAITH OF THE SHI'Ā*

Hitherto there has been no clear and comprehensive account of the history and beliefs of the Shī'ā in the English language, but now Dr. Dwight M. Donaldson, an American Christian Missionary "after sixteen years' residence in Mashhad"—we quote the Preface—has found it "possible to study at close range the largest pilgrimage cities and therefore to undertake to describe them by giving an outline of their history, and by showing in a concrete way the hope and faith of the thousands of Muhammadans in India, Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt who make these long journeys for the forgiveness of their sins." The result comes very near to being that "comprehensive and authoritative statement of Shī'ā doctrine," the lack of which in any European language the late Professor E. G. Browne deplores in his *Persian Literature*. Dr. Donaldson's plan is simple but effective. After relating the early history of Islam up to the murder of the fourth Khalifah (the first Imām of the Shī'ā) he gives a chapter on the Shrine at Najaf; after the tragic story of the battle of Kerbala we get a chapter on the city and the Shrine, most venerated of all the Shī'ā places of pilgrimage, sacred to the memory of Sayyidna Huseyn, the third Imām, and those who perished with him. The second, the fifth, and the sixth Imām were all buried in the Prophet's holy city, Al-Madīnah, therefore, after the account of the Imām Ja'far As-Sādiq (the sixth Imām), there is a chapter entitled "Medina, the City of the Prophet." The seventh and the ninth Imāms were buried in the same cemetery outside Baghdad, which is now a town called after them *Al-Kazimeyn* (the two long-suffering ones); so after the account of the Imām Muhammad Taqi (the ninth Imām), there comes a chapter on "The Shrine at Kazimeyn." The tenth and eleventh Imāms were buried at Samarra, which also was the birth-place of the twelfth Imām, "the Lord of the Age" as he is called,

* *Shi'ite Religion. A History of Islam in Persia and Irak.* By Dwight M. Donaldson, D. D., Ph.D., Mashhad, Persia. London, Luzac & Co., 1988.

ردنقیة من الآيات البينة من تصنیف مولانا محمد سلیمان (خلف مولوی محمد اسحاق ابن مولانا حیدر علی قدس الله سره) منتظم دفتر پیشی نواب لطف الدولہ بہادر صدرالمہام عدالت سرکار عالی، مطبوعہ مطبع خلافت بمبئی ۱۳۵۱ھ

A Refutation of Taqiyah from plain Scripture. By Maulana Mohamed Suleyman, Superintendent of the Office of Nawab Lutf-ud-Dowlah Bahadur. Bombay Khilafat Press

and contains the gulf into which he is said to have disappeared, to return at the "End of Time" in order to lead mankind back to righteousness. We gather that the author has visited all these places, except Al-Madīnah, as a tourist ; but at Mashhad he has lived for many years, and his description of Mashhad is the fullest and most vivid. There the eighth Imâm, the Imâm 'Alî Ar-Ridâ, is believed to be buried under one roof with the Khalifah Hârûn Ar-Rashîd, the tomb of the former being highly venerated while that of the latter is vituperated and scorned. The Shrine at Mashhad is particularly popular in Persia because of its proximity to Teheran ; but it would seem that it has been deprived of a good many of its privileges by the present utilitarian Persian Government, though at the same time its revenues are being properly administered and in part applied to works of public benefit. The numbers of the pilgrims, anyhow, has considerably fallen off of recent years owing to the spread of a rationalistic modern spirit among the Persians.

"With the rapid advance in education throughout Persia," writes Dr. Donaldson, "the Shrine at Mashhad is steadily waning in influence. The increase in its annual income, mentioned above, does not mean that it is more popular, but indicates rather that the Government has been ferreting out its assets and scrupulously administering its resources as a public foundation for more useful purposes. A large new hospital, modern school buildings for boys and for girls, substantial contributions towards new streets, the plan for the museum and an enlarged library—all these activities go to show a different point of view on the part of the government towards the Shrine endowments. It is not confiscation, but it is a virtual appropriation of these properties and their incomes for more useful and practical purposes. That families of descendants from the Prophet, through the Imâm, should be maintained in comparative luxury at public expense is no longer generally accepted. The expedient of requiring almost all Persians to wear the adopted national hat has been most effective as a direct blow at these privileged classes who were distinguished by their turbans. There is perhaps a majority of the people in Mashhad who sympathise heartily with this new point of view, and those who object find it increasingly difficult to resist the radical change of sentiment that is clearly evident among all classes."

Thus here also has the modern sanitary and utilitarian spirit conquered the traditional romantic spirit attended, as it had become, by dirt and roguery. Let us hope that something of the poetry and all the beauty of the Shrine at Mashhad will outlive the conquest !

After completing his account of the Imâms and their places of burial Dr. Donaldson tells the stories of the " Four Agents " of the Hidden Imâm during the short period of his " Lesser Concealment, " whose graves are also visited by many pilgrims, and briefly notices several minor places of Shî'a pilgrimage. He describes the growth of Shî'a traditions and of the doctrine of Imamate in its various aspects. His last chapter, on " the Rise of Related Sects in Modern Times " is devoted entirely to the Bâbîs and Bahâ'îs ignoring numerous othersects in the Islamic world, perhaps because Bahâism has touched Europe and America. He is careful to check legend with history throughout, so that there is little difference between his point of view and that of any Sunni Muslim of modern education. As a Protestant, he cares for reason and distrusts the legends of the saints. A devout Roman Catholic, accepting all the miracles in " The Lives of the Saints " as super-history and accustomed to relegate facts to a plane below the plane of high religious truth, might well have given a more sympathetic description of the Shî'a point of view, which so strongly resembles his own. But, as a comprehensive, not uncritical, account of Shî'a history and belief his book stands forth unrivalled hitherto.

At the beginning of his chapter on " The earliest Collections of Shi'ite Traditions, " the author seems to be under the impression that no Hadîth ascribed to our Prophet comes from further back than the period of the Umayyads. This is a mistake which has been made by other Western writers on the strength of some misunderstood remarks by learned Orientalists. The late Dr. Horovitz, on the other hand, has shown in his " The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and their authors " * how carefully and keenly the work of scrutinizing, verifying and collecting the reported Sayings of the Prophet was carried on even in the days of the first of the Umayyads, and that a large number, if not all, of the *Sahih* Sayings were already, even at that time, recorded. Perhaps Dr. Donaldson is not referring to *ahadith* as a whole,

* Islamic Culture vol I, No. 4, Oct. 1927,

but only to the Shī'a *ahadith* ; but this is not made clear. On page 228, last line, the words ; “ Who is it then that is standing over every soul to mark its actions ? ” are a mistranslation of Sûrah XIII, 33 of which the real meaning is : “ Is He Who is aware of the deserts of every soul (as he who is aware of nothing) ? ” But here again the mistranslation may be a Shī'ite tradition since he says that the Shī'ites believe that the reference is to the Mahdī or Hidden Imâm.

Dr. Donaldson appears to have taken every care to make his work as authoritative and as uncontroversial as possible. His book is quite a notable achievement. It is furnished with a bibliography and index.

Maulana Maulvî Muhammad Mahdî Siddîqî's Urdu book is entirely polemical, showing from the Qur'ân and Hadîth that the Shī'a are all wrong in their doctrine of *Taqiyah* and in much that they ascribe to their Imâm, for whom as good Muslims the author, as a Sunni, cherishes a high regard. The Maulâna does not mince matters. He tells his readers plainly what the fate of those who hold such views must surely be and, though he is obviously moved by commendable zeal for the reclamation and salvation of the Shī'a community, his work is hardly calculated to arride its members. For one branch of a religion to go on hating another to the end of time on grounds purely traditional seems to us one of the most deplorable aberrations of humanity, and all who set themselves to dissipate that hatred are doing the best service to Islâm.

M. P.

AL-ANDALUS*

In the preliminary note to Vol. I, No. I of the new Spanish Review, *Al-Andalus*, we learn that “ by a law of the 27th January 1932 the Spanish Republic created in Madrid and Granada centres each of which will bear the title School of Arabic Studies (*Scuela de Estudios Arabes*) followed by the name of the respective city. The preamble of the fundamental law makes known sufficiently the

* *Al-Andalus. Revista de las Escuelas de Estudios Arabes de Madrid y Granada*. Se publica en fasciculos semestrales formando cada ano un volumen de unas quinientas paginas. Directores : Miguel Asin Palacios y Emilio Garcia Gomez. Vol. I, Fasc. I. Madrid 1933.

reasons which the Ministry, in proposing it to the Cortes, and the Cortes in sanctioning it, found for setting up these new institutes of high culture. All these are summarised in the unavoidable duty which devolves on Spain to study exhaustively and value justly the cultural legacy which Islamic civilization transmitted to us in the Middle Ages and the very strong influences which, in the spheres of our political and economic history, the Muslim people exercised throughout eight centuries of domination and close intercourse."

The writers of this "Preliminary Note" —one of whom is no less a person than Dr. Miguel Asin Palacios, whose work has shed new lustre on his country and has exalted Spanish learning in the mind of every Orientalist—go on to point out that, for Spaniards, Arabic studies are not, as they are for many European nations, "a mere scientific curiosity without contact with the surrounding medium and detached from all human interest, nor is their ardour stimulated by commercial or imperialistic convenience. Arabic studies are, for us, an intimate necessity since, as we said to begin with, they are linked with many pages of our history, reveal important characteristics of our literature, our way of thinking and our art, are mixed up with our language and even sometimes, more or less, with our very life. For this reason, the teaching of Arabic has been, in contrast to most European countries, the corner-stone in our Faculties of Letters, and no mere additional and supererogatory affair. But this peculiar importance of Arabic studies on our soil is at once our torment and our delight, for, if on one side it gives us a public more numerous, more diligent and more whole-heartedly attentive, on the other it obliges us to combat a great number of prejudices, fanatical and false ideas, which only could be conceived in a medium so profoundly impregnated with Arabism.

"The organ of both Schools will be this Review, *Al-Andalus*, which we launch upon the world to-day. Its special, though not exclusive, field of activity will be Muslim Spain, as its title indicates. We hope that the student of such matters will encounter in its pages useful and new side-lights on the different aspects of Spanish Islam; and needless to say, we shall welcome articles on this subject which Orientalists, whether Spaniards or foreigners, are kind enough to send us."

The appearance of *Al-Andalus*, is, in fact, a great event for Spain and for Islam. It tells us that Spain is now freed from certain shackles which, through all the centuries which have elapsed since the fall of Granada, prevented her, as a nation, from looking squarely at her Muslim past.

This first number of the Review is an exceedingly attractive one to Orientalists, beginning as it does with a monograph by Dr. Palacios, *Un Precursor Hispano-Musulman de San Juan de la Cruz* (A Spanish-Muslim Forerunner of San Juan de la Cruz) and containing several other articles of unusual interest, chief among which we rank *Una Version Arabe Compendiada de la Estoria de Espana de Alfonso El Sabio*. (An abridged Arabic version of the History of Spain of Alfonso the Wise) of which the full Arabic text is given with the Spanish translation and a suitable introduction by Senor Melchor M. Antuna. The whole gives us a very high idea of the serious manner and the keen activity with which Arabic studies are now being pursued in Spain. Almost, we get the impression of an Arab revival. It is a pity that so few Muslim learned men in India know Spanish, but to all our readers who do know that delightful language we recommend *Al-Andalus* as the best Review dealing with Arabic and Islamic subjects that has yet appeared in any Western land. We offer our congratulations to the learned editors and look forward to the next and future numbers in the certain hope of both instruction and delight.

M. P.

MAHSHARISTAN*

"Mahsharistan" is a collection of the stories of Mr. Mahshar 'Abidi, who is one of the most popular Urdu story-writers of the day. The frontispiece is a good example of modern Indian art and shows both sides of Doomsday. Jôsh Malihâbâdi has written a short preface. Some of the stories are translations from authors of international repute, but the book also contains some good examples of Mr. 'Abidi's own work. The language is pure and lucid. The stories are so interesting that one is tempted to read the whole book at a sitting. *Naghma-Parast* (the Worshipper of Music) gives a striking picture

* *Mahsharistan*. By Mahshar Abidi, B. A., Hyderabad-Deccan. Ahd Afrin Book Depot. Price Rs 2. (Bound) Rs. 1-8. (Unbound).

of the romance and fidelity of a woman who sacrifices herself for the man she loves. Another of these stories "Sati" is a fine example of the art of characterisation so often lacking in Urdu literature. In "Farishte-ki Seyr" (the Angel's journey) the author takes his readers to a dreamland where all the philosophy and wisdom of the Universe is swept out from our memory and only Poetry remains. This small work of some 250 pages is, indeed, a treasury of romance and pathos.

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THE ROLE OF THE TURKS IN ISLAM

CENTRAL Asia, that desiccated highland of roaming nomads was probably the original home of a race of peoples whom we generally call *Turks* but who as far as their ethnographic appearance and habits of life go are closely connected with the Mongolians with whom they also have an affinity of language. Their history is older than written documents. Their existence as a factor in the history of Asia far precedes our classification of races in an anthropological or linguistic sense. The Chinese chronicles mention them as early as 1300 B. C., and the rôle which they played in later centuries was distinctly foreshadowed by those conglomerations of peoples who in the second century B. C. harassed the Northern frontier of China. These *Hiung-nu*, probably the Huns of the Middle Ages, and the *Yuen-Yuen*, probably the Avars, and the *Tu-kiu* were warlike tribes uniting under one powerful leader who conducted their marauding expeditions against strangers and relatives alike. National or even racial consciousness did not exist; and in the hordes of these restless spirits of the steppes many non-Turkish elements also fought. The people of the Middle Ages, like the ancients, had no ear for linguistic differences; it was the cult, the habits of life, which attracted their attention and they defined peoples according to their appearances and called them Scythians or *Hiung-nu* or *Turks* without any attempt at a linguistic definition. The language of these hordes was not uniform; Uralian, Iranian and Mongolian were represented in their ranks, but the form of organisation and their primitive creed of fire-worship, Shamanism and Buddhism, later on Christianity and Islam, changing and mixing with the new admixture of blood and their characteristic nomadic culture, distinguished them from the Iranian settlers, the Chinese rice-cultivators, the Hindus, and the Christian Aryans of Europe. This form of organisation, which crystallised around a leader who had undisputed sway over the tribes united under him,

which based its economic and State existence on intimidating and subduing peoples settled in fruitful territories and abandoning to them the peaceful pursuits of industry while they restricted themselves to the management of State affairs, we may call *Turanian*. Turanian does not imply a linguistic definition, as many Ural-Altaian and Aryan peoples were comprised within this term, but it implies contradistinction to Iranian, to the settled town-dwelling population, with a distinct cult and theology and social class organisation, one ever crystallising, breaking up, recrystallising ; roaming hordes without culture of their own but with elements of culture from all the peoples with whom they came in contact. The language of the ruling class was in most cases Turkish. It seems very probable that the mother-tongue of Attila and Bayan and even Chengiz Khan was Turkish, and the few remains of written culture such as the golden treasure of Attila in the Vienna Museum bear Turkish inscriptions ; moreover the language of the inscriptions of Orkhon and Yenisei is also Turkish.

This type of society, very active and mobile, enabled the Turanian to cover distances from the confines of China as far as Eastern Europe, and its characteristic open-mindedness admitted the impression of all cultures. They carried Nestorian Christianity and Persian fire-worship into China ; they are responsible for the overland intercourse between China and India ; later they transplanted Islam to Europe. They exported Chinese silk to Byzantium, which trade brought them into collision with Persia and into alliance with Byzantium and Abyssinia, at the time when the Prophet was born. It is characteristic that the most ancient Buddhist temple in Japan contains Persian objects which must have been brought across Asia by Turkish caravans.

It was the awe and respect inspired by personality which created the States of the Turanians. They were never nations—as the constituting elements belonged to two continents—but they were ready and subservient to obey a personality who brought them into a camp. The tent of the virile and active personality, a genius in strategy, was the pivot of empires and the Turks understood how to obey and how to command ; and in no time the radiation of the personal will brought millions into obedience. It was this personal will which kept the discordant elements of a Turanian State together, and when such a will ceased to act or when another virile personality challenged it, the

empires broke down as suddenly as they arose and gave way to new formations on the same basis. The geographic configuration and the spirit of the peoples which resulted from it and its history has produced an imprint on their character too deep to be changed easily. For long centuries every Turanian people has set up the same type of State-organisation ; the rule of the armed camp over an intimidated population, and out of this rule a mixed culture sprang which was called after the founder of the dynasty and not the nation. Turanian nations received their names from great personalities.

To become a personality was the ambition of the Turanian youth. A personality, not in abstract thinking or meditation like the Hindus, or in sacrificing this earthly world for communion with the Absolute, but a personality of warlike activity, to conquer, to rule, to act. And the essence of politics is activity ; so the Turks, being born politicians, have created and destroyed more States than any other people of the world. The Seljuks, who from an insignificant family through fortune and valour rose to the sovereignty of three empires, gave the impetus to another Turkish clan, that of the Ghaznevids, to create a realm in India. The knights readily responded to the call of any hero, and while establishing empires in Persia, Syria, Asia Minor and India, they were so unmindful of their nationality that they imbibed Persian culture and became Persianized in taste. The *Shâh-nâmah* which immortalises the feats of Persians at the cost of their Turanian foes was written for a Turkish Prince, and the Seljuk monarchs of Asia Minor had its noble lines engraved in their palaces.

It was the merit of the Seljuk Turks to keep up the tottering Abbasid empire against the Crusaders in Syria. They established a kingdom in Asia Minor, which for more than two centuries planted the seeds of Islamic culture. At Konia, the ancient Iconium, a few miles distant from the caves of St. Paul, one of the greatest Persian poets, Jelal ud-din Rumi, lies buried under a cupola of green tiles. The schools and palaces of the Seljuks, in Persian style with an admixture of Byzantine Greek, commemorate their exquisite taste and love of learning and art.

The Byzantine empire, which was the extreme outpost of Christianity towards the East, was convulsed by the discords of sects and impoverished by an unparalleled

maladministration. Vexatious exaction of taxes and sensual court life, with a system of favouritism, sapped the vital forces of this once mighty empire, and the long duration of its agony was due rather to the inertia of a system and to the temporary effort of some martial emperors than to its intrinsic power. Its destiny was sealed, its fertile territories with a dissatisfied population readily lent themselves to any conqueror who brought rule and discipline.

The Mongol wave, which started, like so many of its kind, from the frontiers of China, pushed forward as far as the Alps, stirred up the cauldron of Asia, destroying some peoples and dislodging others, and drove small hordes of Turks belonging to the tribe of Kay Khan across the Caucasus into Asia Minor. They sought shelter at the court of the Seljuk 'Ala ud-din Kay Kobad, and he allowed them, as a reward for their services, to settle near Angora. Further services to the Seljuks brought an aggrandisement of their fiefs, which extended towards the West of Asia Minor. The Seljuk empire in Anatolia was near to its fall. The renewed attacks of the Mongols did not rally its vassals to its succour but on the contrary the local chieftains hoped to aggrandise their territory at the cost of the empire. The Turks of the Kay Khan conquered fortresses from the Greeks on the North-Western shores of Asia Minor and by an adroit alliance with some local Christian vassals soon mastered Aynegol, Bilejik and Yar Hissar. The Kay Khanlis became one of the most important vassals of the tottering Seljuk kingdom.

The Kay Khanlis were Turks like those who had settled in Asia Minor before them ; their dialect was only slightly different, but while the Seljuks had been Muslims for centuries, these newcomers still adhered to their primitive creed of nomads. The legend of the marriage of their chief, Ertogrul's son Osmân, permits us to think that Islam was adopted by them only in Asia Minor where they had come into a Muslim atmosphere. Osmân, who about 1300 declared his independence of the Seljuks and pursued his conquests against the Greeks, established good government throughout his dominions, which at his death in 1326 extended southwards to Kutahia, northwards to the sea of Marmara and as far as the valleys of the Sakaria and Adranos.

After the collapse of the Seljuks a number of vassals became independent lords, not recognising the sovereignty of Karaman Oghlu, who considered himself the natural

successor of the Seljuks in their possessions. Aydıń, Sarukh  n, Mentesh  , Kermi  n and the rest installed an independent court in their dominions and a great many Turkoman tribes roamed in the valleys. The house of Osm  n, which by his ascendancy firmly established itself in the north-west, acquired a geographical superiority over the rest of the rival clans which were militarily much stronger. The Karamans were shut off from the sea, and their expansion into a kingdom was rendered hazardous by the rivals surrounding them while those of Aydıń, Mentesh  , and Kermi  n were much too near the sea and were exposed to punitive crusades following their raids. The Ottomans or Osm  n  lis, who like other Turks henceforward called themselves after their brave leader, were posted in the most fertile territories of Anatolia, in the vicinity of the seat of the Byzantine Empire ; with easy access to Europe, to those provinces whose exasperated populations were unwilling to make resistance. Osm  n and his successors Orkh  n and Mur  d could easily have been led into the temptation to conquer Asia Minor and to aspire to the inheritance of the Seljuk kingdom. Such a policy would have led to disastrous wars with rivals and, in default of a military base of operation towards the East and South, without a fleet, exposed to the flanking enterprises of the   gean Turks, would have been the grave of the House of Osm  n. The geographical situation, between the sea of Marmara and the highlands of Central Anatolia, pointed towards an encircling movement round the capital, and while the Ottomans were undisturbed by their Eastern rivals they transferred the centre of their activity to the Balkans. Very early, already in 1366, they advanced on their marauding expeditions as far as the lower Danube and defeated Louis of Anjou, who escaped with his bare life. Adrianople and Philipopolis had fallen into their hands a few years earlier. Br  sa had been the capital of the young State for forty years only and the centre of gravity was soon on the Balkan peninsula, with Adrianople as capital. Europe was alarmed and gathered troops desperately to expel the Ottomans when, their dangerous nature unsuspected, they were still tolerated by their Asiatic rivals. It was only after Muhammad II, the Conqueror, had captured Constantinople in 1453 that he turned his victorious arms against the Anatolian princes.

The wave of victory and conquest remained unchecked. In 1492 the Turks ravaged Syria, and while the last

weaker as it gradually extended from Anatolia and the lines of communication became longer. The seventeenth century created an altered Europe. Discoveries and inventions, the scientific method of research, the termination of the wars of Reformation and the issue of strong national States with a distinct consciousness of their own, ripened a more capable species of Europeans than the feudal Middle Ages with their scanty and ill-digested learning. State alliances prepared the way for campaigns, and European regular armies, with technical superiority and spiritually advanced, proved dangerous and unconquerable foes. The discovery of America, and the vendibility of its products in the seventeenth century, transferred the commerce of the world from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Ocean. The circumnavigation of Africa and the changes in the routes of world-traffic materially impaired the development of Turkey, as it became, so to speak, excluded from the intercourse of progressive nations. Italy also suffered economically from the same reason, but was able to preserve its cultural treasures and even develop them, while in Turkey, with the stoppage of conquest the sources of cultural enrichment from the subdued and highly endowed peoples also came to an end. Turkey became isolated, cut off from the circulation of new ideas ; and while these new ideas mightily revived Europe and led her to study on a comparative basis the cultures of the East, Turkey adhered to antiquated systems and decayed institutions. While, since the Reformation, the European spirit shelved superstitious and clerical ideas, Turkey fell a prey to a privileged class, who tried to stifle the spirit of development in Islam.

One of the internal causes which weakened Turkey was that, with the increase of its territory, it was impossible to control the long lines of communication, and in order to secure connections with the frontiers the intermediate territories were granted a kind of semi-autonomy. Such was the case with the Crimea, Wallachia and Hungary, while Arabia, North Africa, Egypt, Tripoli and Algiers, were semi-independent provinces. The provinces seemed to be loosely attached to the motherland, Asia-Minor. The larger the empire the more variegated it became as to nationalities and religions, which had no common ties with the ruling nation. Internal dissensions and revolts began to weaken the body-politic.

The greatest and most deeply operative factor in the dismemberment of the Turkish State was the decay of

the ruling spirit which was embodied in the personality of the ruler. We have seen above that the Turanian type of State was based entirely on personality, and this type could easily be combined with the religion of Islam, which, though democratic in its spirit, did not prevent autocrats from concentrating in their hands all the executive power of the State. The Caliph, as highest guardian of the Sheriat, and the Sultan, as temporal ruler of the Turks, combined in creating a unique factor in the person of the ruler who practically owned the whole empire and whose slaves (*qul*) the whole population were. We shall observe the organisation of the State-machinery later ; suffice it to say here that with the weakness of the ruler, the whole system began to crumble. The first great Sultans down to Selim II, who received the nickname *mest* (drunken), were active warlike sovereigns who held the administration of the country firmly in their hands and conducted military operations in person. Of eight Sultans after Selim, five did not accompany a single military enterprise, but became invisible to their people and spent their lives in the harem. The princes were first murdered, out of fear of sedition, later imprisoned for life. When any of them ascended the throne the life they had spent among eunuchs and irresponsible people had totally unmanned them for the serious duties of the State. The Sultans became puppets in the hands of a demoralised officialdom ; bribery, intrigues, and slander began to give direction to the history of the palace ; and the external governors, taking advantage of the demoralised state of the centre, sought to enrich themselves in any illegal way. The corruption of Byzantium and sensual amusements invaded the magnificent State-machinery which had been created by the able hands of the first Sultans, and undermined the foundation of the empire built up by the bloody sacrifices of the Turkish nation. The external expansion of the empire was stopped ; a rapid decrease of the territory caused a fearful deficit in the treasury ; while luxury was growing amid the reckless and wanton official class. Revolts, discomfiture and heavy indemnities inflicted an alarming burden on the remaining part of the people, which had to labour under a growing disadvantage. The Janissaries, who were the mainstay of the army and the pledge of victory, associated themselves with Bektashis and other turbulent elements, and became a standing menace to tranquillity till the great reformer, Mahmūd II, had to destroy them. The administration of the empire, even if it had been conducted

in an exemplary way, was out of date ; but it was impossible to supplant it with an efficient system on account of the resistance of a fanaticised populace and corrupted officialdom.

Organic was the disease which penetrated from above gradually into the lower strata of society, and for long centuries society was subjected to moral strains which no nation could endure with impunity. Rotten as the State administration was, sullied with bribery as the Turkish generals had become, the pure simplicity and honesty of the people remained unimpaired even to our days.

What were the elements, and what the characteristic aspects of the culture of the Ottomans ? Coming from Central Asia towards the West, they picked up elements of culture from the peoples with whom they came in contact. Islam in its Persianised form and even Shi'ite propensities, and Sufism already organised in fraternities, attracted the imagination of the Turks. Asia Minor had for centuries been the meeting-place of various cultural influences ; pagan remnants of ancient times, Byzantine, Greek, Seljuk-Persian, amalgamated into something new, in which we can analyse the component parts ; but the whole is different and more than the mere agglomeration of elements. Asia Minor became Turkicised during the rule of the Seljuks ; and the Kay-Khanli newcomers, whose number hardly exceeded 2,000 horsemen, could rely on an adequately large number of Turks to be used as a national reservoir for military expeditions and for colonising the newly conquered territories. Polygamy did very good service to the Turkish people, as the immense sacrifices of constant warfare could be repaired by a speedy increase. And still the Turkish people had never been able to fill those territories with its own kin and to absorb their native populations into one national unit.

The structure of the Turkish State has from the beginning maintained a splendid isolation of the ruling class from the people. Nationalism in our modern sense has not entered into the mind of the people, and while Arabic Islam has, by propagating the faith, Arabicised foreign races, the Turks did not Turkicise the Balkans, where they were only settlers and did not build up a uniform *nation* even in Anatolia. A strange duality characterises the Turkish State-structure, which cuts across the ties of blood and seems to observe the bonds of the Islamic religion only in the service of the Sultan. The service of the Sultans

admitted under the formality of conversion to Islam any foreign element to the government. This was an inducement to amalgamation and in the history of the Ottomans voluntary acceptance of the faith has largely contributed to the ranks of the ruling class. The heavier burdens imposed on Christians might have moved the agricultural tenants also to enter the fold of Islam. So in Central Anatolia the Karamans, the Western Anatolians, are not Turkish in blood but have become Turkish by religion and then by language also. The Turks, when they set up their empire, conformed to their eclectic activity in administration, which was carried on almost wholly by converted Muslims. An artificial ruling class came into existence which, irrespective of blood, was Islamised in the service of the Sultan. As time and conquest went on this class became more numerous and further removed from the people. It is a strange paradox that the Turkish people, which had excelled from time immemorial in conquest and administration, created a conquering army and an administrative body out of non-Turks who considered themselves alien and superior to the Turkish people themselves. They called themselves *Osmanli*, a characteristic appellation which meant the adherents of the dynasty of Osman, and despised the common people, whom they called *Türk*. At the head of this official classes of the *Osmanlis* stood the Sultân, the ruler and the unconditional owner of the lives and wealth of the people. The idea of this autocracy was the embodiment of fatherly care and absolute power of disposition over the forces of the people for the common benefit. It reflects the idea of an army where the commander provides the necessaries for the forces and disposes of them according to his insight. The people were his slaves. In the beginning leaders like Osmân Orkhân, and Murâd bore the old Turkish title : *Bey* ; it was Yildirim who took the titles of *Sultan* and *Khan*. The fatherly tendency of the Turkish rule is shown by the simple habits which the first Sultans observed. They followed in their habits the old customs of the people. It was with aggrandisement in territory and the increase of palace officials that pomp and luxury and the separation of the Sultan from his advisers set in. Until Muhammad II the Sultân sat among his Vizîrs in council. Once a peasant entered the hall with some complaint " Which of you is the Sultân " ? he exclaimed. From that time on the Sultan sat behind the window and listened to the discussion of his advisers. From the time of Suleyman

onward the Chief Vezîr reported the decisions of the council to the Sultân, who did not condescend to attend it any more. His will was the last decision and it is strange to notice that with the decline of the empire, as province after province was severed, the haughtiness and seclusion of the Sultâns increased, and at the same time the mischievous influence of a rotten and demoralised palace gained mastery over their will. The first warlike Sultâns transmitted their spirit and their inheritance to their sons ; from Ahmed I the law of inheritance was altered and the succession to the throne was continued in the eldest member of the family.

The imperial council, which was the advising body to the Sultân, consisted of the Grand Vezîr (Sadr A'zam) the two Qâzi-askers, the Qâdi of Constantinople, the commander of the Janissaries, the Nishânjî (keeper of the Seal) the treasurer, and the commander of the regiments. The council met every day in the morning and began with proposals and reading of documents by the Reis-ul-kuttab. The decisions were protooled by the Hojegyân and forwarded to the respective officers. The council was the final forum for important law cases also. After the meeting, the Sultân received his grand Vezîr separately and the other Vezîrs in a body, and listened to their proposals. Appointments and investitures with the robe of office also took place on this occasion. This procedure fell into decay in the seventeenth century, and the meeting took place only occasionally, in the palace of the Grand Vezir or of the Sheykh ul-Islâm. When Mahmûd II tried to restore order in the administration by appointing Ministers, they had to meet twice a week under the presidency of the Grand Vezîr. The Vezîrs received, as a sign of their dignity, three horse-tails ; the Grand Vezîr was honoured by four ; before the tent of the Sultân seven standards of horsetails were set up. The retinue of a Vezîr consisted sometimes of several thousands.

As to the technicalities of the Ottoman administration the civil, military and judicial branches were pretty well mixed ; but still there was some attempt at classification. The empire was divided into *vilayets*, *sanjaks* and *kazas*. The heads of the *vilayets* and *sanjaks* were at the same time military officers, surrounded by a military retinue, and in case of war led the regiments supplied by the feudal chiefs. The head of a *sanjak* was authorised to employ the emblem of one horse-tail, the head of a *vilayet* two. Above

the *bey*s of Anatolia (Asiatic Turkey) and Rumelia (European Turkey) there were two *beyler-bey*s respectively, who at the same time acted as commanders of the army corps. If the command of the two flanks was not entrusted to the royal princes these two beyler-bey's led them on the battle-field. These important administrative posts were filled by the system called *devshirme*, which meant the carrying off of Christian children from the Balkans and elsewhere, and educating them in Islam and for their special duties. They were closely attached to the person of the Sultân.

As to the other important posts we may mention the office of the Diwan, which registered the decision of the councils and forwarded it to the respective offices ; the land registry (*defter i haqani*), and the treasury. The head of the Diwani was the Reis-ul-kuttâb or chief scribe who executed the correspondence with the legations and took part in international negotiations.

One of the most important offices was that of the Nishanji or registrar who issued assignments of land, sealed imperial decrees and registered newly conquered territories. The Defterdar corresponded to a finance minister. First there was only one ; later the European and Asiatic provinces each received one defterdar. They controlled taxation and expenditure.

The class which in Islamic countries played the greatest rôle, that of the learned (*'ulema*) was instituted by Mohamed II. At the beginning their duties were restricted to the army, as army judges (*kazi-asker*) and up to the end of the fifteenth century there was no independent post for a chief mufti. It was customary to transfer this duty to the kadi either of Brûsa or Constantinople, or to any other learned man who was subservient to the will of the Padishah. By this system of appointment of an official mufti the independence of this important factor of legislation greatly suffered and, while some steadfast Sheikh-ul-Islams were capable of checking the extravagance of the Sultans by their word of veto, the majority were feeble tools in their hands and used to give fatwas which were not in accordance with the spirit of the Sheri'at.

The class of "The Learned" constituted the purely Islamic element in the Turkish ruling society. Their members were not recruited from Christian children kidnapped in the occupied lands, but were descended from Turks and Arabs, and later formed a kind of opposition

to the officials of foreign blood. The fear of interference in their authority on the part of the Sultan or the army led to the custom of preserving the profession in the family; and so children were already called *ulema* in their cradle (*besik 'ulemalighi*). This abuse, which originated in self-defence against encroachments of officialdom, greatly deteriorated the learning and honour of the 'ulema.

By the nature of the Ottoman State the most important class and the mainstay of its power was the army. The Ottoman State, when it was still a village community in Bithynia, relied on its military organisation in the feudal system which, similarly to that of the West, enjoined military duties on the holders of fiefs. Very early in the fourteenth century Orkhân and Murâd I, in order to free themselves from the caprices of their feudatories, and in order to control any insubordination, resorted to a plan which immediately elevated the Ottomans to the rank of the first fighting power of the world. A new army, *yeni cheri*, was instituted. A popular legend brings the establishment of this standing army into connection with the antinomian dervish fraternity of the Bektashis; but recent research has proved that the Bektashis slunk into the barracks of the Janissaries in the sixteenth century only, when they tried to free themselves from suspicion of heresy.

JULIUS GERMANUS.

(*To be continued.*)

*A PRAYER IN THE PROPHET'S SHRINE,
MEDINA*

O MIGHTY spirit, pure and true,
Ordained to bear His trust,
That tried by sorest trials grew
More faithful and more just !
While here I bow in silent prayer
I feel thee hovering nigh.
“ Let not the sinner's heart despair, ”
The angels sing on high.

“ By grace alone will Heaven relieve
The sinner's heart of woe. ”
Ah ! Let not this my heart deceive ;
’Tis thine to bid me know
How vain the sanctimonious mood
When prompted by some fear,
How vain all words of gratitude,
Repentance insincere.

The prayer that from thy soul did rise
On wings of ecstasy
Could pierce the veil of earth and skies
And bring God near to thee.
Through silent vigils of the night
His voice was in thine ear :
“ ’Tis thine to lead mankind aright
Toward light from darkness drear. ”

Prophet of God—an outlaw driven
Away from hearth and home !
Thy feet on earth, thy head in heaven,
It was for thee to roam
An exile till by His command
A happier home didst gain
Where Islam ruled the subject land
From proud Medina's plain.

Yea, thus amidst the toils of life,
Its horrors and its woes
Thy soul won peace through patient strife.
And stood serene where glows
The light unseen around the Throne,
To see what none had seen.
Thou but a man, yet thine alone
The glory that hath been !

A mortal thou, yet born to bear
The weight of earth and heaven.
A prophet thou, yet to thy share
A sovereign's power was given.
Prophet and king ! Life's humblest task
Ne'er did thy hands refuse ;
And ne'er didst thou God's bounty ask
But for thy people's use.

In proud allegiance at thy feet
When all Arabia lay,
When Chiefs and legates came to greet
Islam's new-risen day,
They saw thy glory and thy might,
(Unlike the pomp of kings)
In self-denying sense of Right
That from God's guidance springs.

Saw thee in clouted garb, a man
In God's own grace arrayed,
A humble guardian of the plan
Thy Master's hand had laid
To quell all darkness with His light
Through regions near and far,
To make thee shine through Error's night
The one resplendent star.

I feel God's presence in this shrine
Fashioned by thine own hands.
I see the fresh-hewn palm-trunks shine
Where now this alcove stands.
These arches' painted pageantry
From me can ne'er conceal
Faith's unembellished majesty
Thy palm-trees did reveal !

In rapt devotion on this floor
My prostrate form I lay ;
Raise me to trace for evermore
Thy footmarks on Life's way !
O make my soul, reborn, to cast
The dregs of sin aside,
My future brighter than my past,
With thee my light, my guide !

For faith, with heart's blood in my tears,
For faith to thee I cry ;
That faith to which God's self appears
On earth, in air and sky !
What shades my soul's dark caverns fill :
Let them all turn to light ;
Let rising hopes my being thrill
With rising faith's delight !

NIZAMAT JUNG.

THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM

28. COMMUNICATION BY ROAD

THE Arab domination was not favourable to the development of road-making. The Arabs are a race of riders with no taste for military roads or vehicular traffic. They were so unaccustomed to vehicles that when chess was taken over from India the figure of the "chariot" *ratha* was not understood, and became a "rook."¹ The Tartars were the first to drive vehicles in the North.² Roads had indeed been constructed in a small part of Arabia by the Roman infantry, but all that remained of them was the word "Street" *sirat* in devotional language, the very rare word *iter* "route,"³ and a few milestones. The style of the "royal road" was like its name taken over from the Persian "king's highway."⁴ It was probably what it is now, a more or less broad congeries of trodden paths and tracks. We hear little of any sort of upkeep of the roads; Egypt furnished 10,000 dinars annually for the highroad which followed the course of the Nile;⁵ the pass between Ailah and the desert et-Tih, which was so steep as to be almost impassable for a rider, was levelled by the Tulunid Khumarawaihi, who in other ways showed some understanding for traffic, in the 3/9th century.⁶ At the end of the 4/10th century Sebuktekin constructed in Southern Afghanistan the roads whereby

(1) This statement is infelicitous on more than one ground. In the first place *rukhhkh* is not an Arabic, but a Persian word; in the second there is evidence that it bore the sense "chariot" in both Persian and Arabic. See H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess*, Oxford, 1913, pp. 159, 160 (Translator's note).

(2) Marco Polo, I, 48.

(3) Hamdani 183; *aitar* are the "ropes" *hibal* of a road. (The "rope" in this context means "a long and elevated tract of sand." The identification with *iter* seems hazardous. Translator's note).

(4) Information given by Hamdani *ibid.*; "the Arabs called it *mulaiki*," to which he gives a false etymology.

(5) Nasir Khosrau, p. 118.

(6) Maqrizi, I, 213.

his eminent son Mahmud afterwards penetrated into India.¹ Chenghiz Khan had military roads on a great scale constructed through the Alps of Central Asia, in this as in other ways resembling Napoleon ; one of these pierced the gorges of the Tien-Shan south of the Lake Sairam ; it had forty wooden bridges on which two vehicles could be driven side by side.² In most cases attention was confined to policing, to the provision of inns, or at the least to the provision of water. Thus there was a dome with a tank of water for every 12 or 18 kilometers (2 or 3 parasangs) on the shortest road through the desert of Eastern Persia.³ By the Lake of Van in Armenia Nasir Khosrau found the path indicated by posts driven into the soil, serving as guides in snowy or foggy weather.⁴ In the salt-marshes of North Africa also the road was indicated by posts.⁵ The hostelries on desert roads were pious foundations ; they were to be found most frequently in the religious Turkestan, which counted more than 10,000 of such hostels ; in many of these the needy traveller was given fodder for his beast and nourishment for himself.⁶ In general the East was more hospitable than the West. A Persian landowner on a large scale maintained hostels on his estates, endowed with a hundred or more cows, whose milk was freely offered to wanderers ; even the Persian villages elected a *jazir*, whose duty it was to regulate hospitality within the community, and assign strangers to the inhabitants.⁷ In Khuzistan buckets of water, which often had to be fetched from a distance, were placed along the road at intervals of one parasang.⁸ The monasteries practised lavish hospitality in the countries which had formerly been Christian : travellers of importance regularly alighted at these.⁹ The monastery of St. John near Takrit on the Tigris as also Ba'arba further

(1) Biruni, *India*, transl. Sachau I. 22.

(2) Journey of Chang Chun in the year 1221 ; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* I. 89.

(3) Istakhri, p. 197 ; Nasir Khosrau 256.

(4) p. 22.

(5) Bekri ed. Slane, p. 48. In these days the "road" (as it is called) from Yezd to Tebes through the Persian salt desert is marked out with five stone pyramids, erected by Parsees of Yazd. Sven Hedin *Zu Land nach Indien* II, 6. In these regions stone pillars stand at the crossings of main roads, *ibid.* II, 36.

(6) Istakhri, p. 290.

(7) *Fihrist*, p. 843.

(8) Muq., p. 418.

(9) Shabushti, fol. 95 b. 118 a.

north had special buildings for the entertainment of travellers.¹ It is only in what was formerly Persian territory that we hear of hospices in the towns ; thus there was a *Shebistan* "Night-house" in Nisabur, and another in Shiraz, whereas there were in Egypt no hostels nor inns before the time of the Ayyubids (period of the later Crusades).² Still in the wild and unsafe regions of the West there were foundations providing lodging and protection, whither "charity flowed from all countries."³

In the time of the Sasanids there had been permanent bridges over the Tigris ; in the 4/10th century Ibn Hauqal professes to have seen the remains of a bridge of brickwork near Takrit,⁴ and the handsome arch of such a structure is still standing near Jazirah.⁵ In the 4/10th century all these fell to pieces, and were replaced by bridges of boats (*jisr*), some of them movable, as in Baghdad and Wasit. Such were not however very numerous ; indeed in the North they are said to have been unknown ; at the commencement of the 5/11th century Mahmud crossed the Oxus with an army against the Turks "on a bridge of boats, fastened together with chains. This was the first time that a bridge of this sort had been seen in these regions."⁶ The Chinese traveller Chan-Chung found a similar bridge over the Jaxartes at a later period, in the year 1221.⁷ A permanent bridge with five "doors," one large and four small, led across the 'Isa canal at the point where it branched off from the Euphrates.⁸ At the end of the 3rd/9th century the width of the large "door" was fixed at 22 yards, that of the small "doors" each at 8 yards, after it had been ascertained that so even the largest vessels could pass through. In Kuzistan the bridge of Dizful, east of the ancient Susa, was 320 paces long and 15 broad, and was built on 72 arches. Ibn Serapion calls it the Bridge of the Romans.⁹ In Ahwaz there was the "Indian Bridge," built of brick, with a

(1) Shabushti quoted by Streck, *Landschaft Babylonien*, p. 179 ; Yaqt II, 645.

(2) Qalqashandi, transl. Wustenfelf, p. 82.

(3) Ibn Hauqal, p. 49.

(4) p. 168.

(5) Photograph ap Hugo Grothe, *Geographische Charakterbilder aus der asiatischen Turkei*.

(6) Ibn al-Athir, IX, 210.

(7) Bretschneider, *Med. Res.* I. 75.

(8) *Wuzara*, p. 257.

(9) Le Strange, p. 289.

mosque erected on it;¹ and over the upper Qarun was the bridge of Idhaj, spanning the stream at a height of 150 yards in a single arch of stone, held together with iron clamps. At the end of the 4/10th century it was repaired at a cost of 150,000 dinars.² The specimen of European bridge building which won most admiration in the whole Muhammadan empire was the bridge erected by the Emperor Vespasian over the Geuk Su, a tributary of the Euphrates, near Samosata. It was regarded as one of the wonders of the World, because it "soared high above a ravine in a single arch of masonry, each stone being ten yards long and five high."³ The most important wooden bridge appears to have been that over the Tab, the stream which formed the boundary between Khuzistan and Fars; it rose some ten yards above the water.⁴ Finally, a single author of the 4/10th century admires a bridge which soars from one mountain to another near Chotan in Turkestan; it was not, he says, built by the Chinese.⁵

I cannot say how old is the type of ferry which I saw on the Khabur in Mesopotamia in which the ferryman pulls with his hand at a rope stretched across the river. This method is also in use in the Tarim basin.⁶

The post (*berid*) is a very ancient invention; in any case it owes its development to the intensified consolidation of the great empire of the Nearer East by Darius I.⁷ Almost the whole of the nomenclature connected with the post under the Caliphs is still Persian: *furani*⁸ or *faij*⁹ or *shakiri*¹⁰ "postillion," *askudar* "docket," containing a register of the number of post-bags and letters, as well as times of arrival and departure at the different stations.

(1) Muq., p. 411.

(2) Yaqt, s. v.

(3) Tha'alibi, *Umad el-mansub*, ZDMG, VIII, 524 foll.; Istakhri 62; Mas'udi, *Tanbih* 64, 144; Muq., p. 147; see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 124 note. It was noticed as important as early as in the Roman Itineraries, Tab. Peut.: *ad pontem Singe*. Miller *Itin. Romana*, p. 756.

(4) Ibn Hauqal, p. 170.

(5) al-Mutahhar, ed. Huart, IV, 87.

(6) Sven Hedin, *Durch Asiens Wusten*, II, 152.

(7) The Arabic tradition agrees (Maqrizi, *Khitat* I, 229).

(8) This word occurs as early as in Imrulqais (Ahlwardt, *Six Divans*, p. 180, line 27).

(9) Properly "pedestrian"; the root *ped* is the source of the word. An Indian form *batak* occurs *Merv. de l'Inde*, p. 106.

(10) Properly "hunter." Attested by Khwarizmi, *Rasa'il*, p. 53 for the fourth century.

It would seem that the post was invented at some definite point, as the Byzantine, the Muhammadan, and the Chinese posts all docked the tails of their beasts as a special badge. Only the Byzantines used horses for the post,¹ as was also the practice of the pagan kings of Arabia;² the Chinese and Muhammadan³ posts employed mules.⁴ West of the Euphrates the Caliphs' post reckoned by miles, but in the East by parasangs (*farsakh*).⁵ For the milestone there is only the Roman name *mil*, used even in places where Rome never ruled;⁶ the Persian post does not appear to have used the term.⁷ On the other hand in both halves of the empire there were stations (*sikak*) with relays of mules or riders at uniform distances of 6 miles or 2 parasangs.⁸ The postillions themselves rode the whole way; in the year 326/937 there is a notice of one who accompanied the post-bag the vast distance between Baghdad and Meccah.⁹ In the East and the West there was international exchange; the Turkish post (*berid et-Turk*) went as far as the Chinese frontier;¹⁰ that of Asia Minor, which had a station every three miles, as far as Constantinople.¹¹

(1) Ibn Khordadbeh, p. 112.

(2) Mubarrad, *Kamil*, Cairo, 1808, I. 286.

(3) This appears not to be quite correct. In the papyri orders for the use of such beasts call them *dabbah*, which normally means "horse," and in the account of the *barid* in the *Fakhri* horses are specially mentioned. (Translator's note).

(4) *Silsilet et-tawarikh*, p. 113. The docking as a badge is pre-Islamic (Ahlwardt, *Six Divans*, p. 188, line 28). Hamza al-Isfahani (ob. between 350/961 and 360/970) derives the word *berid* "post" from the Persian *berideh dhanab* "docktailed" (*Annales*, ed. Gottwaldt p. 39). which is copied by Tha'alibi, *Rois des Perses*, ed. Zotenberg, p. 398.

(5) The parasang was regarded as equivalent to three miles. Ibn Khordadbeh, p. 83; Muq., p. 65; Mutahhar, ed. Huart, IV. 85.

(6) e. g. in South Arabia, Qudamah, p. 190; in East Persia, Ibn Rusteh, p. 168.

(7) In India from remote antiquity there had been pillars at every 10 stades, indicating by-roads and distances (Strabo XV. 1).

(8) *Mafatih al-'Ulum*, p. 63. Muq., p. 66. According to the latter passage the stations were at distances of 12 miles = 4 parasangs in the desert and in Babylonia. This does not agree with Rudamah for Babylonia. The extension of the distance between the stations must have taken place in any case in the latest period, when Babylonia became a desert. A post-book of the 8rd/9th century gives the number of all stations together as 980 (Ibn Khordadbeh, p. 158).

(9) Al-Suli, *Auraq*, Paris, p. 186.

(10) Ibn Khordadbeh, p. 29.

(11) Ibn Hauqal, p. 180.

The following were the chief post-roads :

1. Up the Tigris from Baghdad to Mosul, Beled,¹ then through Mesopotamia passing Sinjar, Nisibis, Ras 'Ain, Haqqah, Menbij, Aleppo, Hamat, Hims, Baalbek, Damascus, Tiberias, Ramleh, Gifar, Cairo, Alexandria, and then on to the Cyrenaica.²

2. From Baghdad to Syria on the western³ bank of the Euphrates, which was reached at Anbar. At Hit it crossed to the western bank of the Euphrates. The traffic was enormous ; in the year 306/918 the ferry at Hit brought the government an income of 80,250 dinars.⁴

There is no mention in the books of routes of the road Damascus to Der via Palmyra, which was of importance in antiquity, and occasionally traversed in our time, being protected by guard-houses—not even in Muqaddasi, who gives a detailed list of the roads of the Syrian desert. Neither was there at that time in existence the camel post between Baghdad and Damascus which in these days functions with such regularity. Still the road from Hit to Damascus which it follows, as being the shortest route from Baghdad to Syria, was traversed by occasional riders. In such cases convoy (*Khufara*) of Bedouins was provided by the official at Hit.⁵

3. The chief road to the East went behind Baghdad crossing the Nahrawan Bridge, mounted behind Hulwan the ancient Media by a famous staircase, and still mounting behind Asadabad reached the height of Hamadan. In the middle of the pass dates and cheese were for sale.⁶ The road is marked on ancient maps, and was certainly that followed by the Persian kings between their winter residence in Babylonia and their summer residence which was high up in Ecbatana. Thence the road proceeded to Rai (not far from the modern Teheran), Nisabur, Merv,

(1) The direct and magnificent desert road Ktesiphon-Hatra-Harran, as given in the Tabula Peutingerana, had long been deserted.

(2) Qudamah, p. 227 foll.

(3) In ancient times the road mounted on the Eastern bank of the Euphrates (Tab. Peut.)

(4) v. Kremer *Ueber das Einnahmebudget des Abbasidenreiches, Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie*, vol. XXXVI, p. 307.

(5) Tanukhi, *Kitab al-Faraj*, II. 76. Others branched off higher up on the Euphrates, and made the circuit round Rusafah in order to reach Damascus ; in the year 440/1048 Ibn Botlan did this to get to Aleppo (Ibn al-Qifti, p. 295). On this road too there was danger of plunder by Bedouins (*Kitab al-Faraj* II, 109).

(6) Ibn Rusteh, p. 167.

Bukhara, Samarcand, which already possessed a "Chinese Gate."¹

Continuation through the frontier region between Turkestan and China depended on the security of the road, which was very unstable. During the whole of the earlier period of Islam, and even in the 4/10th century, the nearest road, which went through Fergana and the Tarim basin, had been favoured by the Chinese in the 8th century A.D., and was afterwards followed by Marco Polo, was disliked : at any rate there is no mention of it anywhere. Even from Uzkend in Upper Fergana no use was made of the Alai passes, as might have been expected ; instead, people proceeded through the pass of Atbas or Tabas, "up a steep ascent, unpassable in snowy weather," to Barshan, which lies to the south-west of the Issyk Lake.³ Here it made a junction with the road Samarcand-China, which led to Barshan by a wide arc, through Shash (Tashkent), Taraz (Aulie-ata), and Birki (Merka).⁴ The continuation is thus defined by the *Zein-el-Akhbar* of Gurdezi (written about 1050 A.D.) : People proceeded through Penchul to Kucha in the Tarim basin, and then eastward as far as Chinanchekeket at the frontier of China.⁵

(1) Muq., p. 278.

(2) Richthofen. *China*, I, 456.

(3) The pronunciation and situation of this place are now at last settled by Gurdezi (ed. Barthold, p. 89 foll.). The statement of Qudamah (p. 208) that the pass of Atbash lies between Tibet, Fergana, and Nushajan, is probably the chief source of de Goeje's view that Nushajan was the country round Chotan (*De Muur van Gog en Magog, Versl. der Amsterd. Akad.*, 1888, p. 114). But even so the statement does not agree, since the road to the pass of Ush through Uzkend clearly diverges to the north. The solution of the difficulties is to be found in the fact that at that time the Tarim basin was still reckoned as belonging to Tibet, e.g., by the traveller Abu Dulaf (Yaqt III. 447); in the work of Mutahhar (ed. Huart, IV) Chotan is actually called the capital of Tibet. This agrees also with Chinese sources ; as early as the 8th century A.D. the towns between the Altyn and Tien Shan paid tribute to Tibet (JA. 1900, vol. xv, p. 24), which retained possession of them for the greater part of the 9th century and only then lost them to the Uigours and Kharluk Turks (JRAS 1898, p. 814). Eastern Turkestan is also assigned to Tibet in the statement of Ibn Khordadbeh (p. 80) : "Atbash lies on lofty plateau between Tibet and Fergana." Edrisi (ed. Jaubert I. 490) calls Chotan (about the year 550/1150) "the capital of Tibet." and a final argument against de Goeje's identification of Chotan with Nushajan is to be found in the fact that Birûni as well as Gurdezi and Sam'ani (ob. 562/1167) cited by Abulfeda (*Geogr.*, ed. Reinaud, p. 505) call Chotan by its present name.

(4) Ibn Khordadbeh 28 foll. ; Qudamah 204 foll. ; Muq., p. 341.

(5) Ed. Barthold, p. 91.

As early as about the year 630 A.D. this route was taken by the Chinese Hsuen-Tsang, who travelled from Kucha through Paluqia (doubtless identical with Gurdezi's Pechul, and probably the modern Aqsu) to the Issyq lake.¹ Even in these days the main traffic of the middle of the Tarim basin with Tashkent goes over Asqu, the Bedel pass, Qaraqol, Pishjek, Aulie-ata.² We cannot unfortunately make out how Sellam travelled in the 3rd/9th century, or Abu Dulaf in the 4/10th.³ From the passage in Mas'udi where he states that "he had made the acquaintance of many travellers to China and learned that the road to China from Khorasan through Sogdiana traverses the mountains which yield sal-ammoniac" it is to be inferred that in the 4/10th century the China road was the same as that mentioned by Hsuen-Tsang and Gurdezi; for according to Chinese statements these mountains are in Tien-tsan north of Kucha.⁴ Not till a hundred years later, about 550/1155, does Edrisi, the first Arabic writer to do so, describe the road from Fergana over the Pamirs to the Tarim basin;⁵ this is probably to be connected with the fact that at the end of the 4/10th century the Bogra princes conquered western Turkestan, and transferred their residence to Kashgar in eastern Turkestan, so that traffic had again to turn in the direction of the Pamir passes.

In Merv the post-road branches off through central Khorasan. It does not go directly to Balkh, but makes the tremendous circuit of 300 kilometers along the Merv river to Merv er-rud precisely as at the time of the Tabula Peutingerana. A parasang further there begins the mountain range, in which the road made use of a ravine as far as Talaqan. Beyond Balkh it crosses the Oxus near Tirmid, and enters Fergana at Rasht.⁶

The road which crosses Iran diagonally, from Shiraz through Yezd to Nisabur, is still noticed by Ibn Khor-dadbeh, p. 50, but is not found in Ibn Rusteh or Qudamah. In any case this is connected with the disturbances in the Persian East, which enabled robbers and highwaymen to

(1) Richthofen, *China*, I. 540.

(2) Sven Hedin *Durch Asiens Wusten*, I, 466.

(3) de Goeje, *de Muur van Gog en Magog*; Marquart, *Osteuropäische Streifzüge*, p. 74 foll.

(4) Richthofen *China* 7. 560. Wang-yen-te, who travelled in 981-983 (*Journal asiatique* 1847, I, 63) similarly.

(5) Richthofen, *China* I. 562.

(6) Ya'qubi, *Kitab al-Buldan*, p. 287; Qudamah 209 foll.

become powerful in the great desert between Yezd and Tabas. 'Adudeddaulah (ob. 372/982) first restored order in this region ; after his time every governor of Fars regularly held hostages of these robbers, who were from time to time replaced by others, so that caravans travelling under government escort could pass through without danger. About the middle of the 4/10th century he had a guard-house built there with an aqueduct of sweet water ; Muqaddasi saw no finer building of the kind in all the regions of Persia ; it was constructed of masonry and plaster like the fortresses of Syria.¹ However the road was not improved, for Muqaddasi, who meant to travel from Tabas to Yezd, required 70 days for a distance which had been calculated by Ibn Khordadbeh at 68 parasangs ; his caravan had missed the way. According to him the predatory Qufs, who infest the region are " wild of face and hard of heart ; they are not satisfied with money, but slaughter any one on whom they lay hands in the style wherein people put snakes to death. They hold the man's head down on a slab of stone, and hurl stones at it till it is smashed." ²

The pilgrim-road from Baghdad crossed the Euphrates at Kufah, and entered the desert at al-'Udhaib.³ In spite of its terrible remoteness Meccah at the season of the pilgrimage attracted the greatest concourse of the whole Muhammadan world. It was not only the pious act of pilgrimage which allured them ; another attraction was the relative safety of the vast caravans of pilgrims, who converged thither from all directions. In the year 331/943 many traders of Baghdad emigrated with the pilgrim caravan to Syria and Egypt, owing to severe oppression by the government of Babylonia.⁴ Conversely in the year 335/946 many Syrians wishing to flee from the Byzantines attached themselves to the pilgrim caravan and made the tremendous circuit through Meccah ; among these was the Qadi of Tarsus, who had 20,000 dinars on him.⁵

(1) In the year 1881 and in 1892 some private individuals of Yezd built a magnificent edifice for wanderers at the point where the roads Teheran-Tebes and Yezd-Tebes cross and to the north of it (Sven Hedin, *Zu Land Nach Indien* II. 87 Foll.).

(2) Muq., p. 488 foll.

(3) Qudamah, p. 186.

(4) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 71 a.

(5) Abu'lmahasin, I, 174.

In North Africa in the 3rd/9th century most of the roads led in the direction of Qairawan. At that time the competent Aglabite dynasty had introduced order, and bestowed special attention to the roads. Along the whole coast there were guard-houses, and communication was safe.¹ Two great roads left Lower Egypt for the west, one along the seacoast (as in antiquity), the other further to the south. At first the post followed the latter (*tariges-sikkah*), then turned towards Tripoli, thence made directly for Qairawan, and then proceeded along the coast. The miles were marked; from Qairawan to Sus al-Adna on the Atlantic Ocean was a distance of 2,150 miles.² This was the great highroad communicating between Spain and the East.³ A south road led through the oases Dakhil and Kufrah⁴ to the western Sudan, going to Ganah and Audagusht. In the 4/10th century it was deserted owing to sandstorms and raids.⁵

The post was for the government; it "ran for the 'Abbasids,'"⁶ and being so cumbrous had to serve for the conveyance of passengers only in the most urgent cases.⁷ Besides letters it accepted other more or less official objects for speedy delivery. Thus when the prince Ma'mun was still governor in Khorasan, the post brought him fresh groceries from Kabul;⁸ it brought the Caliph presents which could not stand lengthy transport.⁹ When Jauhar had conquered Morocco for his Caliph, and had reached the Atlantic Ocean, he sent him a fish in a glass bottle as a sign of his dominion of the sea by post.¹⁰ A military post was instituted for the benefit of the government during campaigns. Thus, e.g., when in the year 302/914 the Baghdad general marched to Egypt in order to expel the Fatimid invaders, the vizier ordered the establishment of a fast camel-post to keep Egypt and Baghdad in daily communication.¹¹ Mu'izzeddaulah hurried up the post in order to accelerate communication with his brother who

(1) This is why the coast road is not mentioned by Qudamah, p. 222.

(2) Ibn Khordadbeh, p. 89.

(3) Ibid, p. 55. ¶

(4) J. Marquart, *Beninsammlung*, p. CV.

(5) Ibn Hauqal, 42, 66.

(6) Mas'udi, VI., 263.

(7) Baihaqi, ed. Schwally, p. 429.

(8) Beladhuri, p. 402.

(9) Ibn Taifur, fol. 131 b.

(10) de Goeje, ZDMG LII, 76.

(11) 'Arib, p. 58.

ruled in other provinces ; he introduced the employment of express messengers (*su'at*) as postillions (*fuyuj*).¹ The youth of Baghdad took a great fancy to this new profession, and poor people surrendered their sons to the prince for training therein. Two of these express messengers especially distinguished themselves, both of whom did more than 30 parasangs (about 180 kilometers) between sunrise and sunset. They were popular favourites ; the historian goes to the length of recording their names, and mentioning that one was a Sunnite, the other a Shi'ite. At each parasang of the road there was a fort (*hisn*). Probably they no longer employed posthorses, but fast camels (*Jammazat*). Such were the animals employed, e.g., in the year 364/975 by the Buwaihid vizier when he hurried from Baghdad to his master in Persia.³

Besides this there was at any rate in certain districts and for shorter distances a private post, or organized body of messengers. As early as the fifth century A.D. the letter-carriers of Lower Egypt, called Symmachoi, were famous for their speed. They were still in existence in the 8th century A.D., as is shown by a Rainer papyrus. A traveller of more recent date, M. Wanslab says : " One who would become a messenger in Alexandria has to carry fire in a basket constructed like a warmingpan and attached to a pole of a man's height, fitted with a number of iron rings, for a run of 27 miles on the road to Rosetta, and return to the city on the same day before sunset." ⁴

The fire telegraph (signalling) which was in use in the Byzantine empire was retained by the Muslims in the countries which had formerly been Greek, but was not introduced into the other provinces. It is said to have worked particularly well on the North African coast. This statement holds good for the 3rd/9th century. A message reached Alexandria from Ceuta in one night,⁵

(1) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 34. Quatremere, *Hist. Maml.* II, 289, after the *Kitab al-insha*. The name *sa'i* for postillion still remains.

(2) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 34 ; Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 425 (more than 40 parasangs).

(3) Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 480. According to the account given in Tha'alibi's *Lata'if al-Ma'arif*, p. 15 they are " amblers," the verb *jamaza* meaning " to amble." The fastest camel in the Persian East is still the Beluchi racer called *jambas*, an ambler which without the slightest difficulty can do a hundred kilometers in one day (Sven Hedin *Zu Land nach Indien* II. 346 foll). So *jambas* is likely to be a popular etymology from the Persian.

(4) *Führer durch die Ausstellung Rainer*, p. 53.

(5) Abulmahasin, I, 174.

and in three to four hours from Tripoli. The latter line came to an end only in 440/1048 when the West revolted against the Fatimids, who could no longer protect the forts from the Bedouins. ¹

On the other hand the Muhammadans strenuously developed the carrier-pigeon post which had been known in Roman times. ² The founder of the Qarmatian sect (3rd/9th century) seems to have been the first to organize it systematically and on a considerable scale. From the commencement of his career he had messages brought to him by birds from all quarters to his Babylonian station, in order to be able to prophesy with ease and certainty. ³ Towards the commencement of the 4th/10th century notices of its employment in Babylonia become more frequent. In the year 304/916 the newly nominated vizier announces his arrival by carrier-pigeons. ⁴ When in the year 311/923 the Qarmatians seized Basrah, they were able to inform the citizens of the change that had taken place in the vizierate four days previously, having received the news by their carrier-pigeons. ⁵ In the year 313/927 during the Qarmatian war Ibn Muqlah (afterwards vizier) sent a man with 50 carrier-pigeons to Anbar, and had intelligence sent by them to Baghdad at regular intervals. ⁶ In the same year the vizier establishes posts against the Qarmatians at Aqarquf of 100 men with 100 pigeons, and demands a message every hour. ⁷ In the year 321/933 a private individual is able to reassure the vizier concerning the fate of Kufah, because the carrier-pigeons of his neighbour, a citizen of Kufah, have brought more favourable reports than the official birds. ⁸ In the year 328/940 the ruler of Baghdad is said to have caught a carrier-pigeon with which his secretary had intended to betray him to the enemy. ⁹ Raqqah and Mosul could communicate at this time with Baghdad, Wasit, Basrah, and Kufah through carrier-pigeons within 24 hours. ¹⁰ In the second

(1) Marrakeshi, transl. Fagnan, p. 299.

(2) Diels, *Antike Technik*, p. 68.

(3) de Goeje, *Mem. sur les Carmathes*, p. 207. Carrier-pigeons are first mentioned in China about 700 A.D., and appear to have been introduced there by Indian or Arab traders (Chau-Ju-Kua, transl. Hirth and Rockhill, p. 28, note 2).

(4) *Wuzara*, p. 33.

(5) Arib, ed. de Goeje, p. 110 foll.

(6) Misk. V, 306; Ibn al-Athir VIII, 135; further *ibid.* VIII, 240

(7) Misk. V, 298.

(8) Misk. V, 416.

(9) Misk. VI, 22. The word often occurs in later chronicles.

(10) Tha'alibi, *Umad al-mansub*, ZDMG VIII, 512

half of the century the Alid Muhammad ibn Omar kept carrier-pigeons in Baghdad and Kufah, in order to transmit intelligence between the two cities with rapidity.¹ When a Qarmatian envoy was announced, 'Adudeddaulah ordered this magnate to have the man lodged with his representative in Kufah. The Alid sends a "Kufan" bird; the representative replies by one of Baghdad, and the business is settled in a few hours.²

The government in general left the private traveller undisturbed; it is certain that in the East, at least in the 2nd/8th century, there were no gate-clerks nor registers of persons who entered the city gates.³ A notice of the first half of the 3/9th century also speaks of the passports customary in China as something strange.⁴ In Egypt on the other hand, even in the earliest Muhammadan times, strict insistence on passports prevailed. No one was allowed to leave his district without permission of the authorities. About the year 100/720 the governor is said to have issued orders that "any one found without a passport (*siġill*) either on the march or removing from one place to another, or embarking or disembarking, is to be arrested, and the vessel with its contents seized and burned." Passports of the sort are preserved in the collections of papyri.⁵ Under the Tulunids a passport (*jawaz*) was required for permission to leave Egypt, and in this even slaves who accompanied their masters had to be mentioned.⁶ In the East on the other hand at the end of the 4/10th century it is pointed out as a remarkable practice that in Shiraz, the capital of the Buwaihid 'Adudeddaulah, a traveller was detained, and could only leave the place with permission.⁷

29. MARINE NAVIGATION

Muhammadan navigation had to be divided into two quite separate areas: the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. The Isthmus of Suez stopped all connexion between the two. One who wished to reach India or Eastern Asia from the Mediterranean had to load his goods

(1) 'Umdat et-talib, Paris Mscr. arab. 686, fol. 171 a.

(2) Ibn al-Jauzi, Berlin, fol. 145 a. Other "pigeon-telegrams" Misk. VI, 18, 19, 412.

(3) Aghani XIX, 147.

(4) Silsilet et-tawarikh, ed. Reinaud, p. 42.

(5) C. H. Becker, Islam, II, 369.

(6) Mughrib of Ibn Sa'id ed. Vollers, p. 58.

(7) Muq.. p. 429.

on camels at Farama and then journey through the desert for seven days to Qulzum (Greek Klysmā), where he could re-embark them.¹ Moreover the types of vessel were distinct. In the Mediterranean the planks were nailed together, whereas in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean they were stitched²—doubtless the older and at one time universal mode of ship-building. Ibn Jubair reports for the 6/12th century: "No nails are used in the vessels of the Red Sea; they are merely stitched together with cords made of cocoa-husk. The planks are perforated with stakes of palm-wood, and then saturated with mutton-fat, castor-oil or shark-oil: the last is the best."³ Marco Polo writes as follows of the vessels in use at Hormuz in the 7/13th century: "The vessels built in Hormuz are of the worst sort, and very dangerous. This is due to the fact that no nails can be used in their construction. The planks are perforated as cautiously as possible with an iron auger near their ends, and wooden nails or stakes driven in; this is how they are put together. After this they are bound, or rather stitched, together with a sort of rope-yarn, which is obtained from the husk of the Indian nut. Pitch is not used; the planks are smeared with an oil that is prepared from the fat of fish."⁴ This difference was the result of traditional usage, but as ordinarily happens utilitarian grounds were suggested for it. According to Marco Polo "the wood is of too hard a quality, and liable to split or crack like earthenware. When an attempt is made to drive in a nail, it rebounds and is frequently broken." According to Ibn Jubair, "their object in oiling the vessel is to make the wood soft and pliable on account of the numerous eddies in this sea, which are also the reason why they allow no vessels constructed with nails to sail." A third reason was the fear that the water of the ocean might attack the nails,⁵ while others talked of the mountains of magnet which were to be found in the Red Sea, which attract the nails and so disintegrate the vessels.⁶

(1) Ibn Khordadbeh, p. 153; Edrisi, ed. Brandel, Upsala, p. 2; Maqrizi I, 218.

(2) Mas'udi, I, 365.

(3) p. 29; Edrisi, l. c.

(4) I, 18.

(5) Mas'udi, I, 365.

(6) First found in Edrisi, Jaubert, I, 46, after the '*Aja'ib* of Hassan ibn al-Mundhir, a full-blooded representative of the "*Mirabilia*" literature. Next comes Qazwini, ed. Wustenfeld I, 172. Mutahhar who lived in the heart of Persia has transposed the story, asserting that no ships can sail in the *western* sea, because the mountains of magnet attract the nails (ed. Huart, I, 89).

The ships of the Mediterranean were larger than those on the Ocean. The Chinese inspector of customs Chau-Ju-Kua at the beginning of the 13th century A.D. reports with admiration how "a single vessel carries several thousand men, and there are wine shops and foodshops to be found on board as well as looms."¹ Only on the Mediterranean were there vessels with two rudders;² those on the Ocean had never more than one deck, and in most cases only one mast.³ The vessels which sailed the Red Sea were broad and of small draught on account of the numerous reefs;⁴ those of Basrah were white, being calked with fat and lime.⁵ Of the eastern ships the "Chinese" were the largest. In the Persian Gulf they could not negotiate a strait which other vessels could pass;⁶ in the Malabar ports they paid dues from 5 to 50 times the amount paid by others,⁷ and as early as the 8th century A.D. they occasioned surprise in Canton as being particularly large, "towering so high above the water that people require ladders some ten feet long in order to get on board." They were however commanded by captains who were not Chinese (*fan*).⁸ The most valuable timber for ship-building came from the Lebek tree, which grew only in Antina (Antinoe); a single plank cost 50 dinars. Two were regularly tied together and left in water for a year till they had so swollen as to become one.⁹ In the 4/10th century Venice also supplied the Saracens with timber for ship-building, so that the Greek emperor made complaints on the subject to the Doge. The Doge accordingly forbade it, and only permitted trade in harmless wood-boards of ash or poplar not more than five feet long and half a foot broad, and wooden utensils.¹⁰ This caused such a scarcity of timber in Egypt that the

(1) Fr. Hirth, *die Lander Des Islam nach chinesischen Quellen*.

(2) Ibn Jubair, ed. Wright, p. 235.

(3) Marco Polo, I, 18; III, 1.

(4) Edrisi, ed. Brandel, p. 2.

(5) Mas'udi VIII, 128.

(6) *Silsilet et-tawarikh* ed. Reinaud, p. 16.

(7) Ibid, p. 17.

(8) Hirth and Rockhill, Chau Ju-kua, p. 9.

(9) Maqrizi, *Khitat*, I, 204, after Dinawari's "Book of Plants" (the edition has incorrectly "benjtree.")

(10) Scheube, *Handelsgegeschichte der romanischen Volker*, p. 28 foll. As late as the beginning of the 19th century Egypt imported all its timber for building from Venice, and some of its firewood from Asia Minor (U. J. Seetzens *Reisen* III, 207); even at present the masts of the Nile boats are said to come mainly from the Black Forest.

girders of the mint and of the hospital in the dove-market had to be removed to make masts for a new fleet of war-ships.¹

The rudder of the seagoing craft was turned with two cords like that of our pleasure boat.² The authors of our times say nothing about the compass, which is described first by Kapchaki in the year 1282 A.D.,³ and then by Maqrizi (pp. 845/1442).⁴ There were several anchors (called by their Greek name *anjur*) on board; ⁵ a plummet (*sibak*) was used for sounding.⁶ The boat (*qarib*) was used when necessary to tow the ship with oars.⁷ Ibn Hauqal, who had travelled far and wide, was struck by the skilful seamanship that he witnessed at Tinnis in the Egyptian Delta, where "two ships met and touched each other, the one going upstream, the other downstream, with one and the same wind, each of them with bellying sails and sailing with equal rapidity."⁸ The crew had a diver for one of its members.⁹ On the Chinese vessels of the 11th century A.D. there were black slaves who could dive with their eyes open.¹⁰ An Arab of the 8/14th century reports that the ships of the Indian Ocean ordinarily carry four divers (*ghattas*) who, if the water rises in the vessel, rub oil of sesame into their skin, stop their nostrils with wax, and proceed to swim round the ship as it sails, and stop the leaks with wax; they can deal with twenty to thirty in a day."¹¹ A Chinese authority of the 9th century relates as follows: "A number of doves are kept on the seagoing craft of the Persians. These can fly several thousand *li*, and when set free fly homeward in a single flight, bringing good tidings."¹² On vessels that sailed the ocean a bowl of rice with grease was put out daily for the guardian angels.¹³

(1) Yahya b. Sa'id, fol. 113 a.

(2) Muq., p. 12.

(3) Klaproth, *Lettre sur l'invention de la boussole*, Paris, 1834

(4) *Khitat*, I, 210.

(5) *Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 87.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 30.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 46.

(8) p. 108. In the East when the wind was unfavourable the sails of the ship's boats were used for cruising (Marco Polo III, 2). (Marco Polo's words in the Marsden Wright edition are "provided the wind be on the quarter, but not when right aft." Translator's note).

(9) *Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 7.

(10) Chau Ju-kua, p. 32.

(11) Gildemeister, GGN 1882, p. 444.

(12) Chau Ju-kua, p. 28.

(13) *Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 46.

In the 10th century Europe had no power over the Mediterranean ; it was an Arabian sea. Any one who wished to achieve anything had to ally himself with the Saracens, as did Naples, Gaeta, and Amalfi. European navigation seems a wretched affair. In the year 935 A.D. the ships of the Fatimid Mahdi could raid and plunder the South of France, and Genoa, and in the years 1004 and 1011 Pisa : nevertheless the Fatimid fleet must at that time have been decidedly inferior to the Syrian, for in the year 301/913 eighty of their ships were completely defeated by twenty-five of the Syrian. The Arabs counted 36 days' journey for the Mediterranean "from the Atlantic Ocean to the port of Antioch"¹ This "port of Antioch was Seleucia, which in the 3rd/9th century was the most important trading port of Syria ;² the Caliph al-Mu'tasim had had it fortified.³ It suffered indeed from the great disadvantage that there lay between it and Cyprus the famous shoal (*sofalah*) on which most ships were wrecked.⁴ We are also told towards the end of the 3rd/9th century that the harbour of the Syrian Tripoli holds a thousand vessels ; the military harbour against Byzantium was at that time Tyre, which was protected by massive fortifications.⁵ However the advance of the Byzantines in the 4/10th century altered all these conditions in Syria. The eastern half of the north African coast is as ill-suited for navigation as possible. The only natural roadstead between Alexandria and the Gulf of Tunis is that of Tripoli. And this was of insufficient depth even for the shallow draught of the vessels of the time ; the inhabitants used their boats free of charge to help strangers in their difficult landing.⁶ Next in order came Tunis, the port of Qairawan, near the site of the ancient mistress of the sea, Carthage. The story of the "voyagers to the West"⁷ in Lisbon probably belongs to the 4/10th century. "They started out to explore the ocean, and discover what it contained and how far it reached." They were eight cousins ; they built a passenger ship, victualled it and took water to last for months, and launched it as soon as the

(1) Edrisi, ed. Dozy, p. 214

(2) Antioch is, e.g., with Procopius still the first of all the Roman cities of the Orient (Heyd, *Levantenhandel* I 24).

(3) Ibn Khordadbeh, p. 158 ; Michæl Syrus, ed. Chabot, p. 527, 537.

(4) Mas'udi, I, 332.

(5) Ya'qubi, *Geogr.*, p. 327.

(6) Ibn Hauqal, p. 46.

(7) Read *mugharribuna*.

East wind began to blow. After a voyage of some eleven days they entered a sea with heavy waves, murky air numerous reefs and little light.¹ Fearing disaster they shifted sail, and ran southward for twelve days till they came to Sheep Island. Thence for twelve days more they sailed to an island which was under cultivation. Here they were arrested, taken to the capital, thrown into prison, and after three days examined with the help of an Arab dragoman. When next the West wind blew they were taken blindfolded to the coast and allowed to sail away. After some three days they reached a country inhabited by Berbers. They required two months to get back to Spain.²

The Red Sea was dreaded owing to its reefs and adverse winds; sailing thereon was only possible in the daytime, and, owing to the peculiar laws which regulated its winds, at a particular season from north to south, and at another in the opposite direction. On this account the Nile waterway which runs parallel to the Red Sea maintained its great importance for marine navigation too. The port of exchange was 'Aidhab, deep and safe, with entrance through a gorge.³ Here the wares of Abyssinia, Yemen, and Zanzibar were disembarked, carried across the desert for twenty days to Asuan or Qus, whence they proceeded on the Nile to Cairo.⁴ Towards the end of the 5/11th century Aidhab attained a high degree of prosperity, and became one of the world-ports; "for unknown reasons the trade of North Africa passed through it on its eastward way; indeed from 450/1058 to 660/1258 the Egyptian pilgrims actually took the route through 'Aidhab; not before 823/1420 did it lose its importance to Aden."⁵ At that time a tax of eight dinars was levied there on each pilgrim.⁶ The traveller Ibn Jubair too in the year 579/1183 found 'Aidhab "one of the most frequented harbours of the world, since the ships from India and

(1) In accordance with ancient opinion the Arabs supposed the extreme ocean to be dark. Thus in the East the furthest sea is called *al-bahr al-zefi* "The Pitchy Sea," because its water is murky, the winds are violent, and darkness is almost continuous. (Reinaud, Abulfeda, II, 26).

(2) Edrisi, ed. Dozy. p. 184.

Istakhri, p. 30; Mas'udi, III, 56; Edrisi ed. Brandel, p. 1.

(3) Wustefeld, Qalqashandi, p. 169.

(4) Nasir Khosrau, p. 64, who visited the city in 442/1050.

(5) Maqrizi. *Khitat*, I, 194-197; 202-208.

(6) Edrisi Jaubert, I, 133.

Yemen put in there, not to mention the pilgrim traffic." He mentions Indian pepper as the staple commodity.¹

Mas'udi writes as follows in the year 332/943 : " I have sailed a good number of seas, the Chinese, the Roman, that of the Khazars, the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea, and have experienced innumerable terrors, but nowhere have experienced anything more terrible than the African Sea." In the year 304/916 he sailed from Zanzibar (Qanbalu) to Oman : all the sailors with whom he made the journey out and back afterwards fell victims to the sea.² The rulers of Zanzibar were already at that time Muhammadan ;³ the furthest goal of Muhammadan travel in Africa was Sofalah (Mozambique), where they were attracted by the gold treasures of Mashonaland,⁴ and whence iron was mainly exported for fabrication to India, where products of high value were made of it.⁵ Modern historians give some exact dates : about 908 Mahdishu (Mogadoxo in Italian Somaliland) was founded, as also Brawa ; Kilwa in German East Africa about 975.⁶ This is based on Rizby's " Report on the Zanzibar Dominions," (p.47) who follows the histories current there in these days. We have no ancient sources dealing with this subject ; possibly the historians of South Arabia will furnish some information.

The " Persian Sea " to the Muhammadan mariner commenced at Aden, went round Arabia into the Persian Gulf, and ended somewhere about where Baluchistan commences. Everything else was Indian Ocean. The two seas were navigable at opposite seasons ; when the one was calm, the other was stormy, and vice versa. The bad time of the Persian sea begins with the autumnal, that of the Indian with the vernal, equinox. The Persian sea is navigated at all seasons, the Indian only in winter.⁷ Hence the former is the chief hunting-ground of the pirates, because of whom the Arabian coast was of the worst repute. As early as about the year 200/815 the people of Basrah had undertaken an unsuccessful expedition against the pirates in Bahrain ;⁸ in the 4/10th century

(1) p. 66.

(2) *Prairies*, I. 233 foll.

(3) *Ibid.* III. 81.

(4) *Ibid.* III. 6.

(5) Edrisi Jaubert I. 65.

(6) e.g. Schurtz in Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte*, vol. 3, p. 428.

(7) Ibn Rusteh, p. 86 foll.

(8) Michæl Syrus, ed. Chabot, p. 514.

people could not venture to sail the Red Sea except with soldiers and especially artillery-men (*naffatin*) on board.¹ The island Socotra in particular was regarded as a dangerous nest of pirates, at which people trembled as they passed it. It was the *point d'appui* of the Indian pirates who ambushed the Believers there.² Piracy was never regarded as a disgraceful practice for a civilian, nor even as a curious or remarkable one. Arabic has formed no special term for it ; Istakhri (p. 33) does not even call them "sea-robbers," but designates them by the far milder expression "the predatory." Otherwise the Indian term *the barques* is used for them.³

The most important harbours of the empire on the Ocean were Aden, Siraf, and Oman. Of the second rank were Basrah, Daibul (at the mouth of the Indus), and Hormuz, the port of Kirman.

Aden was the great centre of the trade between Africa and Arabia, and the *point d'appui* of that between China, India and Egypt. Muqaddasi calls it the "vestibule of China."⁴ There people could hear of a man starting out with 1,000 dirhems and coming home with 1,000 dinars. and another starting with 100 and coming home with 500. A third started out with incense, and came back with the same quantity of camphor in exchange.⁵

Siraf was the world-port of the Persian Gulf, through which the imports and exports of all Persia passed.⁶ It was especially the port for China ; even the goods of Yemen intended for China were transhipped in Siraf.⁷ About 300/912 the dues annually levied on the shipping there amounted to 253,000 dinars.⁸ The people of Siraf were the wealthiest traders in all Persia ; they gave proof of this especially in their tall houses of many storeys, built of the costly teak wood ; an acquaintance of Istakhri had expended 30,000 dinars on his dwelling-house. The merchant princes were, however, curiously simple in their attire ; Istakhri (p. 139) asserts that a man could be seen there who possessed four million dinars or more, yet whose

(1) Muq., p. 12.

(2) Mas'udi III. 37 ; Muq., p. 14.

(3) *Gloss. Geogr.*, 195 ; *Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 193.

(4) p. 34.

(5) Muq., p. 97.

(6) Istakhri. p. 34.

(7) *Silsilet et-tawarikh*. ed. Langles (composed about 800 A.H.)

(8) Ibn al-Balkhi, JRAS 1912, p. 888.

dress was not different from that of his employees. Men of Siraf conducted business from Basrah also ; Ibn Hauqal met one of these traders, who had property of about three million dinars, an amount which the traveller had not seen elsewhere.¹ Many a man of Siraf spent his whole life on the sea, which led to the story that one of them for forty years had been embarking from one vessel into another, never treading on land.² To Siraf belonged the most celebrated shipowner of the time, Muhammad ibn Babishad, of whom an Indian king had a portrait executed, as the most eminent member of his profession. For "they have the custom of making portraits of the most distinguished men of all sorts."³ This position of Siraf had for an effect that the chief language of the Muhammadan traders with India and Eastern Asia was Persian ; at any rate even the Arabic works of our period offer a number of Persian nautical terms, such as *nakhoda* "ship-owner," *didban* "lookout-man," *rubban* (probably for *rah-ban*) "captain."⁴ On the other hand the "caller" (the man who communicates the pilot's orders to the man at the helm) is designated by the term *munadi*, which is otherwise familiar in the life of the Arabs.⁵ The captains had to swear that they would not wantonly surrender any ship to destruction so long as it was in existence and not overtaken by destiny.⁶

Basrah lay at a distance of two day's journey from the sea upstream.⁷ In front of the river's mouth there was a sort of Heligoland, an island with the small fort 'Abbadan, whose inhabitants maintained themselves by the manufacture of *halfa* mats,⁸ and whither people went to perform penance.⁹ Dues were exacted from vessels at this

(1) p. 206.

(2) Istakhri, p. 138.

(3) *Merv. de l'Inde*, p. 98.

(4) Not "captain," as it is ordinarily rendered ; his name is *ra's* or *rubban* (Muq., p. 31). The *nakhoda* Babishad, who voyages on his own vessel, has, e.g. "the *rubban* of his vessel" with him, to see to the navigation. Tales of nautical skill are never credited to the *nakhoda*, always to the *rubban*. At the present time on the Red Sea the *nakhoda el-bahr*, the person really in command of the vessel, who gives orders to the crew, and curiously enough is at once helmsman and pilot, is distinguished from the *nakhoda el-berr*, the shipowner (v. Maltzan, *Meine Wallfahrt nach Mekka*, 1865, I. 71).

(5) *Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 22.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 22.

(7) Istakhri, p. 79.

(8) Muq., p. 118.

(9) *Wuzara*, p. 78.

place,¹ and it held a garrison against pirates. Six miles further seaward there was a building on piles : stakes (*khashabat*) were driven into the ground, and thereon stood a lighthouse, which was illuminated at night, so that vessels might keep away from the place.² A poet of Basrah satirized a lean and bony individual in the following line :

" A face like 'Abbadan, after which nothing but wood comes for his lover."²

Mas'udi in the 4/10th century speaks of three wooden towers of the sort ;⁴ Nasir Khosrau in the 5/11 th of two.⁵ The latter writer describes them more accurately : " Four great stakes of teak wood are driven in, so as to form a square, only obliquely, so that the base is broad and the apex narrow. They rise fifty meters above the surface of the sea, and there is built on the top a square cabin for the keeper." This indicates the weakness of the harbour on the Shatt el-Arab : its shallow and narrow entrance. " Of forty ships which enter one comes back " is what Muqaddasi heard stated.⁶

The history of the Muhammadan factories in the extreme East was somewhat troubled.⁷ As early as the eighth century it is recorded that foreign captains had their names registered at the bureau of marine commerce in Canton, and that this bureau claimed the right of inspecting the ship's paper and exacting export duty⁸ and freight dues before it gave permission for the disembarking of goods. The exports of rare and valuable articles was forbidden. Attempts at smuggling were punished with imprisonment.⁹ Muhammadan factories may perhaps have already been in existence at other Chinese places as well ; the western colony in Canton was already so populous that in the year 758 it could plunder the city, burn the warehouses, and make off with the spoil.¹⁰ At the beginning of the 9th century A.D. we find again at the head of

(1) Yaqut, *Irshad*, I, 77.

(2) Istakhri, 32 ; Muq., p. 12, who speaks of several " houses " which were illuminated.

(3) Yatimah, II, 184.

(4) Mas'udi, I, 230.

(5) p. 90.

(6) p. 12.

(7) The Chinese sources have been most recently collected by Fr. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, St. Petersburg, 1912, p. 9. foll.

(8) Perhaps a slip for " import duty " (Transl.)

(9) *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 9

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 14 foll.

the Muhammadan colony in Canton a chief of the same religion appointed by the Chinese emperor, who administered justice, preached, and offered prayers for the emperor of China at the service in the mosque.¹ "At that time, if a vessel arrived, the Chinese would seize the cargo, bring it into the sheds, guarantee it for six months till the last of the sailors arrived² when three-tenths were taken away, and the rest given to the traders. Goods needed by the government were taken at top prices, and paid for in cash with no unfairness of any sort. Among such articles was camphor, for which the government paid at the rate of 50,000 pieces of copper the *mana*. When not taken by the government, camphor fetches only the half."³ Other imports were ivory, copper bars, tortoise-shell, and rhinoceros-horn, "of which the Chinese made girdles (?)."⁴ At that time not only did Muslims voyage to China, but "Chinese vessels" did the like to Oman, Siraf, Ubullah, and Basrah.⁵

Chinese annals confirm the Arab sailors' narrative of the destruction of the Muhammadan trading stations in China,⁶ especially in Khanfu (the modern Canton).⁷ With the fall of the Tang dynasty all was destroyed in South China,⁸ and the scene of marine commerce was shifted. The *Merveilles de l'Inde*, which essentially reflect the state of affairs in the 4/10th century show that in their time Kalah or Kedah in Malacca, the predecessor of the modern Singapore, constituted the limit of Muhammadan navigation. Abu Dulaf says so expressly: "Kalah is

(1) Reinaud, *Relation*, p. 14.

(2) It is not clear what this means, but the German cannot be rendered otherwise. (Translator's note).

(3) Reinaud, *Relation*, p. 46.

(4) Ibid., p. 35. The query is the author's.

(5) Mas'udi, I, 308; Hirth and Rockhill in Chau Ju-kua, p. 15, n. 3., declare it to be most improbable that these "Chinese vessels" belonged to Chinese owners or were steered by such, since even the names. Aden and Siraf were unknown to the Chinese till the end of the 12th century. It agrees with this that the Arabs have no tales to tell of Chinese sailors, and that with the destruction of the Muhammadan factories in China the "Chinese vessels" no longer came into Arabian waters. Hence Muhammadan vessels trading with China must be understood by the phrase.

(6) Reinaud, *Relation*, p. 62 foll., and Mas'udi, I. 302; Abulfeda, *Annals*, anno 264.

(7) For the identification see Hirth and Rockhill, Chau Ju-kua, p. 15.

(8) Richthofen, *China*, I, 572.

the commencement of India, and the limit of navigation ; the ships can go no further, else they come to grief.”¹ Similarly Mas‘udi, writing about 332/944 says : “ In Kalah at the present time the Muhammadans of Siraf and Oman meet the ships that come from China. There too the trader of Samarqand who is on his way to China embarks on a Chinese vessel.”² At the end of the 10th century, however, the Chinese government made great efforts to attract oversea commerce once more directly to the country. An embassy was sent “ to invite the foreign traders of the South Sea and such as crossed the sea into foreign lands ” to come to China, promising them favourable conditions for importation. In the year 971 the marine bureau in Canton was reorganized ; about 980 foreign trade became a State monopoly, and private transactions with foreigners were to be punished with branding of the face and banishment. At that time and in the succeeding years a series of Muhammadan traders are mentioned, who visited the Chinese court, and were there received with remarkable friendliness. In the year 976 A.D. an Arab brought the first black slave to the Chinese court ; in the 11th century wealthy people in Canton already possess a number of such slaves.³ Foreign traders had been established for some time not only in Canton, but also in Tsuan Chou ; in the year 999 bureaux of marine commerce were further opened in the seaport towns Hangchou and Mingchou “ at the request and for the convenience of foreign officials .”⁴ A Chinese writer of the year 1178 asserts that “ of all the rich foreign countries which have a great store of varied and valuable goods none surpasses that of the Arabs. Next to them comes Java, the third is Palembang (Sumatra) ; after these come many others.”⁵ The same writer records a further renewal of navigation to China : “ Travellers from the country of the Arabs (Ta-shi) sail first southwards to Quilon (Malabar) on small vessels ; there they trans-ship into large vessels, and proceed eastwards to Palembang (Sumatra).”⁶ The route to China was dictated by the direction of the monsoons, which alone rendered the navigation of the high seas without compass possible ; it is

(1) Yaqut, III, 458.

(2) I. 308.

(3) Chau Ju-kua, p. 31, foll.

(4) Ibid., p. 17 foll., 119.

(5) Ibid., p. 28.

(6) Ibid., p. 24.

described in the *Silsilet et-tawarikh* ed. Langles (cited by Reinaud, *Relation des Voyages*, Paris, 1845), p. 16 foll., and by Ibn Khordadbeh, p. 61 foll. and can be reconstructed from the *Merveilles de l'Inde*. They sailed along the Indian coast, or directly from Mascat in about one month to the Malabar port Kulam (modern Quilon), then left Ceylon on the right (?)¹ and went to the Nicobar Islands (10 to 15 days from Ceylon), then to Keda in Malacca—about a month's journey from Quilon—then to Java and the Sunda island Ma'it; thence in 15 days to Cambodia then Cochin China and China. The Chinese coast alone demanded two months' voyage; further, since in those regions only one wind blows for half the year, they had to wait for the favourable one. On the return journey they sailed 40 days from Tsuanchou to Atyeh (north-west point of Sumatra), where they traded, and took to the sea again in the following year, in order to reach home in some 30 days with the help of the regular winds.² In the absence of all instruments for navigation such a voyage was an adventure; a captain, who had made it seven times, is mentioned with the greatest admiration.³ "It was a miracle if any one remained safe and sound on the journey out; a sheer impossibility to come home safely."⁴ Hence we are not surprised that at the first sight of home the look-out man shouts down from the mast: "God have mercy on all who cry: God is great!", and the crew all reply "God is great!", congratulate each other, and weep for joy and happiness.⁵

(1) The writer must mean the left (translator's note).

The Chinese Chau Ju-kua in the 13th century also reckons a month from Sumatra to Malabar with the monsoon (p. 87).

Marco Polo, III, 4. As early as the fifth century A.D. the pilgrim Fa Hien had gone home from India by this route.

(2) This at least is what is stated in a Chinese report of the 12th century A.D. Chau Ju-kua, p. 114.

(3) *Merv. de l'Inde*, p. 80.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 91.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(Concluded.)

TRANSLATION OF ASH-SHAMA'IL OF TIRMIZI

(Continued from our last issue)

On the dress of the Prophet

UMM Salma¹ says that among garments the *Qamis*'² was liked by the Prophet most. Asmâ' bint Yazîd³ says that the sleeves of the shirt of the Prophet reached to the wrists. Mu'âwiya⁴ bin Qurra heard his father say that he went to the Prophet with a large number of men who were of the tribe of Muzaina with a view to turn them into his disciples, and he saw that his shirt was put off or the buttons of his shirt were untied. He said that he put his hand in the collar of the Prophet's shirt so that he touched the *Khatimu'n-Nubuwat*.⁵

Anas⁶ bin Mâlik narrates that (once) the Prophet of God came out (of his house) being supported by Usâma bin Zaid⁷ (i.e., owing to illness he took the help of Usâma in coming out of the house). There was Qitri⁸ cloth on him, and he had worn it in the mode of *tawashshuh*; ⁹ then he offered prayers (as Imâm) with all the people.¹⁰

(1) Umm Salma died A.H. 59—A.D. 678. *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 67.

(2) *Qamis*, a shirt, sewn garment with two sleeves, not opened (down the front), worn beneath the other clothes: Lane, *Arabic Lexicon*, Vol. II. p. 2564,

(3) Asmâ' bint Yazîd was a reliable Traditionist. She took part in the battle of Yarmûk (5th Rajab A.H. 15, A.D. 636). *Al-Isaba*, Vol IV, p. 445.

(4) Mu'âwiya bin Qurra died A.H. 113—A.D. 731. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 358.

(5) See page 184, Note 9. Vol. VII, No. 3.

(6) See page 179, Note 1. Vol. VII, No. 3.

(7) Usâma bin Zaid died A.H. 54—A.D. 678. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 26.

(8) *Qitri* a kind of striped cloth.

(9) *Tawashshuh* denotes a mode of wearing the scarf under the right armpit slung on the left shoulder.

(10) Tirmizî narrates the subsequent interesting story in this connection and it throws valuable light on the view of life taken by the learned Traditionists. They considered life to be transitory and absolutely unstable. Muhammad bin-al-Fazl narrates that he was questioned about this Tradition by Yahyâ bin Ma'in who was a great

'Abd bin Humaid¹ says that Muhammad bin al-Fazl² told (him) that Yahyâ bin Ma'in³ asked him this tradition when he first sat (for lessons) under him. Then Muhammad bin al-Fazl said that Hammâd bin Salâma⁴ related to him this Tradition; then Yahyâ bin Ma'in⁵ said that if he saw the book it would have been better. Then he (Muhammad bin al-Fazl)⁶ rose up to take out the book, but Yahyâ bin Ma'in caught hold of his robe and said, "Dictate it to me for I fear that I may not meet you."⁷ Muhammad bin al-Fazl says that he dictated the Tradition to him; then he took out the book and read it out to him.

Abû Sa'id al-Khudrî⁸ says that when the Prophet of God wore new apparel he used to call it by its proper name such as turban or shirt or scarf and would say that all praise was due to God who made him wear that dress, and he would then pray for the sanctity⁹ of the clothes (*i.e.*, that he might wear it for the comfort of the body and not for pride and show); and for the well-being of the thing for which it was made and asked for protection against evil and the evil¹⁰ of the thing for which it was made.

Traditionist himself and who was said to have taken down, in his own hand, no less than ten hundred thousand Traditions. Muhammad bin al-Fazl was on the point of relating it when Yahyâ remarked that the Tradition would be more credible and acceptable if it were related from his book. Muhammad bin al-Fazl thereupon turned to fetch the book but Yahyâ held him by his clothes and remarked; "Life is transitory. No one has any knowledge of his death. So narrate it first orally and you may relate it again from the book for confirmation." Muhammad bin al-Fazl acted up to his wish.

(1) 'Abd bin Humaid a reliable authority on Hadith, died A.H. 249—A.D. 863, see *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 249.

(2) Muhammad bin al-Fazl died A.H. 223 or 224, A.D. 837 or 838. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 335.

(3) Yahya bin Ma'in died A.H. 233—A.D. 847. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 395.

(4) Hammâd bin Salama died A.H. 167—A.D. 788, *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 252 and *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 101.

(5) See page 192, Note 11. Vol. VII. No. 3.

(6) See page 192, Note 10. Vol. VII. No. 3.

(7) Life being uncertain, death may overtake him at any moment. Delay in writing may prove dangerous.

(8) Abû Sa'id al-Khudrî's name was Sa'd bin Mâlik al-Ansârî. He died (according to *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 186) in A.H. 74—A.D. 698; see also *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 141. See also p. 185, n 5.

(9) It is meant for screening the body and keeping off heat and cold. When wearing clothes a man should offer up prayers and thanksgiving to God; this imparts blessings on the clothes.

(10) The evil of the dress, so to say, is (1) that it is made from unlawful income, (2) that it is unclean and (3) that one wears it for pride and show.

Anas bin Mâlik¹ says that among dresses the Prophet of God loved to wear was the *Hibara*.² Abu Juhaifa³ said that he saw the Prophet wearing a red garment and he remembered it as distinctly as if even then he was looking at the brightness of the two calves of the Prophet's legs. Sufyân⁴ says that he considered it to be a Yaman scarf.

Barâ' bin 'Azib⁵ says that he saw not any person in a red dress more beautiful than the Prophet. The hair of his head reached nearly down to the shoulders.

Abû Rimsa⁶ says that he saw the Prophet wearing two green garments on him.

Qaila⁷ bint Makhrama says that she saw the Prophet having on him two old cloths dyed with saffron; and according to her the colour of the cloth was certainly fading. There is a long story about this Tradition.⁸

(1) See page 179, Note 1. Vol. VII. No. 3.

(2) *Hibara* is a Yamanî sheet in which there are red or yellow lines and this is one of the best of the rabbinic clothes.

It will be remembered that there is an apparent contradiction between the tradition related by Umm Salma (at the beginning of this chapter) and that by Anas bin Mâlik. Learned scholars have reconciled this apparent divergence between the two Traditions. They hold that among inner garments the shirt (*Qamis*) was the most favoured of the Prophet and among other mantles the toga (*Hibara*), a large loose sheet, was the most countenanced.

(3) See page, 189, Note 3. Vol. VII. No. 3.

(4) Sufyân as-Sûri died A.H. 161—A.D. 777., *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 249

(5) See page 180, Note 1. Vol. VII. No. 3

(6) See page 189, Note 4. Vol. VII. No. 3.

(7) Qaila bint Makhrama was a companion of the Prophet, see *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 474.

(8) The author did not relate the story, as he had only to deal with the dress. The story is this :—At-Tabrânî narrates that a man came to the Prophet and saluted him; the Prophet returned his salutation; the Prophet had at the time two old garments on. Both of these had been dyed with saffron but, being old, the colour had faded. And the Prophet had a branch of the date-tree in his hand and he sat in *qurfusa* posture (an Arabian mode of sitting with the knees close to the belly and the hands folded under the armpits, or embracing the legs). Qaila bint Makhrama says that when she saw the humility of the Prophet she trembled; then the Prophet looked at her and told her to clear her mind of fear and her fear undoubtedly disappeared. See *Al-Isaba*, Vol. IV., p. 755.

'Iyâz says in *Ash-Shifa'*, "Observe our Prophet's disposition and conduct towards worldly wealth." It will be found that the treasures of the earth and everything received as trophies had become lawful for the Prophet. During his life-time the countries of the Hijâz, Yaman and the rest of Arabia were brought under subjugation. The

Ibn 'Abbâs¹ narrates that the Prophet said : " Choose white garments to wear ; those who are alive ought to wear the same and you shroud your dead in it ; verily it is better than all other clothes."

Samura bin Jundub² relates that the Prophet said ; " Wear white clothes ; verily it is very pure and clean ; and shroud your dead in it."

'A'isha³ says that one morning the Prophet came out of the house and there was a black woollen scarf on him. Mughîra bin Shu'ba⁴ says that the Prophet had worn a *Jubba*⁵ of Rûm, with tight sleeves.⁶

sixth part of the produce of these countries and the *Jizya* (poll-tax) came to him, as also costly presents from different countries. But he did not take anything from all these riches for his own use, and from all this wealth he did not keep a single *dirham* (a silver coin) for personal use. On the contrary he spent it wherever necessary, thus making others rich and strengthening Muslims at large. He used to say that he did not wish that the mountain of Uhud should be turned into gold for his benefit or that any *dinar* (a gold coin) might remain with him, but if he would keep any *dinar* it would be for the clearance of debts. Once some *dinars* came to him. He divided them and there remained some balance. He kept the residuc with one of his wives. He could not sleep till he rose up and divided the remaining *dinars*. They said he got rest after that. It is narrated that when he died his armour had to be pawned for the support of his family. He economised in food, drink, dress and housing which are unavoidable necessities. He used to wear whatever he got and either distribute gold-embroidered silken robes to those who came to him or keep some for those who were not present at the time of distribution.

(1) See page 183, Note 10. Vol. VII. No. 3.

(2) Samura bin Jundub died A.H. 58,—A.D. 677, *Taqrib at-Tahzib* p. 160 and *al-Isaba*, Vol. II., p. 260.

(3) See page 186, Note 4. Vol. VII. No. 3.

(4) Mughira bin Shu'ba died A.H. 50—A.D. 670. See *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 361.

(5) *Jubba*, a well-known garment of the kind of those called *muqattiyat*. According to 'Iyâz a garment cut out and sewn ; according to Ibn Hajar and others a double garment quilted with cotton, or sometimes with wool ; a single garment not quilted with anything. Most probably not much resembling the modern garment more generally known by the same name, for a description and representation of which see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, Chapter I ; and Lane, *Lexicon* Vol. I, part 2, p. 371.

(6) This Tradition has inclined the learned scholars in Islam to hold that there can be hardly any objection against any Musalman wearing a dress that customarily belongs to the members of some other faith provided it is clean. They argue that the Prophet himself had no hesitation in wearing the dress of the inhabitants of the eastern Roman Empire who belonged to the Christian denomination.

On the manner of living adopted by the Prophet¹

Muhammad bin Sîrîn² says, "I was near Abû Huraira³ who had on him two cotton clothes dyed with red earth and he wiped his nose with one of these and exclaimed in surprise 'wuh! wuh! (Bravo! Bravo!) Abû Huraira wipes his nose with *kattan* (linen).'⁴ Certainly I saw him in the condition when he used to fall down on the space between the pulpit of the Prophet and the chamber of 'A'isha⁵ in a state of senselessness. Then the passers-by would come and place their feet on his neck.⁶ It was supposed that he was mad; he was really not mad but hungry."

Mâlik bin Dînâr⁷ says that the Prophet would never fill his belly with bread and meat except in *Zafaf*. Mâlik says that he asked one of the inhabitants of the desert the meaning of *Zafaf* and he replied that it was 'eating with the people.'⁸

(1) This chapter on the manner of living adopted by the Prophet has been repeated in *Tirmizi* towards the end of his book. The purpose of the author in this chapter, seems to be, to show the hardships endured by the Prophet and, in the repeated chapter, to point out in detail the things taken by the Prophet.

(2) Muhammad bin Sîrîn, died A.H. 110—A.D. 728, see *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 322.

(3) Page 183, Note 4. Vol. VII. No. 3.

(4) Abû Huraira says that now he had become rich so that he wiped his nose with linen but there were such bad times for him that owing to hunger he would fall down on the ground and people took him to be senseless and mad.

It was the custom among the Arabs to place their feet on the neck of the mad so that the latter might be relieved of madness. This incident about Abû Huraira is related in connection with the Prophet to show the troubles and tribulations undergone by him in those days. Abû Huraira was the special attendant of the Prophet and, if such were his condition, that of the Prophet can be easily imagined.

(5) Page 186, Note 4. Vol. VII. No. 3.

(6) See Note (4) above.

(7) Mâlik bin Dînâr died A.H. 130—A.D. 747, see *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 344.

(8) This Tradition brings apparent discredit upon the Prophet as he is represented to eat to satiation only in the company of outsiders. The true explanation, however, rests in the fact that the Prophet never ate to satisfaction when dining alone. But he gratified his hunger either in the company of his guests or when he became a guest himself, considering that his guests or hosts would cease to eat if he stopped dining abruptly. He always preferred to keep himself hungry to some extent.

The Prophet would never eat to satiation whether he was dining alone or in company with guests. Satiation in his case meant eating only up to two-thirds of his capacity.

On the stockings of the Prophet

Buraida's¹ father narrates that Najjâshî² sent a pair of plain black stockings ; then the Prophet wore both of them and performed ablutions and made *masah*³ on them. Mughîra bin Shu'ba⁴ said that Dihya⁵ sent a present of a pair of stockings to the Prophet ; the Prophet put on both of them and Isrâ'il⁶ said that he heard from Jâbir⁷ who heard from 'Amir⁸ who said that there was a *Jubba*⁹ also ; the Prophet wore both of them till they were torn. The Prophet did not know whether they¹⁰ were clean or not.¹¹

On the shoes of the Prophet

Qatâda¹² says that he asked Anas bin Mâlik¹³ as to what kind of shoes the Prophet wore ; he replied that he wore

(1) Page 185, Note 1. Vol. VII. No. 3.

(2) Najjâshî is the title of the king of Abyssinia. He accepted Islam and died A.H. 9, A.D. 630. He sent a pair of black stockings to the Prophet. The stockings were plain as they had no designs worked on them or were of plain leather without any hair on them.

(3) *Masah* means drawing the hand over the surface of any liquid or over the head or any part of the body in order to wipe it. At the time of ablution it is incumbent on Muslims to wash also the two feet. But if any one wears stockings, he is at liberty not to take them off and draw the wet hands over the upper parts of the stockings. This acts as a substitute for washing the two feet.

(4) See p. 564, Note 4.

(5) See page 183, Note 7.

(6) Isrâ'il was a pupil of Jâbir al-Ja'fi. See 'Alî al-Qâri's *Commentary* on *Ash-Shama'il*, Vol. I, p. 157.

(7) The full name of Jâbir is Jâbir bin Yazîd al-Ja'fi. He was the teacher of Isrâ'il, vide 'Alî al-Qâri's *Commentary* on *Ash-Shama'il*, Vol. I, p. 157. Jâbir, according to *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 64, died after A.H. 100—A.D. 718, and is not a reliable Traditionist.

(8) The full name of 'Amir is 'Amir bin Sharâhîl ash-Sha'bî. He died in A.H. 105—A.D. 723, see *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 229, and *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 185.

(9) See page 564, Note 5.

(10) From this Tradition we draw the inference that if we do not know whether a thing is clean or not we may take it as clean and its use is, therefore, lawful.

(11) Ibn 'Abbâs narrates that the Prophet was once in a jungle. He had worn one of the stockings and was about to put on the other when a crow flew away with it. After it had been taken to a considerable height it was thrown on the ground. Out came a snake. Thereupon the Prophet praised God for saving him so miraculously and considered it advisable for all Muslims to wear their stockings after shaking them and to begin with the right leg. See *Al-Manâwî*, *Commentary* on *ash-Shama'il*, Vol. I, p. 158.

(12) See page 186, Note 5. Vol. VII. Note. 8.

(13) See page 179, Note 1. Vol. VII. Note. 8.

shoes¹ having straps (of leather) fixed to each one. Ibn 'Abbâs² says that the straps of the shoes of the Prophet were double *i.e.*, each shoe had two straps.

'Isâ bin Tahmân³ says that Anas bin Mâlik produced a pair of shoes without hair⁴ to show him, having two straps, and narrated that both of them were the shoes of the Prophet. 'Ubaid bin Juraih⁵ said to Ibn 'Umar,⁶ "I see that you wear shoes without hair."⁷ He replied that he certainly saw the Prophet wearing such shoes as had no hair and performing ablutions with them. So he (Ibn 'Umar) loved to wear shoes without hair.⁸

Abu Huraira⁹ says that the shoes of the Prophet had two straps. 'Amr bin Hurais¹⁰ says that he saw the Prophet offering prayers, wearing a pair of shoes sewn in pieces of leather. Abu Huraira narrates that the Prophet once said, "Amongst you, none should walk with one shoe on. One ought to wear both of them at the same time or put them off altogether."

Jâbir¹¹ relates that the Prophet certainly forbade every one to eat with the left hand or to walk with one shoe on. Abû Huraira¹² narrates that the Prophet said, "When any one amongst you puts on shoes, he ought to begin with the right foot and put off with the left, so that the

(1) The reader must not be misled by the term 'shoe' which was far different from that usually worn now-a-days. The shoe in the Arabia of those times resembled a Roman sandal being a foot-covering, consisting usually of a sole only, held to the foot by two thongs.

(2) See page 188, Note 10. Vol. VII. Note. 3.

(3) 'Isâ bin Tahmân was a reliable Traditionist. Al-Bukhâri and An-Nasâ'i narrated Traditions in their books on his authority. See *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 296.

(4) Sometimes they prepared shoes in Arabia without removing hair from the skin, consequently the Traditionist mentions the hair.

(5) 'Ubaid bin Juraih was a reliable Traditionist. Al-Bukhâri, Muslim and others narrated Traditions on his authority. He lived in Madînah and died after A.H. 100—A.D. 718. See *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 254 and 'Alî al-Qâri's *Commentary on Ash-Shama'il*, Vol. I., p. 161.

(6) See page 189, Note 1. Vol. VII. Note. 3.

(7) By this question he wanted to know why he wore shoes without hair which rich men used.

(8) That is, to follow in the footsteps of the Prophet he used to wear shoes without hair. Those who saw the Prophet wear shoes without hair followed his example.

(9) See page 188, Note 1. Vol. VII. Note. 3.

(10) 'Amr bin Hurais died, A.H. 85—A.D. 704, *Al-Isaba*, Vol. II, p. 1268.

(11) See page 188, Note 3. Vol. VII. Note. 3.

(12) See page 188, Note 1. Vol. VII. Note. 3.

right foot will be used first when putting on and the last (*i.e.*, the left foot first) when putting off."

'A'isha¹ says that in all personal habits, such as combing, wearing shoes and performing ablutions, the Prophet preferred to begin from the right. Abû Huraira says that the shoes of the Prophet as also those of Abû Bakr² and 'Umar³ had two straps, and the first to use shoes with one strap only was 'Uthmân.⁴

On the ring of the Prophet

Anas bin Mâlik⁵ says that the ring of the Prophet was made of silver but its bezel was Abyssinian.⁶ Ibn 'Umar⁷ narrates that the Prophet certainly had a ring made of silver ; he used it as a seal but did not wear it. Anas says that the ring of the Prophet was of silver, its bezel was (also) made of silver.

Anas bin Mâlik says that when the Prophet wanted to write letters to 'Ajam (non-Arabs) he was told the people of 'Ajam did not accept letters as genuine unless stamped with a seal ; so the Prophet had a ring made. Anas says, " Verily even now I see its whiteness on the Prophet's hand."⁸ Anas bin Mâlik⁹ says that the ring of the Prophet had the inscription " Muhammad " in one line, " *Rasul* " (*i.e.*, Messenger) in another and " *Allah* " (God) in another.¹⁰

(1) See page 186, Note 4. Vol. VII. No. 3.

(2) Abu Bakr was the First Caliph (A.H. 11-13—A.D. 632-634.)

(3) 'Umar was the Second Caliph (A.H. 13-23—A.D. 634-644.)

(4) 'Uthmân was the Third Caliph (A.H. 23-35—A.D. 644-656.)

(5) See page 179, Note 1.

(6) The expression ' its bezel was Abyssinian ' has been explained by 'Alî al-Qârî in the *Commentary on ash-Shama'il*, Vol. I., p. 170, as follows :—

" It may mean that the bezel was brought from Abyssinia or it was black just like the colour of an Abyssinian or its maker was an Abyssinian or the engraver of it was an Abyssinian. The last two explanations tally with the ensuing *Hadîth* where it is stated that its bezel was, like the ring, of silver."

(7) See page 189, Note 1. Vol. VII. No. 8.

(8) The beauty of the ring in the hand of the Prophet had made such a deep impression on his mind that at the time of giving its description he seemed to see it vividly.

(9) See page 179, Note 1. Vol. VII. No. 8.

(10) Some say that out of respect for God the word " *Allah* " was placed in the first line, the word " *Rasul* " (Messenger) in the second and the word " Muhammad " in the third. Others say that the word " Muhammad " was in the first line, the word " *Rasul* " (Messenger) in the second and the word " *Allah* " (God) in the third as in the *Qur'ân* we find " Muhammad Rasûl Allâh. " (Muhammad the Messenger of God).

Anas narrates that the Prophet wrote letters to *Kisra* (the surname of kings of Persia), *Qaisar* (the surname of Roman Emperors, 'Cæsar') and *Najjâshî*.¹ He was told that they did not accept letters unless stamped with a seal. Then the Prophet had a ring made of which the bezel was of silver, and "Muhammad Rasûl Allâh" (Muhammad the Messenger of God) was engraved on it. Anas bin Mâlik relates that the Prophet used to take off his ring at the time of going to the privy. Ibn 'Umar² says that the Prophet had a ring made of silver; it used to be on one of the fingers of the Prophet; later on it adorned the fingers of Abû Bakr³ and of 'Umar.⁴ Then it was on the finger of 'Uthmân⁵ and afterwards it fell into the well of Arîs.⁶ It had "Muhammad Rasûl Allâh" engraved on it.

On the wearing of the ring by the Prophet

Alî bin Abû Tâlib⁷ narrates that the Prophet used to wear a ring on (a finger of) the right hand. Hammâd bin Salama⁸ says that he saw Ibn Abû Râfi⁹ wearing the ring on (a finger of) his right hand, and he asked the reason thereof. He replied that he had seen 'Abdullah bin Ja'far¹⁰ wearing the ring on (a finger of) the right hand and was told by him that the Prophet used to wear the ring on the right hand.

(1) See page 566, Note 2.

(2) See page 189, Note 1. Vol. VII. No. 3.

(3) See page 568, Note 2.

(4) See page 568, Note 3.

(5) See page 568, Note 4.

(6) Arîs is the name of a garden near the mosque of Qabâ near Medîna. In the well of this garden the ring fell from the hand of Mu'âiqib, the slave of 'Uthmân, the Third Caliph, who made a search for it for three days. The water of the well was pumped out but there was no sign whatsoever of the ring. There was a special charm in this ring. So long as it existed the Government of the Caliphate went on smoothly. Its loss brought about great disorder in the administration of the Caliphate, so much so that Caliph 'Uthmân was killed. The secret divine influence associated with the ring was like the charm attached to the ring of King Solomon.

(7) See page 180, Note 3. Vol. VII. No. 3.

(8) See page 562, Note 4.

(9) The name of Ibn Abû Râfi is 'Abdur Rahmân. He was teacher of Hammâd bin Salâma (who died in A.H. 167—A.D. 783; see *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 252 and *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 229.)

(10) 'Abdullâh bin Ja'far bin Abî Tâlib died A.H. 80—A.D. 699 see *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 195.

Ibn 'Umar¹ says that the Prophet had a ring made of silver and its bezel, which used to be turned towards the palms, bore the inscription 'Muhammad Rasûl Allâh' (Muhammad the Messenger of God). The Prophet forbade others to use this inscription. This was the very ring which Mu'aiqib² dropped in the well of Arîs.³

Ja'far as-Sâdiq⁴ heard from his father, Muhammad al-Bâqir,⁵ who said that Hasan⁶ and Husain⁷ (on whom be the blessings of God) used to wear the ring on the fingers of the left hand.

Anas⁸ relates that the Prophet used to wear a ring on a finger of the left hand. Ibn 'Umar says that the Prophet had a ring made of gold.⁹ He used to wear it on (the fingers of) the right hand. Then the people began to make gold rings. The Prophet threw it away and said that he would never wear gold rings again. Then the people also threw away their gold rings.

On the sword of the Prophet

Anas¹⁰ says that the Qabî'a (handle or hilt) of the Prophet's sword¹¹ was made of silver. Tâlib bin Hujair¹²

(1) See page 189, Note 1. Vol. VII. No. 3.

(2) Mu'aiqib died during the Caliphate of 'Uthman (see page 199, Note 3) or 'Alî bin Abû Tâlib (see page 2, Note 3.) 'Alî bin Abû Tâlib was the Fourth Caliph, A.H. 35-40—A.D. 566-661. See *At-Taqrîb* p. 360.

(3) See page, 569, Note 6.

(4) Ja'far as-Sâdiq died, according to *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 68, in A.H. 148—A.D. 765, and according to *Al-Ma'arif* p. 110, in A.H. 146, —A.D. 763.

(5) Muhammad al-Bâqir died A.H. 117—A.D. 735, see *Al-Ma'arif* p. 110.

(6) Hasan bin 'Alî bin Abî Tâlib, died A.H. 49—A.D. 669, *Al-Ma'arif* p. 108. See also p. 181, Note 2. Vol. VII. No. 3.

(7) Husain bin 'Alî bin Abî Tâlib died A.H. 61—A.D. 680, *Al-Ma'arif*, p. 109.

(8) See page 179, Note 1. Vol. VII. No. 3.

(9) This happened when the use of gold was not unlawful for men.

(10) See page 179, Note 1. Vol. VII. No. 3.

(11) This sword refers to the famous sword called "Zulfaqâr," see *Al-Munawi*, Vol. I., p. 193.

(12) Tâlib bin Hujair was a reliable Traditionist and died after A.H. 100—A.D. 718. *Taqrib At-Tahzib*, p. 181. Ibn Al-Qattân considers him to be one of the weak narrators, but Adh-Dhahabî holds that he was a reliable Traditionist. Al-Bukhârî has narrated *Hadith* on his authority, see *Al-Munawi*, Vol. I., p. 194.

narrates from Hûd¹ (son of 'Abdullâh bin Sa'id)² who narrates from his grandfather³ that the Prophet entered Mecca on the day of the conquest of Mecca and on his sword was silver and gold. Tâlib says that he asked Hûd to describe the silver (which was in the hilt) and he replied that the Qabî'a (handle) of the sword was of silver. Ibn Sirîn⁴ says that he had a sword made like the sword of Samura bin Jundub,⁵ and Samura believed that his sword was like the sword of the Prophet, the maker being (of the tribe of) Banî Hanîfa.⁶

On the armour of the Prophet

Az-Zubair⁷ bin al-'Awwâm says that the Prophet had two suits of armour⁸ on the day of the battle of Uhud.⁹ He stood by a stone and could not climb¹⁰ on it. Then

(1) Hûd bin 'Abdullah al-'Abdi died after A.H. 100—A.D. 718, *Taqrib at-Tahzib* p. 382.

(2) 'Abdullah bin Sa'id was a reliable Traditionist. Al-Bukhârî has narrated *Hadith* on his authority. The name of the father of 'Abdullah is Sa'd and not Sa'id as given in the text; *Al-Munawi*, Vol. I p. 194.

(3) The name of the maternal grandfather of Hûd is Mazîda bin Jâbir or more correctly bin Mâlik. He was a companion of the Prophet. *Taqrib at-Tahzib* p. 350. 'Alî al-Qâdrî in his *Commentary* (Vol. I, p. 194) says that the word is Mazyada.

(4) See page 195, Note 8. Vol. VII. No. 3

(5) See page 195, Note 2. Vol. VII. No. 3

(6) The tribe of Banî Hanîfa was famous for the manufacture of swords. The name of one of the swords of the Prophet was Mâsûr. It was the sword which he inherited from his father. The name of another was Qazîb and a third was called Qula'î; Qula' being a desert where it was manufactured. His other swords were called Battâr Hatf, Mikhzam, Rasûb and 'Azb, see *Madarij*, p. 1034.

(7) Az-Zubair bin al-'Awwâm died A.H. 36—A.D. 656. See *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 127.

(8) The names of these two armours are "Dhât al-Fudûl" and "Fizza." See *Al-Munawi*, Vol. I, p. 197. The Prophet had seven armours or coats-of-mail. Besides the above two, the name of the other armours are—

- i. "Sughdiya,"
- ii. "Dhât al-Wishâh."
- iii. "Dhât al-Hawâshî,"
- iv. "Al-Batrâ'," and
- v. "Al-Kharbaq."

See *Al-Munawi*, Vol. I, p. 196.

(9) The Battle of Uhud took place in A.H. 3, A.D. 624. 'Alî al-Qâri, Vol. I, p. 197.

(10) The Prophet tried to climb upon a high stone so that his followers might see him, hear his voice, gather round him and in this way the doubt of his being killed might be removed.

he made Talha¹ sit down and climbed on his back. Thus he climbed on to the stone. Az-Zubair said that he heard the Prophet saying that paradise or salvation was necessary (as a reward) for Talha. Sâ'yib bin Yazîd² relates that on the day of the battle of Uhud the Prophet had two armours on him, wearing one over the other.

(1) Talha bin 'Ubaidullâh at-Taimî died in the battle of al-Jamal, A.H. 36—A.D. 656. *Taqrib at-Tahzib*, p. 182.

(2) Sâ'yib bin Yazîd died A.H. 91—A.D. 709. *Taqrib at-Tahzib* p. 188. *Al-Munawi*, Vol. I., p. 198, says that this Tradition which Sâ'yib narrated was on the authority of some other Traditionist, as he was born in the year A.H. 8—A.D. 624 in which the battle of Uhud took place. See also 'Ali al-Qâri, Vol. I., p. 198.

HIDAYET HOSAIN.

(To be continued).

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN MODERN PERSIA

THE JUDICIAL SERVICE

(Continued from our last issue)

EXCEPT in so far as the law allows administrative officers, who have passed the Law Examination, to be appointed to a higher grade in lieu of their previous service, all persons recruited to the Judicial Service have to start from the lowest grade and to serve in each grade for three years (11). Students who have been sent for study abroad by the Ministry, or have gone at their own expense after entering the service, are allowed to reckon their period of study for purposes of promotion, provided it does not exceed five years.¹ The Law of Judicial Organisation requires the Ministry to send at least five members of the judicial service for study to Europe every year. The rules of promotion will be considered presently.

All aspirants for the judicial service must be Persian subjects, at least twenty-five years in age, and must have passed an examination, oral as well as written, the subjects of which are prescribed by the statute. The syllabus of the Teheran Law Class is based on this statutory prescription. Foreign diplomas are recognised so far as they cover the syllabus, but examinations in the remaining subjects have to be passed. The following are debarred from entrance to the service :—Persons punished, or under trial, for crimes and misdemeanours ; persons notorious for heresy (*fasad-i aqidah*), immorality (*fasad-i akhlaq*) or sinfulness (*fisq*) ; confirmed opium-eaters. The statute of Judicial Service leaves the selection of candidates to a Special Regulation, but a law of June 8, 1929, empowers the present Minister to select suitable persons from the qualified students of the Law Class.² Subject to some statutory exceptions, all appointments must be made to the

(1) Supplement to the Law of Judicial Service (*Mutammimi-Qanun-i-Istikhdam-i-Quzzat*) ; *Musawwibat*, vol. IV, p.26.

(2) The Teheran Law Class was instituted by a Regulation of 1928. It provides instruction in the Five Codes of Persia. Lectures are delivered on working days between 5 and 7 p.m.; the session begins from October and ends in May. All persons in the first six grades of the judicial service were required to join this Class unless they were over forty-five years of age, or were studying in the College of Politics (of the

first grade of the service. An officer of the first grade is generally appointed as a Petty Court Judge.¹

At present all recruitments to the Judicial service are controlled by the Minister of Justice. But Article 83 of the Constitution, as interpreted by the statute, empowers the king to appoint the Chief Justice and the Public Prosecutor of the High Court with the sanction of the Minister of Justice.² Officers of the *Parkah* are appointed by the Minister on the recommendation of the Public Prosecutor of the High Court. The formal sanction of the King is necessary for all appointments (10).

The promotions and punishments of all judicial officers and the conduct of the departmental examination have been assigned to a 'Departmental Council' (*Mahkama-i Intizami*). The qualifications required of members of this Council are fairly high.³ They must be trained judicial officers who have risen at least to the ninth grade, have put in at least ten years of service, are approaching the age of retirement, and have not been subjected to departmental punishment amounting to deprivation of grade during the last ten years. Membership of the Council may not be refused if sufficient qualified officers are not available, nor can it be resigned except in case of retirement from government service or punishment after trial. The Council acts in three capacities, and gets a different name according to the work it does. It functions as a 'Committee of Examination' and can then co-opt outside experts; it is also in charge of all cases of promotion as 'Commission of Promotions,' and of departmental trials as the 'Departmental Court' (21-23). A quorum of four is necessary to enable the Committee to work and all

Ministry of Education), or were qualifying themselves for the Registration Department, or had been specially exempted by the Ministry. Persons in the service of other Ministries and disponibles are admitted if there are vacancies in the Class. Persons not in government service are required to sit for an admission examination, but they are exempted from it if they can produce a certificate of having successfully completed six years' study at an Intermediate College. It should be remembered that till the institution of this Class in 1928, no regular professional qualifications were required of either lawyers or judicial officers. The present Minister of Justice, H. E. Agha Dawar, has himself undertaken the duty of lecturing on Criminal Law. Persia's best legal brains are in charge of the teaching work here.

(1) *Musawwibat*, vol. IV, p. 61.

(2) The letter of the Constitution, however, seems to require the sanction of the Chief Ecclesiastical Judge (*Hakim-i Shara'*).

(3) These qualifications are laid down by the Law of Judicial Service.

decisions are arrived at by a majority of votes (32). Lest persons who are in the permanent pay of the government remain idle, it has provided that the Departmental Council, when not engaged in departmental work, is to sit as a section of the High Court.¹

"No judge or officer of the *Parkah* can be promoted from his grade unless he has served in that grade for three years (11)." All cases of promotion are considered by the 'Commission of Promotions' sitting with the Director of the Personnel Department as its Secretary. The Ministry is required to have the *dossiers* and other records appertaining to officers, who have served in their grade for three years and are entitled to be considered for promotion, ready for the consideration of the Commission two months before the end of the year. The Commission is required by law to keep a number of facts in view—the quality of the officer's work, improvements in his academic qualifications, services rendered by him in districts distant from his ordinary place of residence, remarks made by the higher courts on his judgments, etc.—but its decision is final and no appeal lies. Officers who have been deprived of more than two months' salary as a punishment have to put in an extra year in their grade before they can be considered for promotion. If the Commission considers an officer deserving of promotion but there is no vacancy in the higher grade, he is, after waiting for a year, given one-half of the increment he would have obtained if a vacancy had been available. Vacancies occurring in the course of a year are filled up according to the recommendations of the Commission, but *the Minister is entitled to appoint to all vacancies in the first grade in accordance with the laws* (11-19).² The age of retirement is the same for judicial and administrative officers but the government is obliged to obtain the consent of the High Court before it asks a judge to retire (34).

"All judicial officers are strictly ordered not to mix politics with their judicial duties or to promulgate anything against the legal religion or the national government of the country. Disobedience of this rule will lead to dismissal (5)."

(1) Law on the Power of the Departmental Council (*Salahiyat-i-Mahkama-i Intizami*) *Musawwibat*, vol. IV., p. 255.

(2) This provision, it will be observed, enables the Minister to control the recruitment of the whole service.

The procedure for the departmental trial of judicial officers, prescribed by the Law of Judicial Service has been amended by two later laws—the Law of the Departmental Court¹ (February 5, 1925) and the Supplementary Law of Judicial Service² (June 16, 1929). The following varieties of departmental punishments are permitted by the last mentioned statute—written warning not recorded in the officer's *dossier*; written warning recorded in the *dossier*; confiscation of salary, up to one-third, from one to six months; temporary suspension from three months to one year; degradation of one or more grade in official status; and permanent dismissal from the service of the State. The Law of the Departmental Court requires all complaints from private individuals, and all official reports appertaining to the personal or official conduct of the officer, to be sent direct to the *Parkah* of the High Court at Teheran. The Public Prosecutor of the High Court assigns the matter for inquiry and report to a judicial inquirer, and his report, when ready, is considered by one of the two Assistants of the Public Prosecutor. In case the judicial inquirer and the Assistant Prosecutor both consider the officer guilty, the *dossier* is forwarded to the Departmental Court for trial; in case of a disagreement between the two, or even if they both consider the officer innocent, the Public Prosecutor, if he feels that the officer is guilty, may, nevertheless, demand his trial by the Departmental Court (2).

If the Departmental Court merely warns or rebukes an officer or directs the confiscation of one-third of his salary up to six months, its decision is final. But in case a higher punishment is awarded, the officer may appeal within ten days to a Court of Rectification (*Haiyat-i Tajdid-i Nazar*) consisting of two members chosen by lot from the Departmental Court and four members, also chosen by lot, from the judges of the High Court. The Public Prosecutor is entitled to appeal from the judgment of the Departmental Court to the Court of Rectification in all cases, either on his own initiative or at the direction of the Minister of Justice. The decision of the Court of Rectification is final and must be enforced by the Minister within three days. All departmental trials must be instituted within two years of the commission of the offence.

(1) '*Takmil-i Qanun-i Istikhdam-i Quzzat*'; *Musawwibat*, vol. IV p. 29.

(2) *Qanun Raji' bi Mahkama-i Intizami*; *Musawwibat*, vol. IV p. 78.

The inevitable logic of Persian law also required the provision of an authority to promote and to punish (if necessary) the members of the Departmental Council in their turn. The members of this Council, it will be remembered, are all judicial servants of the State in the ninth or higher grades and can, consequently, be promoted only to the posts of Assistant Public Prosecutor, Senior Justices or Chief Justice of the High Court. These delicate duties have been assigned to a Committee of Five, chosen by lot from among the High Court Justices. Appeal, in case of punishment, lies to a public sitting of the High Court (24). The Chief Justice and Public Prosecutor of the High Court can only be tried by the Council of State or, pending its Constitution, by a Commission of Five, chosen by lot out of the persons appointed by the Majlis, either from among its own members or from outsiders, on the recommendation of the Minister of Justice.

If the complaints and reports submitted to the *Parkah* of the High Court allege that an officer has been guilty of felony and misdemeanour, which can only be tried by a court of law, or if evidence in support of such an allegation has been revealed in the course of official investigation, the Public Prosecutor of the High Court may, if the *prima facie* evidence is in his opinion sufficient, place the case before the Administrative Court and demand the suspension of the officer till the final decision of the case.¹ If the officer is acquitted, his suspension will be counted as a period of service and the salary for it restored to him.²

It is not difficult to understand the ideas which have inspired the constitution of the Departmental Council. Persia has not yet reached that stage of legal development when the independence of the judiciary—a High Court independent of the Executive and the Legislature and lower courts dependent principally on the High Court—can be regarded as a practicable scheme. So a compromise has been arrived at. The Minister makes the first appointments to the service; thereafter all promotions, dismissals and punishments lie in the hands of a council composed of the highest officers of the service who are not on the High Court bench. Its members have not much to get from the Executive, and the decisions of the Council

(1) The Administrative Court is a special Court, consisting of trained judges, constituted for the trial of government officers. It sits as a Criminal Court and can try all crimes except murder.

(2) Law of the Departmental Court, cl. 8.

are said to be fair and impartial. The judicial system of Persia is only four or five years old ; time alone can reveal its weaknesses and defects. As at present constituted, the Departmental Council seems to be the saving grace of the judicial administration of the country.

VI. DEPARTMENT OF REGISTRATION

The Department of Registration is in all countries a necessary part of the judicial framework of the State. That the first Persian law for the organisation of this department should have been passed so late as Hamal, 1302 (March-April, 1923), shows how badly the political condition of the country has retarded her legal development. The provisions of the statute of 1923 and of some nine later laws have now been consolidated in the ' Law for the Registration of Properties and Documents ' of February 10, 1929, a very detailed and complete measure of 256 clauses.* The registration of documents is compulsory if the documents relate to properties already registered ; but the provisions of Persian law in respect of registration of documents have no peculiar feature about them and are on the same lines as in other lands. The law relating to the compulsory registration of properties, on the other hand, takes a bold and wise step, which other Eastern countries would do well to emulate. " In all territories where an office of the Department of Registration has been established, all owners of immovable properties, whether houses or lands, must demand their registration within two years of the establishment of the office ; properties, the registration of which has not been demanded, shall at the beginning of the third year be publicly notified by the State, in accordance with the provisions of this statute, as vested in persons in whose possession they are (21). "

The establishment of the office has to be notified to the locality by public posters and the newspapers (if any) ; and a committee of five persons of respectability and standing is constituted to help in the good work. When the demand for the registration of a property is made, the registrar (*mudir-i sabt-i asnad*) is bound to publish the fact in the manner provided by the statute, and persons who object to the applicant's claim are required to lodge their complaint with the office within thirty

* *Qanun-i Sabt-i Imlak wa Asnad ; Musawwibat*, vol IV., p. 95.

days. The rights of all concerned, provided they do not exceed Ts. 1,000 in value, are examined by a Judicial Investigator (*muhagiq*) and appeal against this decision may be made to the Court of First Instance within ten days (7). The decision of this court is final. Rights to properties of higher value have to be decided by the Civil Courts in accordance with their ordinary procedure. Claims to *karezes*, canals and springs, however, can be examined by the Judicial Investigator regardless of their value. The laws and customs of most countries have permitted many manipulations of the right of private property. In Persia, except so far as water-rights are concerned, the situation is comparatively less complicated. Detailed provisions are, however, made by the statute for the registration of conditional transfers, mortgages, joint properties, public properties and endowments. "After a property has been registered in accordance with this statute, and the certificate of ownership has been given, the State will only recognise as owners of that property such person (or persons) to whom the certificate of registration has been given or to whom the property has been transferred by duly registered documents or who claim it by right of inheritance (135)." After the process of registration has been completed, ownership cannot be impeached, except in cases of 'false registration' (*kulahbardari*); severe punishments are prescribed for this crime, whether practised by officers of the department or by private individuals. An owner, who in spite of the proclamations of the registration office refrains from applying for registration, may, apart from the legal insecurity to which his claim is subjected, find his property registered without his consent; the certificate of ownership will only be given to him after he has paid double the maximum fee and the ample period of five years is allowed to all those who care to impeach his claim (138, 217-235, 106-107).

The Registration Department, though under the Ministry of Justice, is a part of the administrative and not of the judicial service. Officers of the Department are trained in the Registration Class at Teheran and appointed by the Ministry of Justice.* The statute

* The Registration Class at Teheran was instituted in 1928 and gave two months' training. The principles of Civil Code and Procedure and the 'Law of Judicial Organisation' were taught so far as relevant, and the Law of Registration of Documents and Properties and the sections of the Commercial Code dealing with the institution of companies in greater detail. Practical training in the keeping of office records

prescribes in detail the method of keeping registers, copying documents and other clerical operations, which require great care when records are kept in the Arabic script. Such work can only be assigned to persons conversant with clerical technique as well as the mysteries of the law.

A reasonable fee, ranging from $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the value of the properties registered during the first six months after the establishment of the registration office to $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the value of the properties registered after the expiry of the prescribed two years, is charged from all persons who apply for registration (236). But mosques, sacred buildings, old schools, reservoirs of water for public benefit, and, by the provisions of a later statute, government properties are registered free of cost. These exemptions, especially the last, prevent the scheme from being a paying financial venture, but of its desirability there can be no doubt. The brass-plates of the department fixed to the doors of houses in the principal cities of Persia have created a sense of increased security in the enjoyment of property rights and in the mutual dealings of citizens. It may be reasonably hoped that, in the long run, much ruinous and unnecessary litigation will be prevented. But here, as elsewhere, lack of funds prevents the completion of a very reasonable scheme. In districts and cities which still await the arrival of the registrars, people are unwilling to undertake any risk, and real estate dealings are for the time being suspended. The Co-operative Section of the National Bank, moreover, is obliged to advance money only on the security of registered properties, and finds it impossible to carry on its operation in districts where registration offices have not yet been established.

VII. MARTIAL LAW

“The Principles of the Constitution,” Article VII of the Supplementary Constitution declares, “cannot be suspended wholly or in part.” These words seem to imply

was combined with theoretical instruction. The Regulation of 1928 assigned the teaching work to Agha Wajadani, a Senior Justice of the High Court; Agha Sami'i, Director-General of Registration; Agha Amiri, Judge of the Commercial Court; and Agha Mirza Ahmad Khan Kia, Assistant Director of Teheran Registration Office. The class was only formed to train sufficient officers for the service of the Ministry and is not intended to be permanent.

a prohibition of 'martial law,' suspension of constitutional guarantees,' 'declaration of the state of siege' or by whatever other name that unpleasant condition of affairs may be called in which the military power is allowed to override civil authority. But fortune has denied to other nations that undisturbed internal security which enables the English people to maintain the supremacy of the civil authority in peace and war; in Persia, Constitution or no Constitution, all governments since 1907 have proclaimed Martial Law at some time or other. Its existence is now frankly recognized by the law.

On June 22, 1928, the Judicial Commission promulgated a detailed Code of Military Courts* (*Qanun-i Mahkamāt-i Nizami*) consisting of 282 clauses, which, while infringing the spirit of article VII, certainly satisfied the requirement of article CVII of the Supplementary Constitution that "the military cannot be deprived of their rights, ranks or functions save in accordance with the law." The code lays down both the punishments to which all persons in military service are liable as well as the procedure for trying them. All cases are to be received and considered by Military Courts (*Diwan-i Harb*) consisting of a chairman and four to six officers. Detailed conditions, which need not be described here, are laid down for the appointment of these officers, so that the soldiers' sense of honour may not be outraged by the trial of an officer by persons who are not his superiors in military rank. Appeal lies to a military court of rectification consisting of a chairman and four officers, (*Diwan-i Tajdid Nazar*); but this court is only empowered to see that the provisions of the law have not been infringed and that no technical error has been committed (1-31).

In time of peace, the Military Courts sit only within the cantonments and their jurisdiction is confined to soldiers and camp-followers. But in time of war—"in provinces and districts which have been placed under military government and in places declared to be in a stage of siege"—the power of the Military Courts is considerably enlarged and they become Courts Martial in the proper sense of the word. "Everyone, whether soldier or civilian, who is accused of committing or of abetting to commit any of the crimes specified in section 201-204, 221, 239, 244, 253 and 255-259 will be tried by Military Courts (Courts Martial) in time of war (59)."

* *Musawwibat*, vol. III, p. 159.

These sections cover in very general terms almost all offences with which the army is directly or indirectly concerned—armed opposition, rendering aid and comfort to the enemy, spying, treason, arson, injury to soldiers, breaches of the public peace, destruction of military property, purchase of arms and equipment from soldiers, etc. In all these cases the punishments meted out to civilians as well as to soldiers are prescribed by the Code of Military Courts and are, naturally, much more severe than the punishments prescribed by the ordinary law. Even appeal to the Military Court of Rectification is not a matter of right. “The highest military officer in command of a city or a fortified place shall always have the power of suspending the right of appeal. His decision in this respect must be communicated to the men through their officers and, if necessary, to the public by a proclamation, and shall be only effective with regard to those persons who are accused after the proclamation (71).” The decisions of the Court Martial are always public, and its sittings are also public except where the court, for administrative or moral reasons, decides to sit in camera (109). When ‘the state of siege’ comes to an end, the enlarged powers of the Courts Martial are also taken away, and they may not try any new cases in which civilians are concerned (44).

MOHAMMED HABIB.

(Concluded.)

THE FOUNDATIONS OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN RELIGION

PART V

IN the last number we dealt with the divine character attributed by mankind to its female element, the first known source of life and living food. We have seen that with the knowledge of the male part in procreation the unique position of the female was lost ;¹ the male element was now awarded its share of the divine and the path was opened for the attribution of godlike powers to living kings. It began most probably with the matter of fertility, a logical development since that matter had long been connected in men's minds with divinity, in the person of the mother-goddess. Traces of this development may be discerned among the early rock-paintings of the Epipalæolithic age referred to on p. 50 ; one of them, at Cogul in Spain, shows an unclothed man surrounded by women engaged in what has been interpreted as a kind of ritual dance for the promotion of fertility, the forerunner of the scenes of lasciviousness, real or simulated, which accompany sowing-rites in many countries and which are especially noticeable in India (*see note*). The ritual dance of the Cogul painting seems to be reproduced on two jars of the Early Predynastic period of Egypt on which are painted in white lines the figures of women and priapic men facing each other ; in remote districts of modern Egypt rude clay figures are set up in a similar attitude with the express purpose of procuring a good harvest.² These early scenes were enacted by a race consisting primarily of hunters who, having learnt the physiology of paternity, adopted this method of sympathetic magic, to procure multiplication of the animal life so necessary to their existence (*see note*).

The rite would naturally centre in the chiefs of groups, perhaps medicine-men or shamans, conspicuous for their power and ability, and when, later, agriculture took the

(1) *Islamic Culture*, vol. VII, p. 424.

(2) See the *Journal of Eg. Archaeology*, vol. XIV, 1928, p. 267, fig. 4 and pl. xxviii, and *Man*, Aug. 1927, p. 152 and fig. 1 ; also March 1930, p. 48, for an analogous custom in modern Roumania.

first rank as sustainer of life, the magic rites originally used for promoting animal fertility were applied also, by a natural turn of thought, to vegetable growth; sowing-rites were accordingly cast in the ancient animal mould and have indeed survived in that form among some peoples to the present day. When, with the organization of agriculture, the human groups were enlarged and kingships arose, the king inherited the duties of the earlier chiefs and became a mighty instrument of fertility, that is, of his country's prosperity—the mightier for the greater prestige enjoyed by him as absolute lord over wide domains. As we have seen (vol. VI, p. 552), the idea of godship in man already existed; the further concept of powers for fertility was but an extension of this idea and must have been easy of acceptance. With this accretion the prestige of the chief was greatly augmented and, when he grew to be a powerful king, the sense of his divinity was still further heightened and he became, in Egypt, “the good god.”

For the purposes of fertility the king could not of course stand alone but must be associated with woman. His mate would necessarily be of the same standing as himself, in practice his wife. Thus arose the idea that kings must marry only women of royal descent, otherwise their kingly virtue would be incomplete; this restriction on kings was maintained in Egypt as in India; it is still binding on royal families in general and, even where democratic advance has brought some relaxation, is nevertheless enforced where heirship to the throne is closely concerned. A notable result in Egypt was the marriage of kings to their sisters, often necessary for the assurance of pure royal blood in their consorts (*see note*). Woman, then, had an important place in the Egyptian system, prepared for her by her original mysteriousness as source of life; in practice, as we learn from the literature, the wife held at least formally, an honoured position and descent was reckoned through the mother (*see note*).

This association with women entailed on the king the maintenance of his physical vigour; if failing strength hindered co-operation with his wives, his magical powers would wane and the country's prosperity be endangered; hence in many regions it has been the custom to put to death the king who had fallen to this condition. In Egypt there is no evidence of this stern custom but it may have once existed, for the festival called the *sed-heb*, in which the royal wives took part, had for object the reconsecration

of the king and thus, by magico-religious means, his royal powers remained intact and his execution became unnecessary. The virtue of the ceremony, though not expressly mentioned in the surviving literature, may well be gathered from the many inscriptions recording the giving by gods to kings of "millions of *sed-heb*" together with those describing the suckling of kings by goddesses who declare: "I am thy mother. . . . I give thee *sed-heb* festivals that they may enter into thy limbs with life and strength." It is clear from them that the object of the *sed-heb* was a renewal of royal vigour, actual in intention, if only symbolical in fact. It was celebrated from the earliest period of history, being pictured on the great votive mace-head of Narmer, who was probably the first king of the dynastic period, and on other objects of the early protodynastic age; when the gods, in return for offerings, bestowed on the kings the usual gifts of life, health, etc., they often added "millions of *sed-hebs*," promising them sometimes from the king's very birth; it was, then, a most ancient ceremony and of outstanding importance in the country's life (*see note*.)

The association of male and female for purposes of prosperity would not of course be confined to mankind but was even more necessary for the gods who, in this matter as in others, could only be conceived of as guided by the same instincts as men and walking in their ways. Thus they, too, had to be provided with consorts, as we have seen on pp. 424 and 425; so far was this principle pushed that a consort was found, at least as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty, for the great cosmic sungod, Ré, and was named *Re-yt*, an invention which illustrates admirably the confusion in Egyptian thought between the things of heaven and of earth. A further point of interest is that *Re-yt* was described as "a Hat-hor of Heliopolis," that is, a local manifestation of the mother-goddess (*see* p. 422). Further, if we may trust Herodotus (I, 181-2), human wives also were provided for the chief god of Thebes as of Babylon; in Egypt there was a priestess of high rank entitled the god's wife; the post was usually held by the queen and often carried with it the governorship of the sacred city, Thebes: Erman (*Life in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 295-296) considers that the position was merely formal as it was sometimes held by a child, and that its holder was regarded as the earthly representative of the god's divine consort; it would seem, in fact, that this may have been

originally a method of giving hierarchical recognition to the socio-religious importance of the queen.

The cult of kings appears then as derived primarily from two sources : the first was the ancestor-cult with which religion seems to have begun in the Old Stone Age and, blended with it, the protototemic falcon-cult, while the second was his supposed magical power for the promotion of fertility of which we find the first probable traces in a later period, the Epipalæolithic. King-cult is found in many other countries, whether civilised, as China, Japan or ancient Mesopotamia, or of backward culture, as in many modern peoples, notably in Africa ; but in ancient Egypt it attained to a fulness and intricacy unequalled elsewhere (*see note*). This condition is probably to be explained by an extraordinarily rapid and thorough rise into settled civilization in the early years of extensive kingship. Circumstances were particularly favourable ; a great stimulus was provided by contact, on one side with the culture of Mesopotamia referred to on p. 52 and on another with that of the Delta and the countries with which it was in communication (*see note*) ; the development of writing, again, made possible a highly efficient administration over a wide area and Egypt probably enjoyed, within a century or so, as rapid a flowering forth, in her own way, as Hellas, in hers, in the middle of the first millennium B.C. The peasant, though he did not enjoy the luxury spoken of on p. 53, found the conditions of life improving rapidly, bringing him a security and contentment, and a feeling for justice hitherto unimagined, and intensifying his faith in the godlike qualities of the great leaders who procured him this new prosperity (*see note*). They must indeed have been worthy of great honouring, capable and courageous, answering spiritedly to the stimulus of their times ; if ever men of leading could be elevated to the rank of gods for material benefits procured for their struggling followers, surely it was here. They were assisted moreover by the general disposition of the people whom they led, docile and apt for discipline, qualities very necessary for the success of the national system of irrigation on which the prosperity of Egypt wholly depends.

Passing now from the misty conditions of prehistory to the firmer ground of historical records, we find the theory of kingly divinity completely established. It is formally affirmed in all documents containing a royal

name, for that name is always accompanied, down to the very end of the pagan period, by the epithet of 'good god' for the living king and 'great god' for the dead one, the latter being also the regular title of the god Osiris with whom the king was equated (*see* p. 199 and vol. VI, p. 553)—though even a living king of the Third Dynasty might be called 'great god' (Senefru in Sinai; *see* Breasted's *Ancient Records*, vol. I, par. 169). After the Fourth Dynasty his divine rank is further defined by his title of "Son of Re," an addition which did not nevertheless put an end to the custom of claiming sonship to any national god in whose temple he was making offerings, such gods being counted paramount in their own districts (*see* p. 197); the king was sometimes even termed the son of "all the gods." Besides the royal titles there are a number of direct literary references to the king's divine status, such as the exhortation to the daily worship of *Rameses IV*, "like Re," in the great Harris papyrus; the stela of Kubbân records that when *Rameses II* called a council to advise about procuring a water-supply for the road to the gold-mines of Akaita, his courtiers, in their reply, ascribed to him truly divine powers, declaring that he was the living representative of Atum, the favoured son of "all the gods," and could cause water to flow, at his command, up to the mountain; in any case he had only to call on "his father," the Nile-god Hapi, who would do it for him (Breasted; *op. cit.*, vol. III, paras. 288-9). * King Senefru was actually worshipped as patron-god of the Turquoise district, Sinai (Breasted; *op. cit.*, vol. I, paras. 168 and 722), just as Amenhotep I became the patron-god of the Theban necropolis. Royal presumption went even further; where in tombs we see the occupants' farms, symbolized as girls, bringing him food (*see* p. 55), in a king's mortuary temple it is the gods themselves who perform this service, as may be seen in the example of Sa-hure of the Fifth Dynasty (*see note*). The clearest and most surprising evidence lies in the representation on temple-walls of the king as god being worshipped by himself, such as Osorkon II in his sed-heb temple at Bubastis, Seti I in a chapel of his mortuary temple at Thebes and Amenhotep III at Luxor, making offerings to himself at the same time as to the goddess Mût (*see note*).

That the most outspoken testimony to the godship of kings is yielded by the temples is quite logical, seeing

* Other examples of the King's supposed power over water are given in paras 423 and 426 of the same work.

that, on examining the history of their development, we shall find that their whole fabric was intimately connected with that kingship, at least from the earliest times of their being built for permanence.

The temple was called, as in Latin (*ædis*) and many other languages, "the house of the god"; originally it was a single room, a mere shelter built of reeds and mud and easily removable, where the god might stay in the midst of his people wherever they happened to be, much like the Tabernacle of the early Israelites. The space round the shrine would be used for religious ceremonies, which required the presence of the god, and would thus come to be taboo, or holy; then a fence would be set round it, at first of wattle and daub, like the shrine itself; a good illustration of this stage may be seen in the oldest surviving picture of a shrine, that of the early protodynastic king Aha (Petrie; *Royal Tombs*, vol. II, pl. x.). The fence corresponds to the Greek *temenos* and the space enclosed to the Latin *templum* which was originally a sacred plot of ground from which augurs watched the flights of birds; within the *temenos* was placed the 'house of the god,' or perhaps several of them, and the whole became a "temple" as known to us. As civilization advanced and conditions became increasingly settled, the temples were built more solid and lasting; their roofed area was increased and required pillars for its support; these were made of bundles of reeds, probably with a mud cement; sun-dried bricks replaced the primitive wattle and daub in the girdlewall (*temenos*) and the heavier temple walls, while lighter ones were composed of wooden frames with mats of woven reeds or tapestry; wooden doors were contrived, panelled—no doubt beautifully, for Egyptian joinery was of the very finest, like the Chinese of to-day—and turned on posts with rounded lower ends resting on sockets in hard stones let into the ground; roofs were of palm-logs, as in modern Egypt, covered with reeds and beaten mud, or reeds and mud alone (*see note*). For seasonal festivals, especially if liable to be held in various places, movable tents would be used, just like the modern marquee (*see infra*, p. 690). When, in the Third Dynasty, King Zoser began to use stone for buildings aboveground, all these features were reproduced, most carefully, in dressed stone and are to be seen in his great temple at Saqqâreh, recalling in this respect the ancient rock-temples of Ajanta, hewn out of solid rock but following architecturally forms in wood. In Egypt the building

of the most advanced periods still betrays the early pre-stone origin ; the slope of the walls denotes the comparative weakness of mud bricks for high structures ; the cavetto and torus show the fringed ends of the papyrus reeds and their binding ; the papyriform capitals of columns (rarely lotiform, which came later) recall the original bundle of reeds ; the internal shrines holding the gods' images copied, in form and idea, the early shelter of King Aha's time (*see note.*)

When we reach the splendid temples of the New Empire, so conspicuous in Thebes, we see how thoroughly the Egyptians had worked to their constant ideal of permanency, so evident in their tombs ; an ideal pursued no less in their temples, for similar practical purposes and not for mere glory. For, as in the tombs the representation of objects necessary for the welfare of the occupant was held to procure them for him, eternally, so in the temples the depicting in a permanent manner of the various sacred rites would ensure that those rites should have an abiding effect in the country, for its good, since the purpose of the rites was to maintain the gods, including the king, in a state of vigour and well-being and thus able to fulfil their duty of keeping their people in prosperity (*see note.*)

A great part of the rites represented in the temple scenes consists, on the one side, of the king making *hotep* offerings to the deities, often calling them his father or mother, and, on the other, of the deity conferring on him "life, health and happiness, like Re, for ever." Such scenes are multiplied even to weariness in most of the temples of the New Empire and later, especially those of 'adoration,' as the *hotep*-offering is usually called. The offerings made are those described in the first note on p. 61, consisting primarily of food and drink, given to the gods as to the dead ; the representations often show but a bowl or two but the actual amount of food provided for the gods was enormous, as we learn from surviving documents and from temple scenes such as that of Thothmes III making offerings to Amûn-re after his victories (*see Wreszinski ; Atlas*, II, 24) or the representation of rites in the temple of the Sun-disk (*Aten*) painted on the walls of courtiers' tombs at Tell el Amarna (*see N. de G. Davies ; El Amarna*, vol. I, pls. XXV and XXVIII) ; of course these heaps of meat, poultry, fruit, drink, etc., went mostly to the priests and attendants of the temples (*see note.*)

The offering rites are the simplest and the most elementary ; they are also the most essential and are repeated accordingly in far the greatest numbers, but other rites are also pictured, representing daily or seasonal ceremonies which were held by the fact of such representation to be eternized, to the great benefit of the people. The daily ceremony is best exemplified in the temple of Abydos begun by Seti I and finished by his son Rameses II ; its central feature is a row of seven chapels or shrines, side by side, the middle one being for Amûn, the chief national god of the time and the others, on one side for Osiris and the two Osirian deities Horus and Isis—for Osiris was the patron-god of Abydos—and the other for Ptah, chief god of the old capital Memphis, Horus in his solar aspect and lastly the king himself, enthroned as god—a very instructive group. A daily rite was solemnized in each of these chapels with offerings of food and drink, washing and anointing with unguents, perfuming with scents and with the life-giving incense and dressing in ritual clothes—in fact the god, or rather the image representing him, was treated as a great man or king on earth whose toilet is made by his valets on rising in the morning. There were additional features arising from the sacred nature of the ceremony : for example, the service began with the purification of the officiant and the ceremonial breaking of the seals on the doors of the shrines, and all was accompanied by the solemn intoning of hymns. The ritual is inscribed on the walls of the shrines and at least one papyrus confirms the inscriptions and amplifies details, making it clear that this was the type of daily round to be performed at all shrines. The king, as chief priest, was supposed to officiate and, if he actually did so would offer the strange spectacle of a god being served by himself ; in practice, of course, his place was taken by a priest who had the name of ‘ dear son, ’ a significant one indicating the relationship that ought to exist between the officiant, even if a mere surrogate, and the deity ; yet this spectacle was sometimes depicted on temple walls (*see supra* p. 679) and would not have struck contemporaries as strange.

The similarity of the ceremonies in tombs and temples has struck many observers, but is quite intelligible in view of the intrinsic identity of the honoured dead with gods ; the rites celebrated for each had therefore the same essential purpose and the principle adopted for tombs was applied, when temples were built, like tombs, for permanency, to them also. The tomb was planned not as a

mere recipient for the dead occupant, but also as an instrument for eternizing his activity, and the temples were similarly contrived to serve not only as houses for the gods and sacred areas for the celebration of vital religious ceremonies, but also as instruments to ensure the perpetuation of those ceremonies. The principle seems undoubtedly to have originated in tombs and passed later to temples, a sequence well illustrated by the strange nature of the deposits laid in the temple foundations, such as beads, scarabs, jars for food and drink, models of food and tools, axes, corngrinders and even shells as palettes for eye-paint, all of them appropriate to tombs, according to the beliefs of the time, but wholly meaningless in connection with temples (for figures of the mother-goddess see Part IV, p. 418). In some cases the facades of tombs display the same architectural features as temples, as at Beni Hassan in the Twelfth Dynasty and, in the Greek period, in the tomb of Petosiris, where the design follows that of the contemporary temples of Edfou and Erment.

Many chambers of temples contain representations of the king entering in ceremony and welcomed by graceful little female figures crowned with marsh flowers who are usually to be considered to be priestesses or attendants, though some think they are goddesses, an interpretation made difficult by their short stature, since deities are always represented as of great size ; the purpose of this scene seems to be to ensure that the rites celebrated in the chamber, no matter by what substitute for the king, should have the same effect as if carried out by the king himself. In all the scenes the king's stature is equal to that of his compeers, the gods, towering far above that of other men, and as his figure is constantly repeated in nearly all scenes it gains the greatest conspicuity in most parts of the temple, especially on the outer walls and pylons open to the public view : when the high priests, becoming a hereditary power, dominated the kings of the Twentieth Dynasty, before founding one themselves, they were represented in their temple-scenes at Karnak as of equal height with the king (*see note*).

The rites eternized on the temple walls include of course a number connected with the activities of the gods : some of the records of their doings in the later temples, when the national religion had relaxed, are largely of the character of folk-tales, survivals of ancient myths of a popular kind, such as the destruction of man by the fierce goddess

Hathor-Sekhmet, or the poisoning of the senescent Re, but in the classical age the rites recorded were certainly of ancient and very venerable standing; they cannot be better typified than by the two well-known examples of which a sketch follows. The temple of Rameses III at Medinet Habu contains a lengthy picture of the "Festival of Min" who was the god of the male generative powers and patron of harvests, the latter attribute being probably derived from the former—the vegetable from the animal, *see* p. 584. The festival has a double connection with the harvest and with the king's coronation: the former is manifested in the ritual reaping by the king of the first handfuls of harvest, wheat and barley, the grains of Lower and Upper Egypt respectively, in which act he is associated with the queen, in view, doubtless, of her vital share in the fertility-function of royalty already described. Thus the king's magico-religious connection with the harvest on which the very life of the country depended, is made manifest, an association very natural and in full consonance with the ideas of kingship as set forth in preceding pages. An analogous practice was the opening of new canals which was a duty incumbent on kings from the earliest times, witness the scene carved on a votive mace-head of the early dynastic Scorpion king in which he is delineated giving the first—or is it the last?—stroke of the digging-tool—(*see* J. E. Quibell; *Hierakonpolis*, vol. I, pp. 9 and 10 pl. xxvi, c.).—(*see note*).

With regard to the king's coronation, some of the rites attending that ceremony are reproduced in the 'Festival of Min' and it would seem that the coronation ceremony itself was held at the Feast of Min and not on the king's actual coming to the throne (*see* Dr. Alan Gardiner's illuminating analysis in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. II, p. 125). Thus this yearly festival, though held in the name of Min, was in fact carried out for the benefit of the king as agent of fertility and fosterer of harvests and therefore, basically, for the prosperity of the country. Another interesting feature is the carrying of images of the king's ancestors in the procession, a significant reminder of the ancestor-cult which underlies so much of Egyptian religion.

The second ceremony chosen as typical is pictured in the great colonnaded hall of the temple at Luxor begun by Amenhotep III but finished by later kings; this is the

magnificent annual procession of Amûn and his consort Mût, by river, from the temple at Karnak to the neighbouring one of Luxor, called North and South Opet respectively; it was known as "The Beautiful Festival of Opet" and had for its object the bestowal of prosperity on the country by means of a "sacred marriage"; it was held appropriately in the middle of the season of inundation, so important for the welfare of Egypt. Southern Opet is mentioned in an inscription on the wall as Amûn's first habitation and it was probably considered necessary for the efficacy of the ceremony that it should be carried out in the original home of the god and his consort; hence the name "Southern harcem of Amûn," sometimes given to the place, is in all likelihood a secondary one, derived from the ceremony.

The scene opens with the carrying of the images of the gods, in their boat-shaped shrines, on priests' shoulders from the temple at Karnak to the Nile where they are put on board ship and towed upstream to Luxor. Amûn's shrine is the largest, as is his boat "Userhet," described elsewhere as resplendent in its luxurious fittings; the shrine of Mût is smaller; with it are two others of the same dimensions, one for Khonsu, son of the divine pair—a later addition to Egyptian theogony made to satisfy the conventional ideal of the divine Triad—and one, a notable feature, for the king. On the river the king and queen have each their own boat; at the same time the king is represented as standing on Amûn's great boat and directing it, so that he figures in three capacities, as a god in his shrine, as the son of Amûn, piloting and even rowing his father's boat, and as himself in his own boat. In the last capacity he is also represented making munificent offerings to Amûn on his departure and return, and towering, as ever, above all other figures, and, since Amûn is not shown in person in any part of the surviving scenes, the figure most prominent to the eye is, as so often, the king's. The queen, it is supposed—though much mutilation makes interpretation difficult—acted for Mût as the king did for Amûn, piloting her ship. The procession is indeed magnificent, justifying its name; armed soldiers act as escort, with many standard-bearers, the public acclaims the gods with much rejoicing, singers pour forth hymns in their praise to the accompaniment of music of many kinds, while negroes perform their barbarous war-dance to music of their own and dancing girls with acrobatic feats add a graceful touch to the general

gaiety. On the material side butchers and cooks are depicted preparing food for the plentiful offerings, and water-carriers wind their way, exactly as in modern Cairo, through the thirsty crowd; on the Nile a smaller boat acts as tender to the great ones, laden with food, flowers and offerings. The festival lasted twenty-four days and ended with the return to Karnak, the boats now dropping downstream with the current, sails furled, with no need for towing.

Here we have, according to the latest interpretation, a sumptuous development, after more than twenty centuries, of the simple rite reflected in the two early predynastic jars described above (p. 583) traces of which are still discernible in our time in the mud figures set up in the Great Oasis, and we might expect that the divine pair alone would be glorified. But it is not so: Amûn is described as thanking the king for his munificence in providing for the splendid ceremony and the copious offerings and, in return, renewing his gifts of life, strength and happiness; Mût, who takes an important part, repeats her blessings several times in most affectionate terms for her "beloved son, born of her body"; Khonsu also adds his quota of the usual blessing for the king, calling him "his son"—quite incongruously, but the picture, as the reader will have noticed contains many such incongruities. A review of the details makes it clear that even this imposing ceremony, instituted for the chief god of the country and his consort that they should bring prosperity to the land, centres in fact on the king, making him the very pivot on which that prosperity turned, for its whole effect, as gathered from the speeches of the gods, is to give added strength to the king. It is no wonder, then, that such care should be shown on every monument for the royal welfare, in both body and mind.

The "sacred marriage" between Amûn and Mût has its parallel in the voyage of Hat-hor from Denderah to visit her spouse Horus at Edfou, (related in Part IV, p. 425); both are commented on by Dr. Blackman in the passage cited from the composite book *Myth and Ritual* which contains also sections by other authorities relating to similar rites in other countries of the Near East, notably Mesopotamia (*see note*).

Such are the types of divine ceremonies established for the maintenance, under the gods, of the country's prosperity but centring eventually on the king, sometimes

in concert with his wife. It was very fitting, then, that other rites, primarily connected with the king, should be celebrated in the temples and eternized on their walls. Of these the most important was the *sed-heb*, designed for the renewal of the king's vigour (*see* pp. 584 and 585); so important was it that the great hall in the first stone-built temple known, that of King Zoser of the Third Dynasty (*see* p. 588) was built for the purposes of that ceremony, replacing the more temporary structures of previous times. Ruins of other temples devoted to the ceremony still exist at Sôleb in Nubia and Bubastis in the Delta, erected for kings of the Eighteenth and Twenty-second Dynasties and traces of others survive in fragments. The principal feature in the festival was the gathering together of the national and local deities to join the king in a splendid feast and to give him a renewal of the gifts of life, health, strength and happiness; the gathering-place was the great hall above-mentioned where each god, represented by his image, had a shrine or chapel for himself, with a screen in front of it, originally of reed-mats, in which he was waited on by young maid-servants; the hall was named "The Hall of Eating," a title indicating how important was the function of eating this time in communion.

The scenes treated of above were depicted in the inner parts of the temples where they were not visible to the general public: on the outer walls and pylons, seen by all, they are of a different nature, picturing not religious rites, but the more earthly glories of the king, calculated to exalt him in the eyes of his people. He is displayed as a mighty giant towering to the very skies, striding to the conquest of his foes or trampling them under his chariot drawn by spirited high-prancing horses; he shoots out eagerly his arrows, large as great spears, each one finding its mark; he drags his miserable captives triumphantly as offerings for his god, before whom he sometimes slaughters them himself; everywhere his troops crush utterly his enemies. His exploits are extolled in long hymns of hyperbolic praise; with the boastful pictures which they accompany, their most obvious object seems to have been to impress the passers-by with a deep sense of their god-king's prowess. These battle-pieces were constantly repeated, becoming in some cases a mere formula so that we cannot be sure that the later kings were engaged in such wars at all. But the formula had its religious use, since it established

for the king, by the same magical method that was employed in the tombs, the warlike qualities necessary for the completion of the royal virtues. Since the earliest days when men formed groups under chiefs a first obligation of the latter was to protect their groups with their utmost strength and skill; this duty is reflected in the first records of Egyptian kings, in late predynastic or early dynastic times, who are pictured on palettes or tablets with mace uplifted, smiting the foe (*see note*).

Again, the outer walls were often covered with representations of the king engaged in hunting fierce wild beasts, lions or bulls, besides other animals; this was not for his mere glory, as it might seem, but because to be a skilful and courageous hunter was a quality necessary for chiefs of groups whose livelihood depended, before the days of agriculture, on hunting, and this quality survived in general opinion, as an aristocratic distinction, into those later times and was never dissociated, in Egypt, from kingship. So it has been everywhere; kings and their countries going forth to hunt, for pastime and health or as training for war, but behind the aristocratic sport was the spirit of the real necessity, now long past, of leadership in the pursuit of the ancient means of life.

The king's connection with temples was still further accentuated by the gigantic portrait statues, usually monolithic, set up before the gateways, of which the greatest now standing are the pair at Thebes portraying Amenhotep III, seated, long famed as the Colossi of Memnon; they stand alone on the west of the Nile, much damaged, with their backs brown with the honey of the wild bees that nest in the crevices of the stone, majestic yet with their still massiveness: once they guarded the gates of a huge temple, now totally destroyed; made of a hard and difficult quartzite, they reached, when complete with crown and pedestal, the height of nearly seventy feet. The statue of Rameses II, once standing before his temple, known as the Ramesseum, also on the west bank, was made of a single block of granite, now completely broken up but calculated to have been nearly sixty feet high and to have weighed about a thousand tons. The purpose of these statues seems to have been to represent the king in all his majesty as mainstay of the temples where they were placed and to establish that position for ever (Statues of private people have been mentioned in the first note on p. 604). Such statues were probably gilded in accordance with Egyptian custom or at least

highly painted and the temples themselves were gay with colouring, with lofty fluttering flags and with gold and precious stones, as we read in many a dedicatory inscription (*see note*). The total exterior effect must have been stupendous, the more so from the contrast with other buildings, all of which, even the king's palaces, were built of sun-dried bricks—though they too had their gaiety of coloured plaster—and far the greater part of this effect was, as we have seen, appropriated to the king.

The intimate connection between kings and temples is shown further in the inaugural ceremonies. In the earliest times it seems to have been the king's duty to erect ceremonially the first or main reed-pillar of the primitive structure which was to serve as a temple or tabernacle, for a god's residence or as a place for religious celebrations, and it is probably this action which is represented in the ceremony of 'raising the *djed*' by Osiris ; the *djed* is his symbol which has been variously interpreted, usually as a tree with lopped branches, but which the architectural features of Zoser's temple (*see p. 588*) show to have been a pillar composed of four bundles of reeds telescoped together to obtain extra length. It seems further to have been the King's duty to cut down the first bundle of reeds which went to build the tabernacle. In classical times also, the king was responsible for the construction of all temples ; aided by the chief gods, he planned the building with measuring line and rod ; he paced out the boundaries, striding in a kind of dance (*see note*) ; he dug out the foundation trenches and posed the first stone, bringing up, like the kings of Babylon, bricks of gold and other precious materials : the gods were his assistants, Sakhmet, the goddess of writing, using a mallet of gold, and we may probably see in this ceremony the prototype of all similar ones down to our own times (*see note*). The duty was a natural one in view of the relationship of temples to kings, which explains also another feature in their history that has given rise to frequent accusations of vandalism : on many sacred buildings the reigning king has hammered out his predecessor's name and substituted his own, but this was not an act of mere usurpation or ambitiousness, for the rites which were eternized on the temple-walls, to be effective, must be carried out in the name of the reigning king ; it became necessary therefore for a new king either to build fresh temples in his name—a thing not always

possible, for want of means or other reasons—or else to substitute his name for that of others in the temple inscriptions.

Reference is made in the Notes on pp. 601 and 604 to the intervention of gods to give complete legitimation to certain sovereigns; the most conspicuous of these cases are those of Queen Hatshepshut and Amen-hotep III, who claimed that Amûn-rê had courted their mothers clandestinely, having assumed for the occasion the forms of their fathers, and had thus made of them his physical offspring and therefore legitimate holders of the throne. This affair was made public by sculptured scenes on the walls of certain chapels in their temples, at Deir el Bahri and Luxor, known as “birth-chambers” or “mammisi,” the object of the sculptures was doubtless to reassure their people and at the same time to make good their legitimacy for ever since it was established in a sacred place. The matter would appear very personal to the sovereigns concerned but was in fact, according to the convention of the time, of vital importance to the country at large whose prosperity would be thought endangered if the king’s legitimacy were not assured. The same method was adopted mechanically by the later Greek and Roman sovereigns, in their temples at Denderah, Edfou and Philae, for they of course could have no claim to legitimacy derived from human descent.

Lastly, temple-chambers were used also for the rites connected with the cult of royal ancestors, considered as ‘great gods.’ On the walls of a chamber in the temple of Seti I at Abydos the king is represented, with his son, as making the usual *hotep* offerings to all his predecessors on the throne who were ranked in his time as legitimate, beginning with Menes—all of them counting, if only formally, as ancestors. In an earlier temple, that of Thothmes III at Luxor, a similar scene was recorded in a part of what is called the Festal Hall in which it seems that the images of the royal ancestors were kept, to be carried in procession on certain festivals such as that of Min of which a sketch has been previously given (on p. 592) (*see note*). The summary character of these scenes and the absence of other records of such rites might lead to the conclusion that the cult of royal ancestors, or at least the more distant ones, did not figure prominently among the religious ceremonies of the period, but it must have had

its recognized place or it would not have been thus eternized on the temple walls.

The foregoing pages produce a picture of amazing presumption on the part of kings in relation to divinity, but the attitude was a natural development of the original idea of royal godship which had grown to these extraordinary dimensions with the growth of riches and prestige at that time, especially the prestige derived from the recent mighty conquests in Western Asia. But parallel with this growth is another, that of true humility before the gods. The old conventions regarding the king's power had to be stoutly maintained, but national life had been too often upset under the reigns of incapable kings to allow complete belief in their superhuman ability, and a good part of the adulation given to them may well have been merely conventional and not much more sincere than in similar cases in Europe of comparatively modern times (*see note*). Together with the temple delineations so greatly glorifying the king there are other monuments which show him kneeling very humbly before the deity, and the hymns to the sun-god, whether as Amûn-rê or, under the heretic king Akhenaten, as the sun-disk, make him omnipotent, creator of all, man and beast alike, and almost the sole god of a monotheistic type. The effect as regards the Sun is somewhat spoilt by the fact that other gods, such as Ptah, supreme in their own districts were the subjects of similar hymns, but the mental attitude is always one of real humility. A further reason for this attitude may be found perhaps in the psychological result of the victories abroad; the highest national god would shine henceforth as ruler of other nations, and tend to become considered as not merely national, but universal, as indeed we see him in the hymns above-mentioned, while in the next dynasty, the Nineteenth, a regular epithet of Amûn is "Abiding in all things." Thus the king would take a more humble place under the chief god, whom he recognized as supreme and to whose favour he ascribed all the royal feats in arms, as we see in many records of the time (*see note*).

Before closing this account of temples it may be well to add a brief explanation of the mortuary temples of kings, so conspicuous at Luxor. The kings were buried, for safety, in distant hidden tombs, such as those of the famous Valley of the Kings, but as buildings had to be erected in which to carry out the proper rites for the royal

dead, the mortuary temples were built for the purpose on open sites in or about the cultivated plain, differing in this respect from the corresponding temples of the Old Kingdom, in the districts of Gîzeh and Saqqâreh, which were built at the edge of the plain but were joined with the pyramids on the plateau above, in which the kings were buried. These temples correspond, in their sumptuous manner, with the decorated chambers of tombs of commoners discussed in Part II, but while the latter were painted only with scenes calculated to prolong a happy agricultural life for the occupant in the Afterworld, the royal buildings evince a far loftier aim, the prolongation of a truly kingly life with all its victories in war and the chase as well as its domestic joys and amusements, of all of which excellent examples may be seen in the mortuary temple of Rameses III at Medinet Habu. Thus the king, in his royal paradise, would be kept eternally strong and happy and able therefore to help the country as he, being a 'great god,' should. Another point of difference may be remarked in the dedication of the mortuary temple to a chief god although its original purpose was for the king only : in fact these temples had come to be little different from those originally dedicated to gods and were treated like them ; a part may also have been taken by the deference paid at this time to the national deities.

NOTES

On p. 420 of Part IV reference has been made to a group of mother-and-child seeming to be an archaizing copy of a work of the Old Kingdom, but this view must be abandoned for there is no doubt that the whole group, carved in limestone, of which this was a member, dated in fact from the old period and shows definitely that the group in question was current under the Old Kingdom. (See "The Chicago University Record," vol. VII, p. 10 and XIII, plate facing p. 116)

Part V p. 583. See Sir J. Frazer's "Golden Bough," abridged edition, ch. XI. The group at Cogul is reproduced in Macalister's *Textbook of European Archaeology*, vol. I, fig. 156 and in other similar works. Objections have been brought against the interpretation proposed and are voiced by Luquet in *L'art et la religion des hommes fossiles*, pp. 216-7, but he rejects totally the notion of any of the rites among ancient hunters which have been generally accepted since Salomon Reinach's epoch-making disquisition, and the existence of which is strongly confirmed by the similar practices of modern peoples of backward culture (p. 584). See the last paragraph on p. 210. Evidence has recently appeared that the domestication of animals was practised in Palestine in the Epipalaeolithic period; see the *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research*, April, 1931, No. 42, pp. 13-15: it is very probable that they also practised casual or unorganized agriculture, as distinguished from the organized husbandry of the ancient Egyptians and Mesopotamians; the agriculture of the Tasians (see vol. VI, p. 561) seems to have been of the same kind. The ancient civilizations were founded not on mere grain-growing, which very likely preceded them by centuries, but on its organization, for which the riverain lands of Egypt and Mesopotamia were specially favourable; they required for their exploitation regular control over broad areas and an efficient system of administration, the former need led to the development of considerable kingships while the fulfilment of the latter was made possible, as we have previously noted (p. 53), by the invention of letters. In Mesopotamia total control of the country was not always held; its physical conformation probably made such control less necessary than in Egypt; also, the cities were much given to commerce and therefore less bound to agriculture and more obstinate to guard their independence.

p. 584. For India see A. M. Hocart's *Kingship* pp. 101-4—an indispensable book to students of the sacred conditions of kingship. In Egypt the rule was occasionally broken by the more powerful kings of the New Empire mindful perhaps, of political needs or proud in their victories in foreign lands, just as, among African peoples some great chiefs will deliberately flout tribal laws in assertion of their lofty position. Yet, in the same period, in cases of doubtful legitimacy, special means were employed to set the matter beyond doubt; Thothmes III obtained the necessary support from an oracular nod of the national god, Amûn-re; Queen Hatshepsut had a great series of scenes carved and painted on her temple-walls to record

that she had sprung, physically, from the same deity; Thothmes IV had recourse to a dream concerning the Sphinx of Gizeh while Amenhotep III adopted the same means as Hatshepsut, as also did the Greek and Roman kings, many centuries later, wishing thus to establish their inherent rights to the throne.

p. 584. Even today in the traditional ceremonies of the Copts the mother's name must be given, not the father's.

p. 585. See A. Moret, *op. cit.*, p. 64. The matter has been acutely argued by Professor P. E. Newberry who gave a sketch of his conclusions in his presidential address to H. Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1923. The suggestion has also been made that a similar concept of kingship is possibly observable among the Israelites, in the action of Absalom when in revolt against his father, King David, as recorded in II Samuel, xvi, 22, the original meaning of his action being perhaps obscured by later editors of the record, either because they thought it unacceptable to the more exalted theology of their own time or else because they misunderstood its original purport. The suggestion is the more probable that the spreading of a canopy, described in the Bible text, denoted, as with modern Jews, a true marriage ceremony; in ancient Egypt the king sat under a canopy at the *sed-heb* rite, as at his coronation and the two functions had many points in common. In many marriage ceremonies the bridegroom and bride are treated as at a royal coronation; indeed the modern Arabic term for certain Christian marriages is "crowning" (*tekhlil*); for the close connection between these ceremonies see Moret, *op. cit.*, chaps. 3 and 8, and Hocart, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-104 and 106-110.

A very earthly result of this conception of royal powers has been the licence always conceded to royalty in connection with women; indeed, in so puritanical a country as Scotland under the later Stuarts, a king who behaved otherwise, like James VI before his marriage, became an object of suspicion to his statesmen. This licence is frankly declared in the Pyramid Texts which allow the king special powers to cohabit with the wife of any man; in the Eleventh Dynasty King Mentuhotep IV is called on a stela at Hammamât 'great of love' and in the temple of Hat-hor at Denderah she is said to endow the king with the love of women.

p. 586. See, for a wealth of detail on the ritual side, the very interesting book of A. Moret, "*Du Caractere religieux de la Royauté Pharaonique*"; other aspects are dealt with in my article, previously mentioned, in the Manchester Journal.

(A folk-tale of modern Egypt may not come amiss, which relates that when Pharaoh came to the throne he made a lofty image of himself and bade his subjects bow down and worship it. They all refused and Pharaoh turned to his wise men to enquire why. "Your Majesty," they replied, "they eat largely of almonds, a food which sharpens the intellect"—now in those days almond-trees abounded and you could walk from Alexandria to Cairo in their shade—"if, then, Your Majesty desires their obedience, cut down the almond-trees and plant beans in their place, for this food, which they give to their donkeys, will make them as stupid as that animal." Thus does the Egyptian, a man of humour, laugh at himself, for beans have been a great staple of their food from time immemorial).

p. 586. Direct evidence of the predynastic culture of the Delta is practically non-existent owing to its present physical state, for the level of under-surface water is so high that excavation is not possible below the stratum containing the remains of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, as Sir Flinders Petrie discovered when digging at Buto, the ancient capital of the northern realm. But indirect evidence has shown that this region, in spite of its marshy condition—shared, however, in some degree by Upper Egypt also—was the seat of a considerable civilization, with overseas connections with ports of the Eastern Mediterranean notably in Crete and Syria. It has been inferred also that the art of letters was developed there, for when that art reached Upper Egypt it was already so highly advanced as to be not merely pictographic but also syllabic and even alphabetical;—the cursive form of hieroglyphics had been established and the numerals used extended to a million. Of the science cultivated at Heliopolis, the Biblical On, at the head of the Delta, we shall speak when dealing with the solar cult. Finally, as noted on p. 51, the Delta seems to have been the home of a considerable trade.

p. 586. The ideal of public justice, though it was doubtless often flouted, was strongly fixed in Egypt from very early times; gods and kings alike are recorded in inscriptions as upholding it; the king has the figure of the goddess of Justice as his frequent companion and is often delineated as offering it to the god of his adoration; gods are said even to feed on justice. There were practical reasons for the development of this ideal, in the necessity for the just distribution among the people of the fertilizing water of the Nile, their sole source of life. Experience taught that a high degree of justice was here a necessity if anarchy, with the consequent destruction of the nation's life, was to be avoided.

p. 587. end of 1st para. This claim of the king seems arrogant indeed, but astonishment will be tempered when we recall that in those early times the word 'god' had probably a significance much nearer to the human than in the later (*see* vol. VI, p. 554). Innate conservatism in religious matters may have caused the kings and priests of the New Empire to perpetuate representations of gods incongruous with ordinary respect for the divine, but the hymns of the period are alone sufficient to show that the great gods, especially Amûn-re, were in fact regarded with much humility and even affection.

p. 587. A further notable example is that of Rameses II at whose shrine or statue, with those of other gods, a number of tablets have been discovered, offered by soldiers (*see* the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. XII, p. 292). Many stelae of the time of Rameses II in adoration of Thothmes III were found at Gurob. For a general review, *see Emperor Worship in Egypt* by S. A. B. Mercer, in the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, Chicago, 1917.

p. 589. Further details are given in the article in the Manchester Journal previously mentioned. For Zoser's temple *see* the *Annales du Service* of Cairo, vols. XXVII and XXVIII.

p. 589. The principle of eternizing actions as well as things, by magico-religious means, is now seen in full exercise in the temples. It extended also to things of far less importance such as articles of furniture, as pointed out by Dr. Blackman on pp. 167-8 of his book *Luxor and its Temples*: the deities whose images were

carved on the beds and chairs of the great or wealthy were supposed to be actually present when the articles were in use, to protect the occupant ; from this to a mere mascot is no long step.

p. 589. An inscription on a statue of the Eighteenth Dynasty translated by Dr. Gardiner in *Tarkhan and Memphis* v, p. 34, affords an interesting glimpse at the destination of offerings. The statue was that of a scribe, Amenhotep, and was erected by the favour of King Amenhotep III in a temple at Memphis. The inscription, lines 18-19, records : " His Majesty instituted new divine offerings consisting of daily oblations to his father Ptah and to the gods of his house, they being provided with food for ever ;" also, line 26, " When the god has sated himself with his possessions and this statue has received its meals " what was left was to go to the priests. Light is also thrown on the purpose for which private statues were placed, by royal favour, in temples : they represented the personality of the man portrayed and brought him all the blessings of health and life which emanated from the holy place ; the statue itself was endued with a mystic kind of life, requiring food which was provided from the royal endowments, though possibly this was not an invariable practice.

p. 591. See Breasted's *History of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 508-10, fig. 177 : the court officials decorating the High Priest Amenhotep, by order of Rameses IX, do not reach to the former's waist.

p. 592. The same concept reigned in China till the proclamation of the republic, for it was the emperor's duty to inaugurate the farmer's season by driving a ceremonial ploughing team ; in Mesopotamia the opening of new canals was frequently mentioned in the records of laudable royal activities.

p. 594. See Wreszinski's *Atlas* II, 189-202, and Dr. Blackman in *Myth and Ritual*, pp. 34, ff. The latter favours a suggestion that it was the queen who was visited by Amûn at Luxor, since she often held the office of his High Priestess and was then—entitled ' the god's wife,' but there are several objections to this interpretation, a formidable one being that Amûn could hardly be supposed, if he was visiting an earthly wife, to bring with him his divine consort, much less that she should take so large a place in the proceedings as Mût did : the queen is also figured in the procession, with the king, and is acclaimed in the terms usual for her royal station ; she could not then have been awaiting at Luxor the visit of her divine spouse. Further, when during the procession Amûn addresses her, it is by no means as a consort, for he declares himself pleased at her voice, doubtless as a singer in his temple, perhaps in the capacity of High Priestess, just as in Babylon the lady who held the office of High Priestess was the chief temple-singer—(see also the remarks on the office of ' god's wife ' and Erman's opinion on p. 585. Lastly, the wooings of queens by Amûn represented in other temple-chambers adduced by Dr. Blackman, are always matters of secrecy by night, Amûn taking the form of the king ; they were personal matters, intended to make clear the complete legitimacy of the sovereigns concerned (see the last note on p. 601). In Babylon, as Mr. Sidney Smith has suggested, a priest may have represented the god and have been killed after the consummation of the " sacred marriage " together with the woman, probably a priestess, who was his associate in the rite ; he thinks it likely that the rich burials found by Dr. Woolley at Ur, with their

human sacrifices, may be relics of such a rite, carried out most gorgeously for a special occasion (see the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Oct., 1928, p. 857).

The procession of deities, with their sumptuous vehicles and multitudinous rejoicings, has many parallels in modern India, as, for example, the car-festival of Jagganāth which has attained much notoriety, quite undeserved, under the name of Juggernaut, or the procession at the festival of Mahamakham at Kumbakonam in South India where such festivals are commoner than in the north, owing perhaps to the lesser power of 'Aryan' influence in the south. An example very near to Egypt is the Spring feast at Madura in which the "sacred marriage" of Shiva with Minākshi takes place. On all these occasions strong additional attractions are provided by great fairs, as at modern Tanta, in the Delta, when processions are carried out in honour of its patron *weli*, Sayyid Ahmed el Bedawi, and no doubt it was so in ancient Egypt too.

p. 596. This royal virtue has always of course been held in high esteem and extended also to gods. Even the monotheistic Israelites exulted in the belief that Jehovah was a 'Man of War,' as many a Biblical passage attests. In Islam the victory of the Prophet, as Ali Tabari has insisted, is held to have been indeed a miracle and sure testimony to the truth of his mission; but the word victory applies not merely to battles but to the whole of the vast effort entailed by the mission.

p. 597. They were perhaps not so rich in gold, lazuli, etc., as the inscriptions relate but had splendour enough to make them vastly impressive, even in their later times, to the Greeks. There still survives a folk-memory of the riches used, for naïf peasants will explain the keenness of foreigners to buy relics of the past times, called "antikas," which are often, for the peasant, mere pieces of wood and stone, by the hypothesis that they are covered with gold which has been made invisible by Pharaoh's wily magicians but can be recovered by others having the sufficient knowledge: the visitors, they say, are armed with red books which teach them powerful magic and thus enable them to recover the gold—such was the explanation once given me of the tourists' "Bacdeker." Maspero used to relate that as Director-General of Antiquities he was ranked as the first of all magicians.

p. 598. The Festal Hall is interesting architecturally, for its columns represent the tent-poles which held up the roofs of the great marquees used for ceremonies before temples were built for permanency (see p. 588)

p. 599. There is the famous story of King Canute whose courtiers suggested that he could control the tides; it is usually dismissed as legendary but is not a wholly impossible tale. The Stuart kings of England, much later, were commonly addressed as "Sacred Majesty"; the divine rights of kings were a subject of frequent discussion and excessive adulation was current even among the more sober, such, for example, as John Evelyn, witness his *Fumigium*, an attack on the smokiness and dirt of London in the year 1661. Traces of that kind of feeling survive to our own times, too obvious to need pointing out, but even in the 18th century the older attribution of divine power survived in the "touch" for the "King's Evil," of which, as of other similar matters, abundant details may be found in M. Bloch's

book, *Les Rois Thaumatourges*. An incident recorded by Tacitus (*Hist.* IV, 81-2) constitutes a link between the Egyptian and the modern : Vespasian, visiting Alexandria, was begged to cure a blind man with his spittle and another maimed of one hand by placing his foot on it ; he hesitated, rather naturally, but on hearing that an oracle of Serapis had commanded this proceeding and on taking local advice, did as he was asked, with the result of complete cure in each case.

p. 599. The kings of Mesopotamia, though never apparently so absolute as those of Egypt, were often deified, especially the Semitic ones (*see* Delaporte ; *La Mesopotamie*, p. 160). The Kassites, who conquered the country from the east about the middle of the 18th century B.C., carried on most of its religious practices, but, being of a more rational strain, generally considered ' Aryan ' , did not deify their kings.

It may be well to note that several of the principles underlying Egyptian practices are evident also in Mesopotamia, as a study of the above-mentioned book will show, though of course their application is not always identical : a careful comparative study made by an expert in the religion and language of both countries could not fail to benefit not only the specialist but also the general student or philosopher, by the light it would throw on the development of early religious thought under the influence of settled civilization.

Addendum to 4th note on p. 601. After " conditions of kingship : " See also Petrie *Researches in Sinai*, pp. 176-185. The reinvigoration of the king, first advocated by him, is here connected with an identification with Osiris, a theory strongly supported by Frazer but rejected by other scholars, notably Dr. Alan Gardiner who rightly insists on the position of the living, reigning king as " the living Horus , " son of the dead king Osiris (*J. Eg. Archæ.*, Vol. II, part ii, pp. 122 & 124. For ' the living Horus ' see *supra*, p. 206).

Addendum to 2nd note p. 602. After " Journal " : An excellent African example is that of the Shilluks, described by Professor C. C. Seligman in *The cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluks*, pp. 216-232 of *The Fourth Report of the Welcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. B ; also in the *J. of the R. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. XLIII, part ii, pp. 664-674. (Here the Osirian explanation of the *sed-heb* must be received with all caution ; see preceding note).

G. D. HORNBLOWER.

Corrigenda

Part IV, p. 426, l. 5 ; for " Inima " read " Lucina , "
Do 427, l. 6 , " riverian " read " riverain . "

THE PATH OF GOD

“The Universe is only Man on a large scale, as Man is a small Universe,” says the Islamic tradition which is in accordance on this point with philosophers and the Initiated of all times, just as it conforms with the verdict of science.

All the elements of Creation visible and invisible exist in Man and establish a real link between him and the whole of the Universe. Every element in nature is in harmony with a corresponding order of elements in the Universe and subject to laws and rhythms appropriate to its nature. A man therefore is not an isolated individual and has no personal Existence unless as a temporary combination of eternal elements. When a man is born these elements already exist in a different form, and after his death they still exist in another form.

Modern science, studying the constitution of the atom, has formally established that it is a solar system in reduction, composed of small particles evolving in a rotary manner around a fixed point. These particles are governed by the same magnetic and dynamic laws as well as by the same laws of gravity, as the planetary system.

This confirms the old theories which come to us in the form of Tradition, whose origin is lost in the mist of Time.

We would wander from our subject were we to establish strange analogies, connected with this question by examining the philosophical consequences which it embodies. We will only endeavour to establish the intimate connection of the Universe and Man in order to ascertain another side of the question.

When one observes the evolution of humanity, one is bound to notice that in all its spheres it can be compared to the individual evolution of Man.

Taking into consideration the difference of the scale which touches not only the innumerable elements but also

time and space, we may deduce from this knowledge the laws which rule the Universe. And this comparison extends to all the conditions which make Man one of the links of a chain.

Humanity in its evolution is undergoing all the stages of the normal growth of an individual passing through different phases of life. This has been determined by the Indian doctrines. These theories applied to Man establish his evolution in a parallel manner and have enabled prophets to foretell the future of the human race.

These prophecies are infallible when they emanate from those who have studied the moral and physical laws governing the Universe (or, in other words, the Divine Laws). They can then trace by analogy the future stages through which humanity must pass. As in the case of the body, cells which die are imperceptibly renewed by fresh ones without affecting the life and functions of the whole, so men are born, fulfil their allotted part in the scheme of evolution, die and are replaced.

Humanity has a soul composed of the embodiment of human souls. And as this collective soul is subject to evolution like the soul of the individual, it is attached to God.

Humanity has a Conscience whose standard is dependent on the spiritual evolution of Men, and as an obvious repercussion the Soul and Conscience of the Universe reflects on each individual who at the same time participates in and benefits by it.

This conception allows us to understand the part played by the higher elements of humanity. Their elevation is not limited to themselves; they share in the general elevation. What they acquire does not perish with them. They leave after their death seeds of fresh progress and sometimes, as in the case of the Prophets of God, they give to Men an imperishable impetus. What can be said about the soul applies equally to the brain. Humanity has at each succeeding stage a definite spiritual level, the reflection of the intellectual value of Men, especially of the Elite. But here social laws differ from spiritual laws because they are founded on a more concrete basis. It is important to distinguish between social and spiritual evolution. This latter point of view is generally taken into consideration and has been comprehensibly treated by sociologists and historians. There is no doubt that spiritual evolution

influences social evolution and in a lesser degree the reverse is true. But one has to admit that the two evolutions do not run on parallel lines. As far as the social point of view is concerned, we notice not a continued rise but alternate periods of progress and decadence. Material progress, conquests, great undertakings, all works that are purely human, are not necessarily indications of a high spiritual standard. In this one finds the reason which causes epochs of great civilisation to be followed by destruction and regress. Human elevation is not to be sought in civilisation, in the perfection of human institutions, but in the spiritual development of Men.

Social life is necessary for the continuation of the race, for the support of those of inferior spiritual attainments, and also to enable the more highly developed to find means of self-expression, just as the difficulties and struggles of life are necessary to Man in his evolution towards good. The social vicissitudes of humanity, its periods of prosperity and distress, are ways designed by the Creator, successive stages of a long and continued spiritual evolution, which lead towards a fuller comprehension of His laws.

Humanity must progress according to a plan fixed by God and known by Him only. It must progress painfully towards a state which grows gradually nearer perfection until it becomes, as the Scripture says, the Kingdom of God. This ideal is expressed in the Tradition of the Patriarch, the idea which has animated since all Time the Prophets of God. It suffices to study the spiritual development of humanity without going back further than the Hebrew Tradition to see confirmed by historical facts the first stages of the realisation of this ideal, and to know that Humanity is progressing.

Towards what end? We do not know. Some have built round this subject hypotheses which themselves rest on hypotheses. We can base our conjectures on the similarity between atomic and molecular systems and the solar system, the link between elements of the same nature throughout Creation.

Extending these analogies to Men, we arrive at conclusions. We cannot claim any value for them. The End, the great End, passes our comprehension, but we are nevertheless obliged to admit them, whilst remembering our imperfection and our limited understanding.

We can only reason by our senses. Our most exalted thoughts and convictions, if we analyse them, are always based on tangible analogies. Few people will deny the statement that in the course of his life, Man evolves towards good. Those of a religious and philosophic frame of mind know that their trials are destined to make them see their failings and their ignorance. But can we explain only by our intelligence the irresistible impulse which draws us towards good ?

Can we define conscience, that bridge between God and ourselves, the link by which God leads us in the way which we should follow, in accordance with our evolution ?

Why are Men evolving towards the divine ? What is the aim of it all ? To enable us to understand it, we have to take up again our comparison of the Man and the cells of his body.

The cells are living by reciprocity. They could not exist one without another. Every one of them takes a part in the life of all the others and could not itself live without the work of the others. Everyone of them takes its life from the life of the body and is itself necessary to that life.

Thus we have the image of Man in Humanity. But this analogy is more important when considered philosophically. The cell has a very short existence when compared with the life of the body. It is accomplishing a very limited function, very simple compared with the multiple functions of the body. Its part considered in itself is without significance, but nevertheless it has contributed not only towards the life of the body, but also towards its actions. But the body is the receptacle of the intelligence and the Soul. Thus the infinitely small cell participates through its existence in a work which outlasts the body. Let us suppose that for a brief moment one of these cells has separate intelligence. It will find itself surrounded by inexplicable mysteries, just as we are unable to explain our own use in the work of the Universe.

Let us go further. We will suppose that certain cells are not working or are moving in a direction opposed to the harmonious working of the whole, the result of this will be trouble for the whole body. Therefore all its vital forces and nerve centres will unite themselves in setting up a counter-action in opposition to the rebellious or harmful cells. The whole body will suffer while this war is going

on, and this suffering will entail illness for the individual ; although as a rule he will triumph since all his vital forces will rally to his aid to restore him to his normal state of health.

Now let us suppose once more that the cell has some intelligence of its own. It will still be unaware of the functions of the body, unaware of the process of its evolution. It does not know what controls its health and its progress from childhood to old age. It is the same in the case of Man. We offer this analogy to the reader. He will realise two things : the first is that all those whose lives are in harmony with the true meaning of the Universe, are aided by favourable forces, whereas those who are opposed to the higher laws and aims have all these same forces against them ; the second, that we have a definite plan, an appointed path and a reason for our existence. We may not know to what purpose we live. We are in the same position as the human cell, not knowing that it is a part of a man who has thought and action. The Evolution of the world is inseparable from the evolution of every human being.

One can realise therefore the importance which rests on the perfection of every individual and the necessity for his working in harmony with the rest, animated by the same purpose in accord with the divine aim.

The Spirit of the Universe influences the individual for it reflects his own soul.

We can realise the meaning of divine forces which can be divided into forces of Progress and forces of Order, the latter chastising Men to bring them to God when they go astray. We can realise the necessity of human effort to achieve spiritual perfection.

We know thus the existence of a divine will, to which we have to submit. We realise the existence of divine laws which we are not allowed to transgress without being punished. Harmony with the Divine Will, Divine Aims, Divine Laws will keep us in the path of God, the path we have to follow to give the full meaning to our life, and please God.

This question, so rich in possibilities, can be carried still further.

We will find in it the conflict between good and evil, the explanation of what we call the struggle between devils

and angels. We will also find the explanation of the idea of punishment for sin and expiation as the proof of the inevitable triumph of good. These considerations are necessary to understand the linking up, superposition and interpenetration of different elements of the Universe and their mutual dependence. The system which shows us the Unity of the Universe leads to the comprehension of the Unity of God.

We will then live in conformity with all that the Prophets have taught us and find the secret of a harmonious and fruitful life. Our fidelity to God will assure us the help of His kindness and mercy.

DAYANG MUDA OF SARAWAK.

NAJIB-UD-DAULAH AS THE DICTATOR OF DELHI, 1761-1770

INTRODUCTION

[Najib-ud-daulah, an Umr-khel Afghan, was one of the leading characters in Indian history. An illiterate soldier, sprung from the lowest rank, and without a patron or friend in India when he migrated to this country as a grown-up man,—he rose by sheer ability and strength of character to the highest position in the realm and guided the fortunes of the Empire of Delhi for ten years, as its supreme regent, while the lawful Emperor lived as a fugitive in Oudh, Bihar or Allahabad. In fact, in combination of first-rate military and administrative capacity, diplomatic skill and tact in dealing with others, and above all in his instinctive perception of the realities of the politics of his day and concentration on the essentials he had no equal in that age except Ahmad Shah Abdali. His defence of Delhi against the Jat-Maratha army, march against the Sikh invaders, and storming of Buana village prove his first-rate generalship.

There is an extremely valuable life of this hero,—written only one year after his death, by Sayyid Nuruddin Hasan Khan, a former follower of Imad-ul-mulk (the grandson of the first Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah, and the wazir of the Delhi empire from June 1754 onwards.) Only one MS. of this work is known to exist, namely British Museum Pers. 24,410, from which the following translation has been made. Nuruddin Hasan afterwards became *munshi* to Sir Charles Warre Malet, the British Resident at Poona. When Nana Fadnis attempted to resume a vast tract of land belonging to the Gaekwad of Baroda, the latter's ministers induced Nuruddin Hasan to use his influence with Malet, so that the Peshwa was persuaded to veto the Nana's proposal. The grateful Gaekwad rewarded Nuruddin Hasan with a jagir worth lakhs of rupees, making him the foremost Muslim baron in that State.]

Najib-ud-daulah governs Delhi, 1761

When Ahmad Shah Abdali, after his great victory at Panipat in January 1761, left India, Najib-ud-daulah, as his right-hand man in India, secured from Prince Jawan Bakht (then in Delhi for his absent father Shah Alam II) a sanad calling him to Delhi to take charge of the capital and the district around it. Imad, who was then at Mathura, summoned Suraj Mal Jat to his side and induced him to accompany him. He also summoned Hafiz Ramat, Dundi Khan, Sadullah Khan and other Ruhela sardars, according to the letters of Shah Wali Khan, to join him. These chiefs, arriving on the bank of the Ganges, began to correspond with him on their demands.

People told Najib-ud-daulah, "Suraj Mal, a powerful Rajah, is the friend of Imad-ul-mulk. The Afghan sardars too have arrived (close to him). You ought to set your step forward after careful consideration." Najib
 55a replied, "I know the valour of the Ruhela sardars very well. They are my brethren, and will not gird up their loins for slaying me. Let me now turn to Suraj Mal. Although he is a man of power, he is far-sighted and temperamentally patient. When I enter Delhi, he will not needlessly take on himself the task of expelling me. Now that the city is unoccupied, there is absolutely none to obstruct (me); but Imad-ul-mulk also holds the sanad in his hand, a noble like Yaqub Ali Khan has gone to bring him, and he has not yet set out; this is ill-luck pure and simple."

That very moment Najib started, entered Delhi, took the robes of reinstatement as Mir Bakhshi and (*faujdar*) of the district round Delhi, and regent (*mukhtar*) from Mirza
 55b Jewan Bakht. In the whole city the men of Najib were installed in the offices of collection, such as *krori* of grain markets, etc. On behalf of Najib a man named Shaikh Qasim was posted at the gate of the fort as *qiladar*. He sent his officers (*amils*) towards Sonipat and other mahals. Imad-ul-mulk was residing at Mathura, hoping to set out for Delhi with the help and companionship of Suraj Mal Jat. When Suraj Mal heard of these affairs, he grew chilled at heart. And the Ruhela sardars, too, returned to their homes after passing two months in idle parleys. Najib-ud-daulah acquired authority on behalf of Shah Alam II. The parganahs of Haryana like Kohana, Roh-tak, Dadri, etc., came into his possession. Two zamindars

of that district, who were leaders of the Baluch clan and had their homes in Farrukhnagar, and Baj Md. Khan Baluch who lived in Bahadurgarh, all became obedient to Najib. Day by day his power increased. From the faujdari of Shaharanpur, he realised 75 lakhs of rupees. The Mian Doab country, like Mirat, Sikandra (-bad), Dasna, Baghpat, etc., and seven mahals (formerly) belonging to the Marathas, came into his possession. He paid every month a small sum for the maintenance of Zinat Mahal, the mother of Emperor Shah Alam II, and Mirza Jawan Bakht. 56a

One year passed in this way, and then an interview was agreed upon between Najib and Suraj Mal. The armies of these two chiefs alighted on the banks of the Jamuna at the Dankaurghat, with the river between them. Najib-ud-daulah went towards the tent of Suraj Mal seated in a small boat, alone with only a few servants, leaving all his troops on the other side of the river. All men forbade him to do it, but he had the perfection of courage and boldly carried out his design. Suraj Mal displayed great purity of heart towards him. Two years passed in this way. 56b

Najib joins Abdali in the Punjab, 1764

In the third year Ahmad Shah Durrani again took the route towards India. Agents of all the chiefs of India and Raza Quli Khan, now known as Munir-ud-daulah, on behalf of Emperor Shah Alam II, started (for his camp) in the company of Najib. Near Lahor Najib-ud-daulah had his interview. Ahmad Shah encamped at Chak Guru—famous under the name of Amritsar, which is worshipped by the Sikhs. Ahmad Shah devastated that place, made two raids (*chaparwal*) on the Sikh troops and slew them. Ala (Singh)* lived in the fort of Dhundha-dhura. Ahmad Shah hastened over 80 *kos*, and arrived there in the course of two nights and one day. Ala fled away, after evacuating the fort. Najib-ud-daulah with his own troops shared in these expeditions, and pleased Ahmad Shah, who said, "This is the (only) man among the Afghans of India. I have shown (many) favours to the Indian Afghans, but not one of them, not even Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah, has joined me." Najib-ud-daulah caused the *khilat* for the kingship of India in the name of Shah Alam II and that of 57a

* The founder of the House of Patiala d. 1785

^{57b} wazir in the name of Shuja-ud-daulah, to be given to Raza Quli Khan. Although Shah Wali Khan—who wanted to please Imad and Hafiz Rahmat—counselled Abdali against these appointments, yet the latter two were only sitting at a distance and sending mere messages, while this man (i.e., Najib) was present with his troops, and so the advice of Shah Wali Khan was rejected by Ahmad Shah.

Shuja-ud-daulah against the Bangashes

Then Shuja-ud-daulah called Shah Alam from Patna, put on the *khilat* of wazir, began to conquer realms, took possession of the country seized by the Marathas such as Etawa and Kora, came to the boundary of Ahmad Khan Bangash, and sent letters written by the Emperor at his instigation to the Ruhela sardars to this effect: "Every-one who is enjoying imperial territory ought to present himself before the (imperial) stirrups, otherwise he should vacate land he holds." He plundered some parganahs possessed by Ahmad Khan Bangash, such as Sikandra, etc.

^{58a} Then the people (of that country) became alert and the Ruhela sardars quickly arrived to aid Ahmad Khan. Suraj Mal sent one of his sardars named Kripa Ram Purohit at the head of 2,000 horse, with Ghazi-ud-din Khan. When the Afghan army grew large [from the coming of allies], Shuja-ud-daulah made a *sangar* round his army. Najib-ud-daulah, who had reached Delhi from the side of Ahmad Shah, wrote to Shuja, "Do not do anything in a hurry before my arrival"; and to Hafiz Rahmat Khan and others he wrote, "Shuja-ud-daulah had acted generous-

^{58b} ly in order to aid your people, and the Padishah is now with him. It is not proper that you should tear away the screen from the face of things all at once. I too am arriving soon." He started for Farrukhabad by regular marches, and in twelve days arrived near the camp of Shuja.

Next day Shuja-ud-daulah, marching alone for five *kos*, welcomed Najib in advance and met him in the course of riding, spending the night in Najib's camp. Next morning, Mirza Amani—now known as Asaf-ud-daulah—came with all the army of the Nawab. Shuja-ud-daulah gave Najib a place near his encampment, presented him to the Emperor Shah Alam II, gave him horses, elephants, and jewels from that sovereign, and together held a consultation as to war or peace with Ahmad Khan Bangash.

The two often used to meet together and feasts were given by each side to the other. At last Najib said to Shuja, ^{59a} "A gathering of all the Afghans has taken place, and they have arrived to aid Ahmad Khan Bangash. It is difficult to fight this race and gain success. Besides, you are well aware of the character of Shah Alam, how while you are present with him he is keeping up correspondence with the Afghans. It is difficult to vanquish this tribe. Even supposing that you conquer them, you would get a bad name before Ahmad Shah, and Ahmed Shah would exert himself to remedy it. Therefore, it is better to make peace with them. The Jat army also is allied to the Afghans. One may almost say that all Hindustan has gathered together." Shuja-ud-daulah replied, "I ^{59b} have 80,000 cavalry of mine with me. Whatever I undertake, I can succeed in it."

Much discussion of this purport took place between them. One day Najib said to Shuja, "My Nawab Sahib, I tell you plainly a man can have strength in one of two ways, either strength of clan,—which means that he has many brethren—or strength of his own body, i.e., when he has physical strength above that of other men. Ahmad Khan Bangash has neither of these kinds of strength in Hindustan, because his brethren, who are Bangashes, do not number more than six hundred men, and as for his body, he is lame and incapable of riding horses. You have come to confront such a man and entrenched! The other Afghans have clans of their own ^{60a} and total one lakh of men, and also possess physical strength. How can you conquer them? It is better then that you make peace with these people." Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah, on seeing that Najib too was an Afghan and in the end one in spirit with the (other) Afghans, had no help but to agree to making peace. So he left the place and with the Emperor crossed the river back. Najib-ud-daulah returned towards Delhi. A great name and power accrued to this man throughout the country. Going to Najibabad, a city founded by himself, he engaged in constructing buildings, gardens, and mansions.

How Najib estranged Suraj Mal Jat

At this time Suraj Mal Jat had a quarrel with the Baluches. The details of this affair are as follow :

The Mewati race always used to commit highway robbery around their own country, and the frontier of the

- 60b Jat country was close to theirs. In these places of Mewat there were some higher class people, who held *mansabs* in Delhi or were respected as being landowners. Jawahir Singh, the eldest son of Suraj Mal, had been engaged for ten years in repressing Mewat, and had established his own administration and occupation in the whole of that district, fought many good battles, and brought all that country into his own possession. He had destroyed some by terms, some by treachery and some by night attacks. The fort of Alwar is a strong imperial fort, to which this *sarkar* (district) is subordinate ; Suraj Mal took possession of this fort, and built another fort in this parganah and named it Kishangarh, and firmly carried his frontier to
- 61a Rewari which is 30 *kos* distant from Delhi. By reason of his occupation of this neighbourhood, outposts of the Jats were planted at Sarai Basant and Sambhal, which are ten *kos* from Delhi and whose villages stretched up to six *kos* of Delhi, and they administered the places. Whenever the Mewatis practised highway robbery, the Jats traced their footmarks and fearlessly slew (them), and some they threw alive into fire. And the Mewatis used to remain concealed in their own country and do this deed, but some of them did not give up their practice in spite of exile from home.

- There was a Meo named Sanulba, who used to commit highway robbery with ten horsemen, and going near fort Dig used to loot caravans, and used to reach the stations of Hodal and Barsana repeatedly after two days. Standing at Koklasi, which is the name of a hillock between Hodal and Barsana, he used to plunder the passers-by. People became powerless against his oppression. In the country of the Baluches—whose chief at that time was Musa Khan, who lived in Farrukhnagar—this robber fixed his residence in a fort named Tauru* where Asadullah Khan Baluch lived. He used to give him what he plundered. Jawahir Singh said to his father Suraj Mal, “The Baluches are giving shelter to Sanulba among themselves. So long as I do not strike a blow at them, they will not
- 61b expel him from their boundary.” Suraj Mal gave the permission, and Jawahir Singh at first sent a message to the Baluches to drive Sanulba out, otherwise he would call them to account. The Baluches delayed compliance. Jawahir Singh himself marched out against them. Taj

* *Tauru*, 20 m. due east of Rewari, while *Farrukh-nagar* is 22 m. north-east of Rewari.

Mohd. Khan Baluch arrived from Bhadar to assist Musa Khan Baluch. Fighting took place between the troops of Jawahir Singh and Taj Mohd. Khan. After 20 men had been slain on the two sides together, the Jats gained the victory and the Baluches were worsted. Only a few men remained with Taj Mohd. Khan. One Hindu Khatri—a nephew of that Jai Singh Rao who is now known as Rajah Jaisingh Rao and is a follower of Najaf Quli Khan—was killed. Taj Mohd. Khan on seeing this aspect of affairs, got down from his horse, performed [the *fatiha*-reading] on the ground, mounted his horse again and charged the Jats. The Jats, unable to bear the attack, turned their backs, and arrived where Jawahir Singh was standing. 62b Jawahir Singh became very angry, but it was of no avail. So, he went away and told his father: "So long as I do not cut off the Baluches, I shall not take rest." Najib wrote to Suraj Mal, "Between you and me there is peace,—nay more, union; and the Baluches also are my *proteges*. Nor are they so very powerful. You are wantonly expelling them. This is opposed to our friendship." Suraj Mal replied, "This affair is beyond my control. My son is bent upon this work. And the Baluches too deserve punishment, as they are sheltering a highway robber in their houses."

Jawahir Singh marched a second time against the Baluches and plundered the villages of that district, but when they issued from their fort he turned back and returned to his own territory. 63a Najib again wrote (to Suraj Mal) to the same purport as before, "Sir, you are a wise old man standing firm in your agreement. What is this that you come close to my territory and the territory of my dependents and your troops create disturbances and trample the peasants down?" Suraj Mal replied, "It is the desire of Jawahir Singh to plant his outpost in Farrukhnagar, the home of Musa Khan Baluch. Tell him to reside in some other place. Or else, he will be ruined in life, property and (family) honour." He himself marched towards Farrukhnagar. The Baluches wrote to Najib that they were weak while Suraj Mal was very powerful; so he should come quickly to their aid, as he was 63b in the place of the Padishah. In this way they besought his pity like the weak.

In the time that it took for the letter of the Baluches to reach Najibabad and a reply to it to be given, Suraj Mal quickly arrived near the fort of Farrukhnagar, and began

- to dig trenches. At that time Najib-ud-daulah was ill ; he became puzzled. When he heard that Suraj Mal had come close to the fort of Farrukhnagar, he marched out in spite of his illness towards Delhi. A month passed in this way ; the affair of the fort came to an end, and the garrison fled away in terror. Taj Mohd. Khan, too, did not render any help this time. In all there were 700 men in the fort, while Suraj Mal had 20,000 cavalry and numberless
- 64a** infantry with the necessary artillery. His guns breached the wall. Musa Khan becoming helpless and despairing of aid from any side, offered to come out, see Suraj Mal, and yield the fort to him. Suraj Mal agreed. Next day, Musa Khan, with his brethren, who were 60 men including 14 sons of the uncles of Musa Khan, came forth and saw Suraj Mal, who greatly honoured him and at the time of giving leave told him that he had pitched tents for him. When he went to the tent, Suraj Mal posted guards around it. Mounting their families in carts he brought them to the camp and confined them all in one place. Jawahir Singh himself entered the empty fort and seized all the property and treasure in it. The fort with all its artillery and stores fell into the hands of the
- 64b** Jats. The next day he mounted Musa Khan with all his brethren in carts and sent them off towards the fort of Dig. After four days Najib arrived at Delhi and Suraj Mal, too, started from Farrukhnagar towards Delhi. Najib-ud-daulah sent a message to Suraj Mal saying : " You are a great captain, and between you and me there is perfect friendship. These Baluches were my dependants and you have treated them so oppressively and never considered my feelings in the matter. What kind of courtesy is this ? Let what is past be past. You may keep the fort (of Farrukhnagar) that you have captured. But it is not proper to hold him with his women in captivity. You ought to release them out of regard for me."
- 65a** Suraj Mal replied, " Between you and me there is agreement and alliance. These men are (my son's) enemies. They have truly become, so to say, my enemies. How is it proper for you to exert yourself for the release of my enemies and argue about the matter ? It was unbecoming of you to march from Najibabad to Delhi. It became known that you had come on an expedition against me. In the meantime, by the grace of God, I attained to the desired success in this enterprise. If this campaign had not by this time come to an end, you would have joined Musa Khan. You had been contemplating such action.

Then the alliance between you and me was broken and breach of faith took place on your part. Do not now have any expectation of good from me."

Suraj Mal decides on war with Najib

When this reply reached Najib, he held a consultation before himself, saying that Musa Khan's business was over, so that it was now impossible for Najib to remedy it in any way ; it would only estrange Suraj Mal from him ; it was not wise to turn such a great captain as Suraj Mal into an enemy. So, Najib sent his mediators a second time to Suraj Mal. By this time Suraj Mal had come within eight *kos* of Delhi and had encamped near Kalapahar. The mediators who had gone from this place, repeatedly spoke in order to soften and please Suraj Mal. Suraj Mal told them, "Najib-ud-daulah has acted contrary to my expectation. Cleansing (of hearts) is impossible now. He has come from Najibabad, solely in pride of his troop of clansmen. It is therefore necessary for me to see his army once. Next morning I shall ride out, cross the Jamuna, 66a burn down Ghazi-ud-din nagar, and encamp on the bank of the Hindan. I have heard that (a body of) men have come to the bank of the Ganges for aiding you. I shall first see them and thereafter what will happen will happen." So he encamped on the bank of the Hindan, and his men, crossing that river, plundered all the villages around Ghazi-ud-din nagar and set fire to them. Only the fort remained safe. Then Suraj Mal sent all his baggage towards his own territory. In his entire camp he did not keep any *palki* (*miana*) at all ; only horses and *qamchi* remained. Next day he passed with his troops near Delhi, by way of Kalkapahar which is 4 *kos* from the city.

Najib-ud-daulah, hearing this news, rode out with his 66b army, and stood near the garden of Khizirabad, with an interval of two *kos* between him and Suraj Mal's troops. Suraj Mal, after crossing the Jamuna, encamped on the further side of the river, while Najib-ud-daulah came back to the city. He immediately sent Sagar Mal Khatri with his own personal servant Shaikh Karamullah to Suraj Mal, with the message, "What you have done, you have done well ; and what you are doing you are doing well. What is past is past. I know very well that in all things you have superiority over me. You have excellent musketeers

mounted on good horses. Strong forts are in your possession, no other Rajah of Hindustan in these days is so well-equipped as you. You have treasure too, and good territory. Therefore, it is not that I am fighting you, but you are wantonly displaying violence. Now stop and go back to your own territory. You have done what you had decided on accomplishing, and in addition you have desolated some villages belonging to me. This too has taken place. You ought now to go back."

At midnight Sagar Mal and the servant Karamullah came back from Suraj Mal and reported that he had given this reply to their message : " Tell the Nawab to come to the field in the morning and confront me once. I have taken the trouble of coming from such a long distance, but you are not troubling to come five *kos* ! If in the morning you do not come, I shall go there, fight till the sunset prayer and after the '*asar*' prayer I shall fall upon your rear. Thereafter you will behold what is destined to happen." When Sagar Mal reported this reply, Najib at once summoned all his captains and told them, " I have just now heard the reply of Suraj Mal, and it is clear to me from his words that Suraj Mal has no proper adviser, and is talking very much like a low fellow. Now that this man is so thoughtless and impatient by temperament, it proves that either his time has come or mine. So, there is no remedy now except war." All the sardars assented to his opinion. At that moment he ordered the *naqib* (proclaimer) to order the assembling of all the soldiers three hours before dawn. They assembled. When four *gharis* of the night still remained, Najib took horse, forded the Jamuna, and took post on the side of the bank of the Hindan five *kos* from Delhi.

Suraj Mal Jat killed

Then Suraj Mal, with all his army, heavy artillery, cavalry and infantry, came up opposite and stood. There was an exchange of artillery fire between the two sides, till the third *pahar* of the day. Then Suraj Mal, keeping all his army with the artillery and elephants stationed opposite Najib's army, himself with five thousand troopers went in light kit (*jarida*) two *kos* up stream, crossed the Hindan and came upon the rear of Najib, so that the fight raged on three sides (of Najib's army). His troopers delivered charges (*barqandazi*) very well; Najib's troops were shaken. Near sunset Suraj Mal

himself came to the back of the (Afghan) camp and attempted to penetrate into it. On the side of Najib-ud-daulah the Mughalia squadron, Sayyid Muhammad Khan Baluch, Jeta Gujar's son, Gulab Singh Gujar, Afzal Khan the brother of Najib, and Usman Khan Utman Khel, fought and the battle was well contested. Usman Khan was shot down, (but) the troops of Suraj Mal turned their backs after this encounter. Suraj Mal himself was on horseback, with the munition of matchlock at his waist and a short spear (*barchhi*) like that usually held by Meos and Jats in his hand. He fell down from his horse after receiving repeated wounds. Some of his servants, and one man intimately known to him (*rushinas*) who was a Muslim and a pirzada of Fathpur and bore the name of Shaikh Ahmad, and who were with him, were also slain. Some other (ordinary) troopers also fell dead. The rest all fled away.

The Mughalia troops went in pursuit, but many of the Jats, abandoning their horses on the bank of the Hindan, hid themselves among the *jhau* bushes. During this fighting, while the men were running in pursuit, Sayyid Muhammad Khan Baluch, better known as *Sayyidu*, also joined in the chase of the runaways. A Ruhela follower of Karam Khan Razzar said to him, "Ho Sayyid Mohd. Khan, whither are you going? Here is Suraj Mal lying on the ground. I know him." Sayyidu dismounted from his horse, and as the Baluch tribe had been extremely dishonoured by Suraj Mal and thirsted for revenge, he drew his dagger from his belt and plunged it twice or thrice in Suraj Mal's stomach, and two or three *bargirs* also struck at him with their swords. He said, "Cut off his head." Five or six men plied their swords at the head in succession, and it was hacked to pieces and one sword also was broken. Sayyidu came away from the place. The Mughalia troops seized many horses.

The (Jat) force that was stationed opposite (Najib's army) also fired their rockets and guns; the flag on their elephant still stood, and the kettle drums were beaten. When Sayyidu came and said that he had slain Suraj Mal, none would credit it. Najib said, "The slaying of Suraj Mal is not a thing that can be done so easily. But the force that had attacked my rear has been defeated, and its leader may have been slain. If Suraj Mal has been really slain, how is it that this force which is standing facing us and cannot be less than 20,000 troopers and in which

70a all the materials for the chieftain's riding are (visible), is still fighting and maintaining its position there firmly ? ”

Things remained in this state till one *pahar* of the night. After one *pahar* they slowly went away from opposite Najib to their own camp, and Najib too set up his tents and entered them.

Next day, at dawn spies brought the news that there was no trace of the enemy's army for 15 *kos*. Najib asked Sayyid Mohd. Khan where he had left Suraj Mal's body and told him to bring away some means of recognising him. Sayyidu cut off an arm from the body of Suraj Mal and brought it away. Najib called up Sagar Mal and the servant Karamullah, and asked them what dress they had 70b seen on the person of Suraj Mal when they had gone to him for a diplomatic parley. Karamullah replied, “ He wore a tunic (*angarkha*) of yellow *chintz*.” The severed arm that Sayyid Mohd. Khan had brought away was shown and he said that it was that very *chintz*. Sagar Mal said, “ For three years there has been a boil in the arm of Thakur Suraj Mal and it is there still. Bring the arm before me.” It was brought and they found the mark of the sore still fresh, and there was also the sleeve of *chintz* on the arm. At that time, which was one *pahar* before sunset, it became certain that Suraj Mal had been slain, at the beginning of the 6th year of Shah Alam II, corresponding to 1177 Hijri, in this battle. (25 Dec. 1763.)

71a The third day (after the battle) Najib-ud-daulah began to march towards his own country. He decided that as Jawahir Singh, the son of the deceased, was a strong and haughty person and had much treasure in his house, and would therefore cause great disturbance against him, therefore he (Najib) ought to block the path of Jawahir Singh who was then in the fort of Farrukhnagar. Najib wanted to go to the further side of Ballamgarh and take post there, as Jawahir's route was by that side. Going down stream of the *ghat* of Dankaur, 3 *kos* from Ballamgarh, on the further side of the Jamuna, he planted outposts 71b in all the environs every ten *kos* before and behind. Except (where there were) forts, the revenue collectors (of the Jats) fled away. Najib's administration was established in parganas Jewur and Tappal also. Here it was learnt that after Suraj Mal had been slain the news of it had reached Jawahir Singh in three *pahars* and Jawahir, immediately mounting a camel, had reached Dig in the course of all that day and half the next night ; the

news of (the death of) Suraj Mal, the fugitives (from the field) and Jawahir Singh had all entered the fort of Dig together. Najib was now engaged in taking possession of all the country of the Jats. Just then, early in the 6th year of Shah Alam,* 1177 A. H., news arrived that the Sikhs had crossed the Jamuna and entered the territory of ^{72a} Najib-ud-daulah.

*Jawahir Singh Jat secures aid of Sikhs and Marathas
to avenge Suraj Mal's death*

This was the first time that the Sikhs had come to this side of the Jamuna and spread through the villages of Barah,—which had for a long time past been the homes of respectable men and of old Sayyid families members of which had been *umra* in former times. They took booty beyond count in coins, pure gold and jewels, burnt all the country and took away captives. Najib-ud-daulah, being distracted by the news, marched towards the Sikhs, and ^{72b} by fast movement arrived near them. These men, after plundering the country, when they heard of Najib having come near, crossed the Jamuna and went back to their own territory ; Najib then entered Delhi.

At this time, Jawahir Singh, who had seated himself on the seat of the ruler (of the Jats), exerted himself greatly to avenge his father, devoted himself to collecting troops ; with many favours he made his household troops obedient to him, satisfied the old captains who had been alarmed about his temper, by his good behaviour and holding forth hopes and sent Rup Ram Kothara, a Brahman trusted by Suraj Mal, to subahdar Malhar Rao Holkar, who was in the Kota-Bundi country, inducing him by the allurements of a ^{73a} large sum to join him. Malhar Rao, who had fought a great fight with the troops of the Rajputs of Jayanagar and who had received a wound in his arm, considered this invitation as a great boon, accepted it with all his heart and told Rupram, “The business (of getting tribute from) Bundi and Jayanagar is about to mature. I have defeated the army of Jayanagar. As soon as I now encamp near Jayanagar, Rajah Madhe Singh, taking refuge in the fort of Rantambhor, will agree with his life and soul to give me whatever I shall demand, be it territory or forts, or cash. I have also called Najib-ud-daulah my (adopted) son,

* Really the *fifth* year (1177), beginning on 4th Nov. 1763.

and he has written to me to say that he had never made any effort to slay Suraj Mal, but that the latter had wantonly attacked Najib, devastated the parganahs belonging to him, and committed manifest oppression—which was
 73b improper according to every religion—on the Baluches, and that thereafter what had been written by fate had taken place. Najib has added, “After Suraj Mal’s death I have not at all molested his territory or his son. But I am desirous of friendship (with him). If by chance, through selfishness anybody makes a contrary representation to you and solicits your aid, you should bear in mind my devoted conduct and honest dealing and never agree to it in your mind.” In the event of my going away with you, the business of Jayanagar will pass out of my hand, and Najib-ud-daulah who has been my helper in Hindustan will be turned into an enemy. Thirdly, I shall have to undertake a hard task, namely campaigning against Najib-ud-daulah. However, in order to please Jawahir Singh and bearing in my mind his bereavement, I am abandoning all these advantages and starting for his side.
 74a But my troops have been starving for a long time past, and you ought to remedy it.”

Rupram agreed to everything that Malhar Rao had said and started for Jawahir Singh. Jawahir had also sent envoys to the Sikhs, induced them to co-operate with him, and in the course of twenty days completed his agreements for alliance with the Sikhs and Marathas and the preparation of his household troops,—composed of Rajputs, Jats, Musalmans etc., and numbering 30,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry, with a full equipment of artillery.

In the seventh* year of Shah Alam’s reign, 1178 A.H.
 74b (he) marched towards Delhi, and on arriving near the garden of Khizirabad made *sangars* round his camp. Najib-ud-daulah thought that in two days Malhar would arrive in the camp of Jawahir Singh, when his forces would be greatly strengthened, and therefore it was most expedient that he (Najib) should immediately march out and attack Jawahir Singh and defeat him. Next morning, he rode out to the garden of Khizirabad; Jawahir said to his followers, “I have paid a large sum to Malhar, and he will arrive here tomorrow. It is not proper for us to

*It should be the *sixth* year, which began on 27 Rabi-us-sani 1178—24 Oct. 1764.

fight single-handed." So he mounted and stood in the midst of his entrenchment, and all his troops stood ready dressed and waiting for his order. At three *pahars* Najib-ud-daulah saw that he would not issue from his *sangar* ; ^{75a} so he turned back and entered Delhi.

Next day, Malhar Rao with a large force, 20,000 horse, entered the camp of Jawahir. Malhar Rao wrote to Najib-ud-daulah, " I hold to the faith I have pledged to you. But at this time my troops are starving, and you know that in all Hindustan there is at this time no man possessed of riches like the Jat (Rajah). So, permit me to please him for some time and thereby secure money. I shall throw this business into delay." Najib wrote in reply " I gladly agree to whatever will benefit you."

On the third day, Jawahir Singh marched out, encamped opposite the Old Fort, on the bank of the river, along with the subahdar, and then issued forth to fight ^{75b} Najib-ud-daulah.

Najib defends Delhi against Jawahir Singh Jat

Najib-ud-daulah pitched his camp in Buland Bagh, at the foot of the imperial fort, and threw a bridge (of boats) over the Jamuna to allow provisions to come from the Mian Doab. In the mansion of Qamruddin Khan (he lodged) and all his soldiers took up their residence on the side of the river, below the *havelis*. Towards the army of Jawahir Singh, which was in the south, they dug a ditch from the bastion of the city wall to the river, planted artillery and threw up entrenchments. Jawahir Singh rode out, with all his troops, to below the Old Fort and sent a man to Malhar Rao, requesting him to deliver an assault as that day was very auspicious for the purpose. Malhar gave no reply till noon ; thereafter he rode out, but while he himself stopped in the fort of Sher Shah, Balji Rao, his son's son (*nabira*), with all his troops arrived ^{76a} near the position of Jawahir Singh and halted. Jawahir, on seeing the Maratha army coming behind him, advanced and arrived near the fort of Firuz Shah. The subahdar's (i.e., Malhar's) order reached Balji Patil that he should not advance from his (present) position. At this time, guns began to be fired from Najib's trenches, and from this side too the guns of the Jat and Malhar Rao replied. Jawahir sent word to the subahdar, " Do you please advance a little further, so that I may deliver an assault." The subahdar

did not move ahead one step from the place where he was standing and sent the reply, "The enemy are still firmly planted in the Old Fort. It is inadvisable to advance leaving them behind. While we are engaged in the battle, these enemies in the fort from the rear of our army will do 76b harm to us, and create a difficulty for us. You should first think of wresting this fort, and then we shall think of advancing." Jawahir Singh heard these words and said, "Although the subahdar is a great man and I have set out on this expedition in reliance on his strength, yet the war is between Najib and myself." Mahdi Quli Khan, a sardar among the followers of Imad-ul-mulk, reported this speech to the subahdar, who became very angry. But Rupram Kothara, who was the medium of negotiations between Malhar Rao and Jawahir Singh, became indignant with Mahdi Quli Khan and said, "This man is telling a lie. Jawahir Singh has never said any such word." Mahdi Quli Khan gave a harsh reply. Imad-ul-mulk and the subahdar who were riding the same elephant, heard both of them (talking). These two men, who 77a were wrangling, were also mounted on elephants. Up to sunset, the riders stood still, and only an artillery duel took place.

Jawahir Singh apprehended that Najib had dug a deep ditch and filled it with the water of the Jamuna, and the Marathas were not setting their heart on an attack, so that he ought to adopt the plan of sending out a part of his men across the Jamuna and go to the east bank, where only a small body of cavalry (of Najib's troops) was posted as watch, whom they would (easily) defeat and arrive at the bridgehead without fear. At the bridge (head) too there was a sort of wall one yard in height, at which a hundred Ruhela infantry was posted. After defeating them, the Jats intended to penetrate into the *sangar* of Najib by way of the bridge. So, at dawn he sent Balram Faujdar, the brother of Suraj Mal's wife, who enjoyed great honour and high rank and often used to command the Jat vanguard in battles, with Ram Kishan Mohant 77b Bairagi, the *guru* of Jawahir Singh, and Sawairam, a Brahman inhabitant of Jodhpur, from the Amlighat, opposite the Old Fort, with 8,000 troopers, to the other side of the river Jamuna, with orders to enter from the eastern side by way of the bridge. He himself, passing from the fort of Firuz Shah, took post opposite Najib's *sangar*, and began to fight with his artillery.

The generals who had crossed the Jamuna first plundered and totally razed to the dust Patparganj,—which was an old Padshahi mart, the home of grain-merchants and many other traders, and had four *pucca* (brick) walls, and where lakhs of rupees worth of grain was collected. Thereafter, the Mughalia troopers numbering nearly 500, 78a whom Najib had posted at Shahdara to keep watch and patrol, on seeing the dust of horsemen from a distance, advanced. Nasir Khan Irani, who had established himself as the slave (*chela*) of Najib, arrived with 600 horse to reinforce the Turani Mughalias, who became skirmishers between the Mughalias and this (Jat) force. In the end the force of Jawahir Singh charged the Mughalias at the gallop, and the latter, unable to stand, took to flight. Najib was sitting on a bastion of earth which he had made on his ditch, and looking with a field glass. He saw that opposite him the entire enemy army, nearly 50,000 horse, with elephants, flags, etc., had come close up and on the 78b left side this was happening. He pushed up men to (strengthen) the bridge defence, and sent word to Ali Mohd. Kur, who commanded the trenches before the bridge, to be very much on the alert about his trenches. He told his eldest son Zabita Khan: "Those of my men are not making any stand at all, but are straightway running away. If that entire force which is pursuing them reaches the bridge, it will be a difficult business for us. You send from your own brigade, 500 personal guard infantry of yours and the same number of cavalry, to cross the river in boats and block the path of that army." So, in four boats five hundred Ruhela infantry crossed over. And the cavalry also, like those of Naubat Khan Razzar, Sarfaraz Khan Gujar, and others, came together.

The Jat sardars saw that they had dislodged the force before them, and these few men had appeared from one side ; so they all together turned their faces simultaneously towards that side. 79a The small body of Ruhela infantry, who were in a hollow place, all sat down and began to fire salvoes with their matchlocks. At the first discharge, out of the (Jat) sardars who had come near many were slain or wounded, and at the second discharge they all at once turned their backs. Sewairam, who had 150 Rathors with him, dismounted from his horse. On this side the personal followers of Zabita Khan, Sarfaraz Gujar and other captains also dismounted and engaged in fighting with the sword. Sewairam was slain with all

his Rajputs. The other (Jat) sardars with all their soldiers, such as Balram and Kishan Mohant, took to flight. The Ruhelas began to pursue, and the Mughalia horsemen
 79b who had run away, now came back and joined in the pursuit of the Jats.

Jawahir Singh was at this time mounted on horseback and standing on the bank of the Jamuna ; he saw from a distance that his defeated troops were coming back helplessly at the gallop. He sent word to Bahadur Singh, his uncle's son, who was with his (own) division, to ride to the bank of the river and prevent the fugitives from entering his camp (on the west bank of the Jamuna). This was done. He himself went to the bank of the river and inquired from the people if there was a ford there. They replied that there was no ford on the side ; so that all the troops that had gone to the opposite bank dispersed, crossed at distant fords, and entered the camp. But Mohant and the men of Balram with a small number retired slowly, fighting. Very little of daylight remained.
 80a Jawahir Singh said, "The Ruhelas are pursuing without fear, and my men are making no stand at all. It is better that I should drive my own horse into the river." Nawab Imad-ul-mulk, who was standing 50 paces behind Jawahir Singh, dissuaded him from his intention. Jawahir sent an order to Umrao Gir Gosain, who was standing in front of him, "If you cross the river, (the ford) would become better known to me." The Gosain agreed, and from the place where he stood drove his horse into the river with all his followers, who at that time numbered 600 or 700 men. By chance he found a ford, and he crossed the Jamuna and came upon the scene in the very midst of the
 80b fighting. A Mughal *bachcha* named Medha Beg Rozbihani, who was with the Gosain, advanced and with up-lifted sword faced the Ruhelas. Fifteen of his men were wounded and two slain. On the side of the Ruhelas, too, some men were wounded and three slain. The Ruhelas who had so long been coming on at full gallop, with all the Mughalia, stood at different places and began to fight with muskets and bows. Afterwards some camels carrying zamburaks also reached the Gosain and the battle raged hotly till sunset, when the troops of Najib returned to their camps, and the Gosain too by order of Jawahir Singh started for this side of the Jamuna. In the water of the Jamuna from this bank to that, the men of Jawahir Singh
 81a stood throughout with torches in their hands. At night

the (Jat) troops crossed over quite safely. As soon as the Gosain arrived, Jawahir Singh mounted him on his own elephant, the two sat down in the same *hauda*, and then he first went to the tents of the comrades of the Gosain who had been wounded, and sent them money for medicines.

*Jawahir Singh Jat bombards Delhi from the east bank of
the Jamuna*

Next morning it was decided that as from this side no effort was succeeding they should go to the other side and plant guns on the bank of the Jamuna facing the imperial fort, because, there being no wall along that face of the city the cannon balls would fall into all parts of the camp of Najib-ud-daulah. On that day the writer of this book witnessed this battle from the *hauda* of Imad-ul-mulk. (17 Nov. 1764). Next day, according to the plan, all the troops of Jawahir Singh and the subahdar crossed the Jamuna and utterly plundered Shahdara,—which was a largely populated place, where the grain of all the Doab and the further side of the Ganges used to be collected for sale, and there were good mansions and buildings and the homes of traders, and grain beyond calculation was actually stored. Many of the inhabitants of this place lost the honour (of their women). The governor of the place, who had 200 Gujar foot-musketeers, fought all day from his house, but at night vacated it. The Jats dug up the floors of all the buildings (for buried treasure) and utterly devastated it. The loss of the people passed beyond thousands to lakhs; houses were burnt. On the (eastern) bank of the Jamuna guns were planted and fired; all the balls fell on the houses along the (western) bank of the river. Some balls also fell inside the imperial fort into the palace (*mahal*) and some persons were killed; a crystal seat (*chauki*) in the diwan-i-khas was broken. The troops of Najib took refuge within houses, while Najib himself excavated an underground room in Buland Bagh, placing planks of wood and earth on its top, and resided within it in safety. In the entrenchments overlooking the bridge two guns were mounted with 200 Ru-helas placed under shelter of a wall one yard high. This day some residents of the city also were killed by cannon-balls.

The fighting went on in this way for 15 days. Every day in the early hours Jawahir and the subahdar Malhar

Rao used to ride out, drag guns to the edge of the river and shower balls, and at the setting of the sun used to return with the guns. Meanwhile, Jawahir Singh had been negotiating with the Sikhs for a long time past, and 82b the Sikhs arrived near. A force having been sent to the territory of Najib-ud-daulah by crossing the Jamuna, all the country up to the bank of the Ganges was brought into the possession of the Jats and Marathas; at some places outposts were established, or else all was plundered. The parganahs of Dasna, Ghazi-ud-din nagar, etc., as an old heritage, from their having been the *altamgha* of Firuz Jang, came into the control of Imad-ul-mulk.

Sikhs hired by Jawahir Singh

When the Sikhs arrived at Barari Ghat, 7 kos from the city and the river on that side was fordable, Jawahir Singh crossed it and went to interview the Sikhs. But here his relations with them did not become friendly. They hindered the driver of the elephant ridden by Jawahir Singh from coming to the assembly of interview. More than a hundred sardars, as arranged, came and interviewed (him.) The sitting of the conference took place in this manner :—

83a For their information. Ardas whom they called Guru cried out, “Jawahir Singh, the son of Suraj Mal, has come within the shelter of the Khalsa-jiu and become a Sikh of Nanak. He is demanding redress for his father’s blood.” This behaviour was disliked by Jawahir Singh. They also drove out the *huqqa*-bearer of Jawahir with insult and abuse. But he was in the utmost need (of Sikh assistance) and bore all this. It was settled (that) the Sikhs would prepare for fight and form trenches in the direction from which they had come, namely the north of the city; the subahdar and Jawahir Singh would fight as before from the eastern side; while Sikh horsemen would scour the country on the west, so as to cut off provisions from the city totally.

The fighting went on in this way for 20 days. Thereafter 10,000 men of the naked (Naga) Gosain order arrived from the eastern side, and through Gosain Umrao Gir were 38b admitted into the camp of Jawahir Singh, and money was fixed for their expenses. Grain became exceedingly cheap in the camp on account of the remission of the transit duty which Suraj Mal had imposed in his dominions, so

that the soldiers had to spend only 4 annas in the place of one rupee. And by reason of the desolation of the country (round Delhi) the only provisions came from his territory. Horse gram (*dana*) was available in great abundance, and the Maratha soldiers, who had been famished, fed and restored their horses to excellent condition.

Four months passed in this way, and the scarcity of provisions within Delhi city reached the extreme point. Poor people mostly removed themselves from the city by way of the bridge and came to the (Jat) encampment with their women and children, and from that place went wherever they could find their way. The troops of Najib-ud-daulah were hard pressed and he had no money left for them. Najib sent Gulab Singh Gujar with 150 troopers ^{84a} to cross the Jamuna at night three *kos* from the (enemy's) camp, go to Najibabad, which was five days' journey from Delhi and on the further side of the Ganges, tie 500 gold coins of the treasure of Najib round the waist of each trooper and bring the money (to Delhi). Although the entire Doab was desolate and wherever there was any habitation an outpost of the Jats had been planted, yet the Gujar started by this route at night; in the day time he used to remain concealed among the Dhak, i.e., the *Palash* jungle. Up to ten *kos* of the enemy's army he kept to the Dhak jungle. Near sunset he openly passed by the camp-bazar of Jawahir Singh, walking slowly; none detected them as the Jats and the Gujar have the same features. Then he passed by the Khizirabad ghat, which was close to the enemy's army and the *garhi* of Khizirabad ^{84b} on the side of the river where there was an outpost of Jawahir Singh, and finally entered the city of Delhi. Najib highly praised him, but he felt great distress for want of provisions.

Ruhela-Sikh contest outside Delhi

Every day the Sikh troopers used to ride out and enter the old houses which lay desolate, near the garden of Yaqub Ali Khan on the river bank,—such as the mansions of Namkin and Hafizuddin Khan, and the Badalpura and other *mahallas*, and wished to come towards the city walls. Najib, leaving men at different places in the trenches near the river, himself with a force of horse and foot and his kettledrums mounted on elephants, etc., came out by the Lahori gate, posted his men each under the cover of some

ruined house or lane, while he himself sat down on a stone.

- 85a The Ruhelas engaged the Sikhs with their matchlocks. The musketry fight continued briskly till two *gharis* after nightfall. Mian Niaz Gul, a risaladar of Najib, was wounded with a bullet. The Ruhela infantry plied their muskets (*bargandazi*) well. Najib told his men to fire their rockets wherever the Sikh horsemen were standing crowded into a knot, so that they were scattered by the rockets. At some places fighting took place and many Sikhs were wounded. About the time of sunset, a Sikh who wore silver armour, fell down from his horse, and the Sikhs wished to carry his corpse off, while the Ruhelas, desiring to seize his property, attempted to detain the body. Here the battle raged furiously, three Ruhelas were slain and seven wounded ; while many of the Sikhs
- 85b also were wounded. At last the Ruhelas with drawn swords dragged the corpse away. A pouch was found in his belt, containing gold coins valued at Rs. 1,000. In this manner fighting with the Sikhs went on for nearly one month. At three *pahars* of the day Najib-ud-daulah used to come out of the city, and the Sikhs also and some of Jawahir's troops sent for aiding them used to arrive on the scene, and they used to fight till sunset. After sunset, each party went back to its camp. Besides these, from the side of Malhar Rao and Jawahir Singh, who were on the eastern side (of the Jamuna) there used to be a hot artillery fire. From Najib's trenches also cannon balls used to come. One day the horse of Euz Beg, a Mughal
- 80a artillery-man of the army of Najib, was killed by a shot. Next day taking a gun in his hand, he fired at the elephant carrying Jawahir Singh's flag and the shot passed through its throat and the elephant remained (behind).

Jawahir's Gosain allies fight well

Jawahir Singh became greatly distressed and said : " The Maratha has taken a large sum from me, but is not at all giving his heart to the fight." The Gosain told him, " Today I shall go forth with the Nagas and do what can be done by us." So he rode out, taking all the Nagas and his own troops and (some men) of Jawahir Singh, crossed at a ford, and took post in the mansion of Hafizuddin Khan. The men of the Gosain spread out and in separate bands, with rockets and muskets, and began to enter (the city ?) Their horsemen came on behind them. The news reached Najib ; he at once came to the spot, stood, and

saw that that day rockets were being largely fired and the Nagas, all carrying muskets, had come near, and that reinforcements of horsemen were coming behind them. 80t He told his men, "Don't advance, lest you should be uselessly destroyed." Many (of his) men were wounded. At last Sadat Khan Afridi made a (sudden) charge upon the Nagas; ten or twenty of the Nagas were wounded or slain, and the rest took to flight. Just then the crowd (*ghul*) of Mughalias and Nasir Khan Irani rapidly came upon them from another side. The Nagas who were within the house of Hafizuddin Khan found it difficult to come out. The Ruhela infantry fell upon them from all four sides, and they clean took to their heels. Then came the turn of the Gosain troopers and the soldiers of Jawahir Singh, whom the Ruhelas brought under the fire of their rockets; and they all took the straight road to their camp. The sky grew dark. The troopers slowly recrossed the 87t river with the Gosain captains and reached their camp.

Imad and Malhar lukewarm towards Jawahir

When Jawahir Singh saw that the work was not done with the help of the Sikhs, and would never be done by the Marathas, and (the Gosains) too had failed in their undertaking, he decided to deliver a charge in person that day. He went to Imad-ul-mulk and said, "Sir, you are the senior (*buzurg*) and chieftain of Hindustan, and have influence over the mind of subahdar Malhar Rao. Besides, Najib-ud-daulah was your servant and has displayed so much faithlessness and turned you out of your possessions and made himself the master of the (*imperial*) Government. My father had given you place in his house. I have girt up my loins to wreak vengeance for my father's blood, and I am also promising to you with oaths that I shall give you high offices. I have paid large sums to the subahdar, and have undertaken the burden of meeting the 87t daily expenses of the Sikhs. Fifty-thousand horse and foot are my own household army. If you and the subahdar turn your attention to it, my work can be achieved."

Imad-ul-mulk outwardly replied in terms agreeable to the desire of Jawahir, but he was at heart extremely angry for certain reasons, namely, first, Jawahir Singh's sitting on the throne greatly displeased him, secondly, Jawahir wished that after victory he should seize for himself the city and fort of Delhi. Many other designs, far removed from wisdom, were cherished in the brain of Jawahir

Singh. The subahdar too was displeased at heart with his acts. These two chiefs agreed together in the policy that Najib-ud-daulah ought to be preserved and that the dominance of this man (Jawahir) was not good for the future, as he would become extremely powerful. For this reason, the two men made a compact and arranged that a secret agent should go and negotiate with Najib-ud-daulah and lay him under an obligation.

Secret negotiations between Imad and Najib

Accordingly, the author of these lines was selected for this mission. At that time it was very difficult to enter the city, because every man who wished to enter the city, if he was mounted, was fired at by the Ruhelas from a distance with musket and rocket, and if he was a poor (pedestrian) he was not allowed by the Gosains to go to that side saying, "Famine is raging there. On what business are you going there?" If a man of position tried to enter Delhi, Jawahir Singh would at once slay him and his master would be talked to. In spite of these difficulties, the author at the bidding of both these chiefs, at night, in the company of the infantry who were in the *garhi* of Khizirabad, crossed the river Jamuna, travelling for six miles on foot with only a half-sleeve and cap on his person. When I arrived near the *garhi* I remained outside its gate with one companion in the fallen buildings. When two *gharis* of the night still remained, I took the road towards the shrine of the Sultan-ul-mashaikh (Nizamuddin Auliya), and arrived there one *ghari* after dawn. Remaining hidden in the shrine, I sent word to Najib-ud-daulah. Going from that place to inside the city walls was somewhat difficult, but by the grace of God I went into the city, spent the day in hiding in the house of an acquaintance, and at night interviewed Najib and told him all these facts. Najib replied, "I have heard from a secret source that the Nawab-Wazir had strongly requested the subahdar in my favour. I have been from olden times his follower, and even now regard him as my master." He gave a written letter (to me). I told Najib next day, "You tell the men in your trenches to let me go outside." When, after crossing the bridge, I came outside, I changed my dress, concealed myself among the men who used to flee from the city by reason of hunger and come to the Jat camp, and thus arrived in our own army and reported everything to the Nawab-Wazir. He was highly pleased,

Jawahir's last battle with Najib

Next morning Jawahir Singh himself with all his army crossed the Jamuna. Najib-ud-daulah sallied forth on his side and took post at the Pillar of Firuz Shah. A great battle was fought in the imperial Ramna (park). Imad and the subahdar both gazed at the spectacle from the bank of the Jamuna. Near sunset, Jawahir Singh went ^{89b} back. The fight with muskets raged well and they even engaged with their swords, but the assault on this side failed. Men told Jawahir Singh, "Why are you making this haste? The supply of grain has been now totally cut off (from Delhi). Najib would perish of himself. And if he in helplessness comes out to fight in the open, we shall finish his business."

At this time, in the seventh year of Shah Alam, 1178 A.H., the news became very hot to the effect that Ahmad Abdali having come to Peshawar was intending to cross the river of Attock. Subahdar Malhar Rao told Imad ^{90a} that it was not advisable to stay there any longer. Next morning he sent off his family with that of the Nawab-Wazir towards Agra, telling them to cross the river at Mathura and reside in the Mian Doab. Next morning Jawahir Singh asked him, "What is this? Now that the business of Najib has reached its conclusion, why are you taking this step?" The subahdar replied, "You do not understand (the situation). Ahmad Shah Abdali has now come, and you and I can do nothing. It is better that by a friendly understanding we return to our homes. Thereafter let whatever may happen happen."

Peace made with Najib

A second time the Nawab-Wazir sent me publicly to Najib. The Jat wakil, named Rupram Kothara, by the ^{90b} advice of the subahdar, also began parleys for peace. I made Najib write on the holy *Quran* a promise of friendship and co-operation with Imad, and brought it to him. Although Jawahir Singh was totally disinclined towards peace, he found himself helpless, and at the word of the subahdar agreed. Malhar Rao, laying Najib under an obligation, and seeing that the Durrani was coming in haste, fixed a day very promptly, brought Najib to the quarters of Jawahir Singh (19 Feb. 1765) where the customary courtesy, etc., was shown. On the third day, Imad went to the tent of Najib. When he crossed the

Jamuna, Najib started in a *palki* from Buland Bagh, which was his encampment, journeyed in the *palki* and ^{91a} bowed to Imad. He had no elephant with him. Imad-ul-mulk was riding an elephant with a covered litter (*amari*), while Malhar Rao was seated on the other side of it, and the author was in the back seat (22 Feb. 1st of Ramzan).

He mounted Najib on the elephant that carried his own *hauda* and gave him both that elephant and its *hauda*. When they arrived at the tent, Najib performed all the rites of entertainment and presentation of gifts, with horse, elephant, jewels, *attar*, to every one of Imad's companions, such as Balabash Khan, Mir Kalan Khan, the author, Ghulam Askari Khan, Abdur Rahman Khan, Mahdi Quli Khan, etc. As it was Friday Imad said that the two should go for the congregation prayer to the Jama mosque of Delhi. Najib replied "Very well. I shall be present." Imad added, "You know very well that I shall not ^{91b} insert the name of Shah Alam in the *Khutba*." Najib replied, "You are a great man. Do what is proper." Imad rejoined, "If any one reads the *Khutba* in his name, I shall not attend."

In short, Najib and Imad rode on one elephant, sitting side by side. As Najib had for a long time past been used to sitting in the back seat of Imad's elephant, all the city now saw that this very Najib-ud-daulah who had once been Imad's servant was now seated side by side with him. When we reached the Jama mosque, Najib told me, "Instruct the Khatib not to put Shah Alam's name in the *Khutba*." I spoke to the Imam in a low tone. He flamed up in anger and said that he would ask Amir-ul-umara ^{92a} (i.e., the Mir Bakhshi, Najib). Coming up to Najib, he wanted to argue, but Najib angrily cried out, "What dispute is there in this matter?" The man, thus learning the wish of Najib, recited the names of the past Emperors from Akbar to Muhammad Shah and there ended the *Khutba*.

Jawahir's allies disperse

As news came of Ahmad Shah approaching nearer every day, the subahdar and Jawahir Singh were distracted by terror. The Sikhs, on the day that they heard that he had arrived near Lahor, went away all at once without asking (for leave). Malhar and Imad marched by way of Anupshahar towards the Bangash country. Jawahir went

back to his own forts. Najib began to make preparations for going to Ahmad Shah. Letters came from Ahmad Shah to the effect, "I am coming soon with the Uzbek ^{92b} troops and Nasir Khan who has 30,000 horse with him, for *jihad* and slaughter of the infidels. Do not admit fear into your heart." At this time the news reached Ahmad Shah that Najib in fear had made peace with the Jats and the Marathas and that the latter would soon take the road to their homes. At this Ahmad Shah made forced marches, reached Sarhind in two days, and the *maidan* of Mustafabad (30° . 12° .N. 77° .13 E.) —Buana, which is 60 *kos* from Delhi in two days more. Here he learnt for certain that Najib had made peace and that the Jat and Maratha armies had marched away. At this Abdali became very much disappointed and wished to march back towards Qandahar. Najib made haste, issued from Delhi, and encamped at Ismailganj, when he learnt that Ahmad Shah was marching towards Lahor. The Shah reached Lahor by regular marches in ten days, and without stopping there even, crossed the river of Attock, and went towards Kabul and Qandahar.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAM ON THE CULT OF BHAKTI IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

WITH the coming of Islam to India, the Hindus were led to establish contact with a civilization quite new to them. The manifold activity of the Musulmans in India, as elsewhere, was so intense that the inhabitants were unable to ignore them. The moral principles and the human equality, the bases of Islamic Society, of necessity exercised an influence on the conceptions of their neighbours. The religious conditions were favourable to an unconscious penetration of Islamic into Hindu society. The defeat of Buddhism, which, to use an expression of Prof. Sylvan Levi,* was 'a reaction against the dryness of priestly doctrines' had restored the original Brahman rites. It is doubtful—the learned are not at one in this matter—whether Buddhism and Brahmanism ever struggled with animosity for spiritual supremacy in India. But it is certain that for almost a thousand years many of the Hindus had a system of beliefs which, though different from the Brahmanism which it reformed, was only an emanation of Brahmanism itself. But little by little the original cult, after undergoing many modifications, regained ground. At the time when the Musulmans reached India Brahmanism had completely triumphed over its former rival. To consolidate their influence the Brahmans made a compromise with Buddhist doctrines as well as with pre-Aryan superstitions. At that period just as to-day, Hinduism presented a blending of the ritualistic religion of the Vedic age, of the humanitarian principles of Buddha, and of the pre-Aryan superstitions of India.

Thanks to this teaching, so full and so varied, Brahmanism satisfied the mass of the people at the same time as those who were given to individual, independent reflection. Those who had neither the time nor the opportunity to cultivate their thought, received dogmas and symbols

* Sylvan Levi—*La Doctrine du Sacrifice dans les Brahmanas*, p. 4.

to worship. The works known under the collective name of Tantras describe the rites and the formulas destined for those who were incapable of appreciating the pantheistic metaphysics of Brahmanism. They believed in Symbols and worshipped images, just as they do to-day. It was by maintaining this pliancy of faith and of dogmas for the use of people of different levels that Brahmanism was able to be at once an intellectual and educative force and an instrument for the propagation of ignorance and superstition. Brahmanism had the fortune of having as principal interpreter the famous Shankaracharya, who systematised the philosophy of the Vedanta. We are not sure of the time at which he lived ! Certain scholars think it was in the ninth century A.D. He taught the absolute identity of the individual soul and the Brahman, the supreme cause of all cosmic existence, the unreality of the world of the senses, and gave the most complete exposition of the doctrines of the Vedanta. His interpretations, based on pantheistic doctrines, have exercised a profound influence on the religious attitude of the Hindus and have even entered into the texture of their mentality. He interpreted the Upanishads as teaching the immanence of all cosmic existence, the illusiveness of the objective world and the exclusive reality of the Brahman, the primordial verity, Creator and immanent at the same time. According to him, man, as all other phenomena, is only a manifestation of the Brahman, who is the very essence of all forms of existence. To all diversities and pluralities he gives the name of Maya.

It is not my intention to enlarge upon the pantheistic philosophy of Shankaracharya, but to draw attention to the fact that at the time of the arrival of the Musulmans in India, Hindu Society was divided between those who were plunged in an ignorance without parallel and the so-called intellectuals, who had no faith in any verity of life, and disputed among themselves about the subtleties of metaphysics. Brahmanism had become an essentially intellectual doctrine. It ignored the rights of the heart. The fundamental principles which it taught were old, impersonal and speculative. The people, who were always in need of an ethical and emotional cult in which it was possible to find both satisfaction of the heart and moral guidance, understood nothing of it. It was in these circumstances that the movement of Bhakti, devotion blended with love of God, found a favourable atmosphere.

The chief mark of this movement is the attitude of the soul with regard to the Supreme Being. Epigraphy shows that the word *bhakti*, as a technical term of religion, existed at the commencement of the second century before Christ,¹ and M. Garbe has noted its existence in Pali literature. The mention of the word *satvat* in the meaning of *bhagvat* in the *Santiparvan* and in the *Niddesa*, one of the most important Buddhist texts, shows that the need of adoring one God existed in India even before the Christian era.² The *Ekantika dharma*, the religion addressing itself to a single God in the *Bhagvatgita*, is but the first exposition of the doctrine of Bhakti.

Scholars have frequently discussed the origin of the ideas of Bhakti in India. According to the school represented by Weber, Bhakti, as the means and condition of spiritual salvation, was a foreign idea which came to India with Christianity and exercised a considerable influence on the Hinduism of the period of the great epics and of the Puranas.³ But the resemblances found between many symbols and practices of Christianity and Hinduism are too fortuitous and insufficient to allow of drawing general conclusions. The existence of small Christian communities in the South-West of India is not improbable, but it is doubtful whether these communities were ever able to exercise any deep influence on Hindu thought. The activity of Nestorian Missionaries, the evangelization of India by the Apostle Thomas, and the pious interest which Pantænus of Alexandria showed in the salvation of Hindu souls, are only legends without verifiable foundation. The teaching of the Gita and that of the New Testament, the doctrine of the Logos and that of Vak, the circumstances of the nativity of Christ and of Krishna, present, indeed, striking coincidences, but these can be explained without showing reciprocal influences. Of course facts and ideas do not exist isolated in the world, but in the course of their development they are able to produce phenomena which are at once original and similar. Bhakti is a phenomenon which is universal and human; it is Semitic as well as Aryan. It is the reaction of the heart against rigid intellectualism.

(1) *Indian Antiquary*, 1912, p. 14.

(2) Raychandra : *Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, p. 8.

(3) Sir G. A. Grierson is also of this opinion. See J. R. A. S., 1907, p. 811.

Another opinion, maintained by Barth, maintains that the movement of Bhakti was an indigenous phenomenon which had its roots in the religious thought of the Hindus. 'We have only to ask ourselves,' he says, 'whether India had to wait until the coming of Christianity in order, on the one hand, to arrive at monotheistic conceptions, and, on the other, to apply those conceptions to popular gods such as Siva and Krishna. To deny this, and we do not hesitate to do so, is to admit that Bhakti can be explained as an indigenous fact which was capable of arising in India, as elsewhere in the religions of Osiris, Adonis, Cybele and Bacchus, at its hour and independently of all Christian influence.'¹ And later, speaking of the resemblances which exist between Christian and Hindu symbols, he says :

'It is not therefore against the possibility of borrowing, but against the borrowing itself, that our objections bear. The dogma of the faith is not introduced as is an ordinary doctrine or a custom ; it does not allow itself to be detached from one religion and grafted at a distance upon another. In practice it is confused with the faith itself, and as this faith, it is inseparable from the God who inspires it. But M. Weber does not at all mean that in Krishna, in whom he has not traced either dogma of the Redemption or accounts of the Passion, the true source and substance of the Christian faith, India has ever adored Jesus.'²

Among others who are of the opinion of Barth, Senart is very explicit ;

'Bhakti has certainly in India very deep roots. It is much less a dogma than a sentiment, whose powerful vitality is attested all along the course of history and poetry. Already in the Vedic hymns the pious enthusiasm bursts into vibrant expressions of quasi-monotheism ; the passionate longing of the one penetrates the oldest metaphysics ; the Hindus, and even Aryans, were largely prepared to bow down before divine unities. Many super-human personalities must have emerged from the religious fermentation which was working silently under the traditional surface and which assisted, along with the blending of races, the increase of local traditions, and raised to the highest level figures such as Vishnu, Krishna, Siva, whether entirely new or renewed by their unforeseen importance. For this there was no need of any foreign

(1) Barth : *Oeuvres* I, p. 198.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 194.

influence.¹ We incline to the opinion maintained by Barth and Senart. Bhakti is not at all specifically Semitic. It is a sentiment everywhere diffused. It came to birth quite naturally when devotion turned to a single personal God. Bhakti, in the sense understood in India, is a devotion full of affections, and the traditions by which it is inspired belong to Aryan as much as to Semitic thought.

We do not possess sufficient data to prove whether there was, in the epic period, any exchange of ideas between the Nestorians and the Hindus. I have no intention of asserting that in its evolution Bhakti never underwent any external influence ; at all events after the arrival of Islam in India, as I shall show later, the religious point of view of the Hindus, though always based on old foundations, became considerably modified. The movement of Bhakti may easily be divided into two distinct periods. The first was from the time of the Bhagavatgita to the thirteenth century, the time when Islam penetrated into the interior of the country. The second period extends from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, an epoch of profound intellectual fermentation, the natural result of the contact of Islam and Hinduism. How and in what degree did the influence of Islam help the sentiment of Bhakti, which already existed in India, to become a doctrine and a cult ? Here we have a problem of very great historical importance, the correct solution of which is necessary to the understanding of the formation of modern Hindu civilization.

In its first development Bhakti was only an individual sentiment. The religion of Vasudeva was the natural expression of those who did not find spiritual and moral satisfaction in the intellectual and speculative system of the Upanishad, and whose souls were yearning for a personal God, more comprehensible than the impersonal God, without passion or moral feeling, of the pantheistic philosophy of the Brahmans. The doctrine of the *Panchatantra* and of the *Ekantika-dharma* of the Bhagavatgita is based on the idea that the affectionate worship of a god is a means of obtaining salvation ; but one cannot say that there are to be found there monotheistic systems of religion. In reality, the principal problem is to liberate the soul from low and selfish passions, and that by the intermediary relation of Bhakti towards Vasudeva, the

(1) Senart : *La Bhagavadgita*, Introd. p. 85.

(2) R. G. Bhandarkar : *Vaishnavism*, etc. p. 12.

supreme God. The Bhagavats later identified Vasudeva with Krishna, one of the authors of the Vedic hymns, to create a personal God. But the authors of the *Bhagavatgita*, who were themselves none but Brahmans, introduced into it the pantheistic conceptions of the philosophy of the Upanishads. We find there Narayana, the personal God, by the side of Antaryamin, the immanent being who is the motive force of the life of the universe ; also we see there the traces of the influence of the schools of Sankhya and of Yoga.

The philosophical contradictions of the *Bhagavatgita* show that the authors of that book, in spite of a strong leaning to the adoration of a personal God, were saturated with traditions of the classic philosophy of the Upanishads ; that their object was not to constitute a definite philosophical or theological system, but only to establish a compromise between the different schools of Hindu philosophy. The doctrine of Bhakti was the central point round which the different systems united to fight the Buddhist atheism. The compromise was effected in a manner which shows all the Brahmanic ingenuity. Bhagavats adopted the philosophy of the Upanishads and the principles of Yoga ; the Sankhya Yoga admitted the existence of a Single God.¹ This compromise was so much the more necessary since there existed at that time, between the different schools of philosophy, profound differences as to the explanation of Prakriti (Nature) and of Maya (Illusion).²

In spite of the elevation of the monotheistic sentiment which it expresses, the *Bhagavatgita* inclines towards pantheism. In many places it borrows not only the ideas but even the phraseology of the Upanishads. But it introduces also something of the warmth of Bhakti and attaches a particular value to the moral purpose of life. Narayana and Vasudeva, the only gods of the Bhagavats, often appear to disappear before the Brahman, the abstract and supreme deity of the Vedanta. Moreover the *Bhagavatgita*, far from showing itself hostile to the Vedas, so violently criticised by the Bhagavats of the middle ages, enjoined respect for them.

It recognises the *Bhaktimarga*, the way of devotion, and the *jñānamarga*, the way of knowledge, as two means of obtaining salvation. It is an exposition at once theist, pantheist, emotional and speculative.

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- (1) Grierson : *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 446
(2) Hopkins : *The Religion of India*, p. 400.

Later, in the *Bhagavatapurana* and in the aphorisms of Sandilya, two books which contain the teachings of the school of Bhakti, the attempt was made to introduce some emotion to lighten the heavy burden of ritual and dogma. As in the *Bhagavatgita* we find in those books tendencies at once pantheist and theist; however, the pantheist conception of life, a primitive and inveterate habitude of the Hindus, and the faith in the Vedas, are without doubt the most conspicuous traits of these works, which were written, as was the Gita, by authors who never deviated from the Brahmanic tradition. 'Every time that the old way of Veda proclaimed by Thee for the god of the world is obstructed by the bad ways of heresy, then dost thou assume the quality of goodness,' says the *Bhagavatapurana*.¹ And, with reference to Maya: 'This word, which is Illusion, an unceasing course of the qualities and ignorance, has no reality for Thee.'²

The aphorisms of Sandilya, which expound the doctrine of Bhakti under its various aspects, admit Maya and approve of the worship of images, those two essential principles of Brahmanism, the one destined for the intellectuals and the other for the mass of the people.³

So what strikes one in the first period of Bhakti is that we do not find there any heterodox teaching about the infallibility of the Vedas. The *Bhagavatgita* recognises the social system of castes.⁴ From the completion of the great epics to the arrival of Islam in India, the religion of the Hindus remained a blending of the two different tendencies, the pantheism of the intellectuals and the deistic polytheism of the people. We shall try to show how the deistic tendencies of Hinduism ended in monotheism, thanks to contact with Islam, a religion having as its basis the moral purpose of life.

It was in the eleventh century that Ramanuja gave a philosophic basis to the teachings of Vaishnavism. He represents the reaction against the advaita philosophy of

(1) E. Burnouf : *Bhagavatpurana*, p. 240.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 123 (see also pp. 192, 195, concerning Maya.)

(3) G. B. Cowell : *Aphorisms of Sandilya*, p. 89.

(4) Telang : *Bhagavatgita*, p. 22 (Introduction). ch. Bhagvatgita. IV, 13. 'I have created the division into four classes which distinguish the *gunas* and the duties which are peculiar to them.' E. Senart.

Shankaracharya, of which the commentary on the Brahmasutras had seduced the thought of all India. Ramanuja made in his turn a commentary on the Brahmasutras, refuted Sankara, and offered his own interpretation based on the theist idea. He systematised the emotional and theistic tendencies of Bhakti and determined the philosophy of Vaishnavism. Vaishnavism, at once philosophy and cult, underwent variations in the course of time. Nimbarka, who was the founder of the sect of Sanakadi-sampradaya, conceived the human spirit as distinct from the divine spirit, of which, however, it made a party. This theory was called Dvaitadvaitavada, or a dual unity. According to Ramanuja, the supreme spirit, or Vishnu, allows of two aspects : the Paramatma, which is the cause of all existence, and the Vissha, the attributes. There is only one Existence, that of Paramatma, the rest consists of his attributes, and they are real and permanent.

Ramanuja is a monist ; but, contrary to Sankara and his school, he does not believe that the Supreme God may be exempt from form and qualities. His doctrine of qualified monism, or Vasistadvaita, established the unity of God possessing attributes. According to him, there is no contradiction in the unity manifesting itself in external pluralities. He does not regard the cosmic appearance as false, but as an aspect, *prakara*, of God. The relation between God and the cosmos appears to him as that of the light and the objects illuminated. His teachings and the three schools of Bhaktimarga founded after him,—the Brahma-Sampradaya, the Rudra-Sampradaya, and the Sanakadi-Sampradaya, are superposed on the thesis of Sankara. According to these schools, the partisans of Sankara were *maya-vadin*, preachers of illusion.

Ramanuja, an orthodox Hindu performing all the rites enjoined, did not resemble certain reformers who came after him and who were influenced by Islam. Contrary to Kabir and his school, he never preached any heterodox doctrine implying disavowal of the authority of the Vedas and of Brahmanic traditions. The important thing, according to him, is meditation on God. The people attain to this by worshipping the images, and those who have no need of any intermediary by the inner concentration called *antaryamin*. He attaches much importance to the observation of religious ritual. The Ramanujas very scrupulously observe the rites of repast and the rules of caste. Their official language was Sanskrit, and the teaching was

strictly confined to the high classes of Hindu society. The Sudras had no access to their order. Only the Brahmans could be initiated. The success which this teaching had in India was of advantage to the later schools of Bhakti. As so often happens in history, Ramanuja, in spite of his conservatism, involuntarily prepared the way for the reformers who came after him.

Whether Ramanuja came under outside influence or not has been much discussed. Sir George Grierson believes that his monotheist tendencies were borrowed from Christianity. The conception of an eternal life, such as we find in Ramanuja, was, according to this scholar, a Christian idea.* He thinks, besides, that Ramanuja must have made the acquaintance of the Christian monks at Mylapore, where there was a Syrian Christian Church, and that all his ideas show the effects of this. This opinion does not rest on sufficiently sure data. It is true that Ramanuja was at first an adherent of the Advaita School of Sankara, and that he left it later; there is nothing to prove, however, that this change was determined by Christian influence. Besides, the Christian communities were insignificant and did not play any marked rôle in Hindu social life. It is very doubtful whether there was ever any real contact between the Hindus and the Christians in Mediæval India. But there are other circumstances which must not be neglected. Already the Vaishnavite Alvars and the Saivaite Adiyars (Hindu mystics of the South in the tenth century) had composed popular hymns (*prabandha*) marked by strong religious emotion. On the other hand, we must not neglect the increasing influence of Islam in Malabar and Guzerat. After the conquest of Sind, the Musalmans, as we have already seen, set themselves to colonise the Western coast of India. Their missionaries and their Sufis had converted to Islam many low-class Hindus. The commerce of the Arabian Sea, which before the arrival of the Portuguese was in the hands of the Arabs, was one of the principal causes of the Musalman immigration on the coast of Malabar. The Arab traders had established very good and cordial political relations with the Raja of Rashtrakuta, one of the most powerful Rajas of India, the contemporary and rival of Raja Bhoja of Kanauj. He reigned over a great part of Western India and over the Deccan. The Arab traders

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had commercial connections with the people of this country. During the reign of the Raja of Rashtrakuta many Arab families settled down in Malabar. They married women of the country and established themselves on the coast of Western India. The Moplahs of our time are the descendants of those Arab merchants who had built up a prosperous trade between India and the western world. These Arab merchants used to load up vessels with spices, incense, ivory, sandal and great quantities of cotton and silk, so much in demand in the western world. They had monopolized all seafaring trade between the East and the West until they were ousted by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century. The Nawait community of the Konkan and the Labbais of the east Tamil coast are also the descendants of Arab merchants who had established themselves in those parts of the country long before the Muslim conquest of India.

The Hindus also profited from the mercantile relations that these Arab traders had established between India and other markets of the world. The Zamorin of Calicut even went so far as to encourage the lower castes of Hindus to embrace Islam in order to be able to man his ships.¹ The influence of these trading Arabs must have been very effective, indeed, upon the people of lower castes who entered their service. This must have certainly gone a long way in transforming the social and economic life of the lower castes. Mas'udi, the famous historian of the ninth century, who travelled in India, mentions the Raja of Balhara who professed a great respect for Islam and protected the interests of Muslims in his realm. The same writer points out that all the Rajahs of this region lived unusually long. Whether this was his own opinion or whether he simply echoes popular beliefs, he attributed the longevity of these kings to their friendliness towards the Muslim subjects.² It may probably have been due to the fact that Muslims contributed a great deal to the prosperity and riches of the country they had adopted as their own. This received due recognition in the conciliatory attitude of the political authority towards them.

In the eleventh century, A. D. at the very time of Ramana-
nuja, the celebrated Muslim missionary, Abdullah, founder

(1) Arnold, *Preaching of Islam*, p. 66.

(2) Mas'udi, *Muruj-udh-dhahab*, I, p. 384 (Barbier de Meynard, Paris).

of the sect of the Bohras, made many conversions on the coast of Malabar and in Guzerat. This intense activity of Islam, a religion based on faith and devotion, should certainly have attracted the attention of Ramanuja and suggested to him certain reflections. We do not wish to affirm that Islam exerted a direct influence on Ramanuja ; the question, moreover, is a debatable one ; but it suffices here to have indicated certain historical facts and circumstances.

The most important moment of the religious history of medieval India was the creation of a new sect by Ramananda, a disciple of Ramanuja, the fourth of his successors, if one admits the list of the *Bhaktamala* : 1. Ramanuja. 2. Devacharya. 3. Haryananda. 4. Raghvananda. 5. Ramananda.

Most probably Ramananda must have seen the great progress of Islam in the north of India, during the reigns of the Khiljis and the Tughluks. The majority of the new converts willingly accepted Islam, since, as we have already said, it gave them higher social standing ; others did so under the pressure of political circumstances. In the course of his wanderings Ramananda must have acquired knowledge of Islamic ideas, and perhaps was unconsciously inspired by them. At all events, on his return to Benares they did not wish to have him any longer in the order to which he had belonged, and whose rigid practice he had criticised.

It was then that Ramananda founded his school and renounced all the irrational distinctions of caste. His disciples took the name of Avadhutas, the Detached, for they regarded themselves as detached from all sorts of religious and social superstitions. The substance of their doctrine is found in a verse attributed to Ramananda

“ It is useless to ask about the caste and sect ; one who worships God belongs to God.”

Ramananda and his disciples preached Bhakti in the language of the people, and that was one of the reasons of their popularity. Among his dozen disciples there were a Musalman weaver, Kabir, a currier, who was a member of one of the lowest castes, and a barber. The legends attached to the disciples show the popular character of this religious movement.

The teaching of Ramananda and his disciples created among the Hindus two distinct schools. The first, while

enriching Hinduism by the introduction of Bhakti, also preserved the authority of the Vedas. It did not wish to break with the tradition of the past. This school is represented especially by Nabhadasa, the author of the *Bhaktamala*, and by Tulsidas, the great poet who gave literary form to the religion of Bhakti. His poetry popularised the cult of Rama. In worshipping Ramachandra as the personal incarnation of the supreme God, this school raised the moral level of Hinduism. His teaching purged Hindu social life of the mystical sensuality inherent in the cult of Krishna, of which Nimbarka, Vallabha and Chaitanya were the most famous teachers. Vallabha in particular repudiated all asceticism, and preached, by means of mystic symbols, unlimited sensual enjoyment. This cult degenerated among the people, and took the form of an obscene worship of sex. The school of Ramananda, especially in the North of India, endeavoured to struggle against the demoralizing influence of Krishnaism.

Another school, also born of the teaching of Ramananda and represented by Kabirdas and some others, preached a religious system strictly monotheistic, taught the absolute abolition of caste, and cast doubt upon the authority of the Vedas and other sacred books. The followers of this school were essentially heretics. Not believing in religious authority, they were more accessible to foreign influence.* The school of Kabir sought to understand Islam and even to establish a syncretic system appropriate to the life of the Hindus. Its doctrine was sufficiently wide to incorporate the principles of Islam. It tended to create a religion common to the Hindus and the Muslims of India.

Thus, the arrival of Islam in India coincides with a powerful development of deistic sects which completely changed the religious outlook of the Hindus by introducing a personal and definite conception of God. By the nature of things Islam must have served as an intellectual stimulus to those who were repelled as much by the rigid formalism of rites and the tantric licentiousness as by the metaphysical subtleties of the Brahmins.

* All his disciples taught in the vernacular languages. Of the teaching of Ramananda himself there remains hardly anything but a few verses handed down by word of mouth. But it seems certain that he preached in the language of the people. It is to this innovation that one owes the creation of a literature in Hindi, which till then was regarded as a vulgar dialect, the only language of the learned being Sanskrit.

The monotheism of the poets and mystics of the fifteenth and following centuries is more definite and more ethical ; their religious experience is deeper, and they aspire to a universal religion, or at least to a religion which raises itself above caste. (J. R. S. 1908.)

The personality of Kabirdas or Kabir, as he is generally called, is as interesting as mysterious. All his life, from birth to death, is obscure. Indeed, apart from legendary and traditional accounts, there is scarcely any historical confirmation of his real existence to be found. When an abstraction is made of works of which he passes as the author, the first text which speaks of him is the *Janam Sakhi* of Guru Nanak, which forms part of the *Adi Granth*, the sacred book of the Sikhs, but which cannot be regarded as historical evidence in the precise sense of the term. The Musalman historians generally pass in silence the personality and the work of Kabir. It is possible that, being preoccupied, as was their way, with the military exploits of the conquerors, they were contemptuous of a movement essentially popular in its nature and its origin.

The only mention left on record is by Muhsin Fani of Kashmir, who lived in the seventeenth century. He devotes to Kabir some pages of his book. He also quotes certain traditions which he must have learnt from the Kabirpanthis, and bears witness to the lasting glory of Kabir. He says, "It is said that a group of Brahman scholars, sitting on the bank of the Ganges were praising the water of this sacred stream, which washes away all sins. In course of conversation, one of them became thirsty. Kabir raised himself from his place, and having filled a wooden bowl which he had with him, carried it to the Brahman. The water was not accepted, Kabir being a weaver, a man of low caste. Kabir observed : "You have declared that the water of the Ganges purifies the soul and the body from all impurity. But if this water is not even able to purify this wooden bowl, it does not deserve your praise."

"Another day," we read in the same author, "Kabir was watching the wife of a gardener, who gathered flowers to offer them to an idol. He said to her : 'In the petals of the flower dwells the soul of vegetation, and the idol to which you are going to make your offering is lifeless. The vegetal condition is better than the mineral condition. The idol to which you are going to offer flowers has neither feeling nor life. The vegetal condition is far superior.

If the idol has a soul it would chastise the sculptor who in carving it had to put his feet on its chest. Go ! venerate that which is wise, intelligent, and perfect.”*

It is also possible that the man known under the name of Kabirdas is a kind of collective creation which personifies the movement of ideas which owed its origin to the first contact of India with the thought of Islam. The popular imagination often gathers a crowd of legends around some name or other, and causes the rise of a personage to whom it communicates the intense life of its own aspirations and the tendencies of its own thought.

The name Kabir is Musalman. According to the legend wide-spread in Northern India, a region where his activity localised and where there still remain traces of his influence, he was the illegitimate son of a Brahman widow. To hide her shame, she threw the child into a pond called the Lohar Talao, at Benares. A Musalman weaver named Ali saw the little one, took pity on it and carried it home. His wife Nima had not borne him any children, so they adopted the rescued child. They took it to the Qazi, who consulted the Qur'an to find the name that should be given to the baby. The first word which struck the eyes of the Qazi was Kabir, and therefore the child, was called Kabir. The followers of Kabirdas say that he was born in the year Sambat 1455 (A.D. 1398). He must have been a contemporary of the Lodhi kings and seen the fall of the Pathan Empire and the establishment of Mogul authority in India.

It is said that he followed the profession of his adoptive father ; he makes allusion to it in his verses. He explains the mysteries of human existence in a symbolic manner and freely uses the terms employed by the weavers of Northern India even to-day.

‘Nobody knows the secret of the weaver who, after coming to this world, has spread his warp. The earth and the heaven are two holes he has dug ; the sun and the moon are two shuttles he has made, Kabir says : The weaver weaves good and bad thread according to his karma’ (Bijak, Ramaini 28).

Although brought up in a Muslim family, Kabirdas found the means to initiate himself in the sacred texts of the Hindus. In his early years he appears to have been

**Dabistan-i-Medhaheb*, p. 246 (printed Calcutta).

influenced by the teaching of Gosain Astanand, a Hindu saint of Benares, thanks to whom he learnt the religious philosophy and the traditions of Hinduism. When advanced in age he became the disciple of Ramananda, who, as we have already seen, separated himself from his colleagues on the question of the rigid rules of caste. Kabir was admitted to the company of the disciples of Ramananda, although certain of them were opposed to it, for their tolerance with regard to Hindus of low caste was not always extended to the Musalmans. However that may be, Kabir rallied to the sect of Ramananda. Some of his conceptions were heretical in the eyes of Ramavats, the followers of Ramananda, and of Hindus in general. But in spite of this divergence, he continued in the practice of Bhakti towards Rama, whom he did not believe to be distinct from Allah of the Musalmans. He adored him as the Supreme Being, the Saviour of the world and the personification of all goodness.

The chief aim of the teaching of Kabir was to find a *modus vivendi*, an acceptable means of reconciling the different castes and the religious communities of Northern India. He wished to abolish the caste system, as well as the antagonism of religions, based on blind superstition or on the selfish interest of a minority exploiting the ignorance of others. He desired to establish social and religious peace among the peoples who lived together, but who were separated from one another by religion.

According to his teaching, summarised in the *Bijak*, the book which holds authority on all that concerns Kabir and his system, he never thought to found a religion, as happened after his death. He only wished to give a syncretic fulness to the movement of Bhakti, which in his time had made a strong advance. Consequently he heartily welcomed those who shared his views of whatever religion they might be.

He thus established a group of disciples who admitted the representatives of different castes and religions, and whose ideas were marked by an originality quite peculiar. The system of Kabir is an attempt at a fusion of Islamic mysticism, bearing as its object an intense devotion to a single God, and Hindu traditions. The comprehensive breadth of his culture and his opinions appear as we shall see later, not only in his teaching but also in the fact that, though initiated into the sect of Ramavats, he remained in spiritual communication with a Muslim Sufi, Sheikh

Taqi of Jhusi, who had settled in the neighbourhood of Allahabad. Taqi was the son of Shaban-ul-Millat, and belonged to the Suhrawardiya order of Sufis. It was he, they say, who gave Kabir the spiritual power to efface the religious divergence between the Hindus and the Musalmans, and to weld them into one.

Hindu legends mention the Sheikh Taqi as an orthodox Muslim theologian who had a discussion with Kabirdas, who led him to recognise that certain dogmas and practices of the Musalmans were irrational.

The teaching of Kabir does not give preference to either Hindus or Muslims. He admires all that there is of good in the two cults, and condemns all that is dogmatic. He detests the sacerdotal spirit as well among the Brahmans as among the Muslim 'ulama. He cannot repress his indignation against the ignorance of those who imagine themselves to be the only ones who know the true way and the true God. According to him, the different appellations of God are only expressions of one and the same truth. He says :

' Brother ! From where have the two masters of the Universe come. Tell me, who has invented the names of Allah, Ram, Karim, Keshab, Hari and Hajrat ? All ornaments made of gold are made of a unique substance. It is to show to the world that two different signs are made, one is called Nimaz while the other is Puja. Mahadev and Muhammad are one and the same ; Brahma and Adam are one and the same. What is a Hindu ? What is a Turk ? Both inhabit the same earth. One reads the Veda, and the other Koran and the Khutba. One is a Maulana and the other a Pundit. Earthen vessels have different names, although they are made from the same earth. Kabir says : both are misled, none has found God.' (*Sabd*, 30).

Elsewhere he takes up the same subject :

' Rama, Khuda, Sakti, Siva are one. Then to whom do separate prayers go ? The Vedas, the Puranas and the Koran are only different manners of description. Neither the Hindu nor the Turk, neither the Jain nor the Yogi is cognizant of the secret.' (*Sabd* 28).

Religious differences are fortuitious. External and essential humanity is always the same.

'O Saints ! I have seen the ways of both. In their pride the Hindu and the Turk do not recognise me.... The way of the Hindu and the Muslim is the same. The Satguru has revealed this to me. Hear what Kabir says : Rama and Khuda are one and the same.' (*Sabd* 10.)

In denouncing religious symbols and superstitions Kabir shows favour neither to Musalmans nor Hindus. His criticisms of each of them are equally severe. The rites which constitute the two forms of worship seem to him equally vain ; it is in the heart that the true faith resides. The external forms conceal from the eyes of men the deep meaning of existence. He says :

'Allah and Rama are thine names. Thou art master full of misericorde. It is no use bending the shaven head to the ground ; it is no use washing your bodies with water The Hindu observes twenty-four fasts of Ekadasi while the Muslim observes his full month fast. If only one month is sacred, what about the other eleven months.' (*Sabd* 97).

'Saints, see how the world has gone mad. If I tell them the truth they run after me to beat me. The world believes in falsehood. I have seen those who observe punctiliously all the religious practices and ceremonies. I have seen those too who take bath every morning.... They worship idols of copper and stone. They have become mad by the pride of their pilgrimages.... The Hindu says that he worships Rama and the Muslim says that he worships Rahman. They die of disputing with one another. Both are ignorant of the secret. Kabir says, O Saints, listen ! All this is due to error and ignorance.' (*Sabd* 4).

The epoch at which Kabir is generally placed was one of much social and political animation. The first contact with the victorious Musalmans must have given to thought a new orientation and created among the peoples of Northern India a throng of difficulties. It is always the epochs of this character that upset all established values of life. The individual requires self-consciousness and protests against all rules and all stereotyped and traditional systems. Kabir represents this kind of school. Like his spiritual master Ramananda, Kabir believed neither in the Vedas nor in the Shastras. He held in doubt and called in question the spiritual efficacy of everything. The scriptural knowledge of whatever religion did not satisfy his longing

for truth and failed to meet the deepest needs of his soul. His criticism of the Kazi and the Pandit is the natural result of his own spiritual dissatisfaction. To him observation of rites does not bring salvation ; it only aggravates the distinction between people. He says :

‘ The Pandit has gone astray, although he punctiliously recites the Vedas. He is ignorant of the secret of his self. In the evening he makes ablutions and performs the six enjoined acts. His religion is only in externals. Since four ages of the Universe people recite Gayatri ; I should like to know if a single man has obtained salvation through it. If he touches anybody else he washes his person with water. Tell me, who in the world is inferior to you ? You had better abolish all distinctions of caste and seek the abode of Nirwana. ’ (*Ramaini* 35).

In a very sarcastic tone Kabir ridicules the exterior purity, and the defilement produced by contact with the ‘untouchables’ —customs which, even to-day are very common among high-class Hindus : He says :

‘ Tell me, what is pollution, if you believe in it. How does it arise ? There exist eighty-four hundred thousand vessels that will become earth. The whole world is sitting on the same bank ; from whom will you get pollution ? There is defilement in your repast and in the water you clean your mouth with. The entire world is created from pollution. Kabir says : those who do not associate themselves with Maya give up all talk about pollution. ’ (*Sabd* 41).

‘ O Pandit ! You reflect before drinking water.... Fifty-six times ten million descendants of Yadu (one of the ancestors of Krishna) and eighty-eight thousand Munis are immersed in it..... At every step prophets are buried and have become dust. In the form of fish, tortoise and crocodile the river is full of blood..... O Pandit ! You sit on the earth to take repast, but earth is polluted ! You better abandon the Vedas ; they create confusion of spirit. ’ (*Sabd* 47).

Kabir is categorical in that which concerns the abolition of the caste system. He regards it as arbitrary and unjust, and denounces it openly as no Hindu reformer before him had the courage to do. Hinduism has always been tolerant in the matter of metaphysical interpretations, however radical and novel they may be ; but it does not allow any innovation in its social system. It has been extremely

uncompromising on this point. Caste has been the central point of the system of Brahmanism and the characteristic feature of Hindu culture. In opposing it, under the influence of Islamic ideas, Kabir exercised a great influence on the social and religious history of Medieval India. He gives appropriate expression to the social fermentation caused in Hindu society by certain factors, evidently Islam being the most important one. Here are some examples, taken from the *Bijak*, in which Kabir denounces what is irrational and inhuman in the division of society, into castes as we have seen him condemn the division of people into Turk and Hindu races. He says :

‘ If you reflect on the origin of castes, they come into being from one and the same order. . . . How is it that one is born Sudra, and remains Sudra till his death ? . . . One makes a Brahmanic thread oneself and then puts it on. The world is thus in confusion. If thou art a Brahman, born of a Brahmani, why art thou not born in a different fashion ? If thou art a Turk, born of a Turkish woman, why wast not thou circumcised in thy mother’s womb. If you milk a black cow and a white cow and then mix their milk, will you be able to distinguish the milk of one and the other ?’ (*Ramaini*, 62.)

Again he says :

‘ Those who talk of high and low are drowned. They have perished. . . . There is one earth and only one potter, one is the creator of all ; all the different forms are fashioned by one wheel.’ (*Bipramatisi*.)

Kabir does not believe in the efficacy of pilgrimage to holy places. He says without any circumlocution that they are quite useless to the true spiritual life. He says :—

‘ By going to the pilgrimage you cannot save your souls, even if you give millions of diamonds as alms. . . . Kasi (Benares) and the barren land of Maghar are not the abode of Rama ; He resides in my heart. If Kabir dedicates his life to Kasi, what would be left for Rama ?’ (*Sabd*, 103.)

The doctrine of the Unity of God (tauhid) is more definite in the teachings of Kabir than in that of his predecessors. He believed in the Sat Purusha, the Eternal Truth which created the Universe and which is independent and without passion. According to him God is Eternal and Almighty. He believed also in the existence of Kal Purusha or Niranjana, a diabolical personage who

has the power to lead the true believers from the way of virtue. Neither the philosophy nor the classical theology of Hinduism knew these coexistent, personal and clearly distinct entities. They recall rather the opposition of Allah and Shaitan in the doctrine of Islam. He considers man to be the creative efficient of his actions, in that he himself is responsible for what he does, whether good or bad. The One God of Kabir whom he sometimes addresses as *Sahab*, is the source of all devotion.

Like *Tulsidas* and other *Bhagats* who came after him, Kabir worshipped Rama as the supreme God of all. Through the unity of God, he did much to elevate the social and moral level of Hindu society at the time. His ethical attitude towards life was a necessary concomitant of his transcendental belief in one God. This added religious force and sanction to moral obligations and equally tended to impart a moral aspect to religious belief and worship. In fact, Kabir attaches far greater importance to the problems of human conduct than to metaphysical quibblings.

Besides, though a stern moralist in his attitude towards life, Kabir always denounced the practices of the *Yogis*. He considered their practices as quite useless for leading a moral and religious life. He says : Ritual attitudes and prescribed practices serve no purpose, it is inner life which must be suffused by faith and reformed.

‘ Devotion does not consist in the contortions of the body. There are many who believe in the efficacy of these practices. They tell you one thing and their hearts are set on different things altogether. They cannot see God even in dream.’ (*Ramaini* 67.) Again he says :—

‘ The *Yogi* says that *Yoga* is the best form of worship. There is nothing to equal it. I ask the one with plaited hair, the one with a shaven head, and the one who is keeping an oath of silence, if they have thereby found perfection ’—(*Sabd*, 38.)

In the *Bijak* Kabir often speaks of *Maya*, but his idea of it differs in many points from the classical Brahmanic conception. This world, in its forms and names, is for him more than a simple appearance, but he does not recognise in it an eternal value, and therefore he asks his followers not to attach themselves closely to it. *Maya*, to him, is not an illusion superposed on the world of human conduct, as the classical doctrine maintained, but rather

a force of evil which alienates man from God. Kabir likens Maya to a clever beguiler, full of lascivious charm. She lies in wait for her victims and assumes a multitude of forms. She installs herself in the mind and spirit and distracts the righteous from the path of duty. What Kabir means by this symbol of Maya is not the usual domain of illusion expounded by classical writers. The real world, for him, is the domain of illusion only in the sense that man should not attach himself to it; the Eternal alone being rightly the object of his preoccupation.

The teachings of the Upanishads, of the Shastras and other sacred scriptures do not suffice, according to Kabir, to give spiritual satisfaction to believers. His own teachings and his life, as it is recounted, present a strong reaction to the philosophical spirit of the Brahmans. It does not follow that he did not appreciate the importance of metaphysical problems, which, in one sense or another, touch actual life. But he treated them, on his part, in an extremely simple manner, so that they might be understood even by the meanest intelligence. At the same time he does not shirk any difficulty in denouncing the ignorance of people who believe in all sorts of dogmas without understanding their true import.

The verses of Kabir on Bhakti present a style that is quite new in the literature of India. The style is at once simple, spontaneous and marked by a passion which does not seem really Indian. There is something Semitic in it. Though an apostle of universal tolerance, Kabir becomes uncompromising in defence of his own cherished ideas. He even sometimes abandons courtesy to criticise in very lively terms the abuses committed by the pandits and the Musalman "priests." Certain other traits deserve to be brought forward. Kabir, in the works attributed to him, does not refrain from employing such terms as Allah, Kalima, Rahim, Rahman, Saheb (God), and so forth. He also attempts to interpret in Hindu terms the conception of God peculiar to Islam. Ancient Sanskrit words like Kartar, Pratipala, Samrat take with him a very definite meaning of a personal God. The traditional conception of the Brahmanic triad is very far removed from the definite conception of a Single God whom Kabir never ceased to invoke; even the names of the Hindu divinities and terms like Karma and Mukti take in his mouth quite a new sense. He was thus the first to popularise in India the terms and conceptions peculiar to Islam.

Nothing seems to have been more contrary to the teaching of Kabir than the division of mankind into sects and denominations. Yet, after his death, which took place at Maghar, in the district of Gorakhpur a violent dissension arose between his disciples on the question of what to do with his remains. The Musalmans wanted to bury him, while the Hindus demanded that he should be burned. It is said that, to put an end to their dispute, the body of Kabir disappeared. Nothing remained of him under the shroud but a handful of flowers which the Musalmans and the Hindus divided ; the former buried their share at Naghdar which became after that the centre of the Musalman Kabirpanthis, the others, whose leader was Raja Bir Singh, burnt theirs at Benares, at the place now called Kabir-Chaura.

A new cleavage among the followers of Kabir was produced when Dharmadas one of the chief disciples of Kabir, founded his Math at Bandogarh, in the neighbourhood of Jubbulpore.*

From Kabir sprang a galaxy of reformers who preached their ardent faith in a personal God and a moral law that rules the world. That which characterises them all is their anti-intellectualism, as well as their critical attitude towards orthodoxy. They all preached against the rigidity of the caste system and proclaimed the equality of all men in the eyes of God. Nanak, Dadu, Namdev, Dharmadas, Raidas, Chaitanya and Mirabai preached the doctrines so admirably put forward by Kabir. They popularised his teachings in different parts of India. It was the spirit of Islam, so to speak, that blew the ardent breath of life into ideas till then reserved for a privileged elite. It is not a mere chance that most of these reformers of Medieval India were of lowly origin. If there is in the doctrine of Islam a principle to which it has remained invariably faithful until our days, it is indeed the principle of the equality of men whatever be their social conditions : of this Muslim prayer gives a touching proof. It is a matter worthy of

*The first foreign writer whose attention was attracted by the sects of Kabirpanthis was the priest Mares Della Tomba, a Jesuit Missionary who visited India in 1716. He translated a text entitled *Juan Sagar*, which was, according to him 'the book of the Kabirpanthis' (*libro de Cabiristi*), also another which he calls 'the Mul Pangi' and which is probably *Mul Panthi*. See *Mines de L'Orient*, Vol. 3 pp. 808-817.

note that Islam has succeeded, to a high degree, in upholding this principle even in India, a country of castes and of a rigid social hierarchy, and at the same time in stimulating and producing a great transformation in the manner of men's thoughts and feelings.

YUSUF HUSAIN.

SARMAD

HIS LIFE AND QUATRAINS

PERSIAN poetry before the introduction of the mystic element was generally non-individualistic and objective. The *Qasida* was indeed developed on a rather elaborate scale, but it was poetry faked for mercenary ends. The *Tashbib* or the lyric prelude, even when it was adroitly tagged on to the rest of the *Qasida* seldom formed part of an organic whole. The *Masnawi* which came next, was but narrative poetry interspersed with descriptive passages. The *Ghazal* was more subjective but, fettered by the conventions of Muslim society, it assumed rather a depraved tone. The lover of the Arab poets was chivalrous, fearless and true, but the lover of Persian poetry sought his love through power or pelf or self-abasement. The beloved in Arab poetry was a beautiful maiden, who admired manly courage and was jealous of her modesty, but the beloved of Persian poetry believed in tormenting the lover to get the most out of him.

Such in brief was the outlook of Persian poetry before the finer sensibilities of mystics transformed almost all the types of Persian poetry. Sufic thought was surcharged with love of Eternal Truth, of Eternal Beauty and of Eternal Goodness. The Almighty was the Beloved. No submission to His will could be interpreted as abject humiliation. The desire for His attainment could not be attributed to earthly passion, and between His lovers there existed not jealousy but a community of sentiment. Each one of His lovers wondered at and admired the great secret of His 'manifest yet hidden beauty.' No doubt the influence of philosophic thought tended to make early mystic poetry abstract; but the subjective element was all the time wedded to the expression of such abstract ideas as 'the Being the Soul, the why and wherefore of all existence.'

Along with the advent of mysticism, another type of Poetry came into its own. This was the *Ruba'i* which for several decades was used by Sufic poets as their chief vehicle of expression. Sultan Abu Sa'id Abul-Khair, a contemporary of Sheikh Bu Ali Sina, was the first Sufi who employed the *Ruba'i* to give expression to his mystic thought. He died in the eleventh century A.D. and was followed by such eminent Sufi poets as Hakim Sanai Ohduddin Kirmani and Khwaja Fariduddin Attar. At this time an event of very great importance took place. The Tartars shook the entire structure of the Muslim world. Many a king was dethroned and killed. Many a kingdom was devastated and ruined. The contemporary human eye saw all this ruthless annihilation and realized that all was transitory. This bloody vision gave an impetus to mystic poetry and mysticism, which have for their basic principles an unshakeable faith in the controlling forces of destiny, in the transitoriness of worldly glory, in the utter submission of the self to the will of the Almighty, and finally in the realization of self in and through the love of God. As a result of this a larger number of mystic poets flourished in this age than in any other. Maulana Rûm, Ohdi, Erâqi, Maghrabi and a host of other minor mystics lived in the years that followed the turbulent days of the Tartar invasion. Henceforth, mystic poetry held undisputed sway over the human heart. It purified and embellished not only the Persian language but also the various types of its poetry. The *Qasida* went nearly out of fashion. Maulana Rûm, Maghrabi, Erâqi and Sahabi never attempted it. Strictly conventional *Masnawi* also went out of vogue for the simple reason that in its introductory sections after the *Hamd* and the *Na't*, it was customary to praise the king.

It is not my aim to survey the influence of mysticism on Persian poetry as a whole, nor do I mean to analyse the theory and practice of mysticism itself. My sole object is to make it clear that nearly all the Sufi poets took to the *Ruba'i*, after partially discarding other types of poetry which had become associated with mundane and sometimes sordid themes.

The list of Sufi poets who lived from the eleventh to the eighteenth century is indeed a long one. Most of them have written excellent *ruba'is*. I am here concerned with only one of them, and what I have to say in this essay

falls under two heads : firstly, the life and character of Sarmad ; secondly, his *Ruba'iyat* as they have come down to us.

I

It is important that readers who seek information concerning the life and character of Sarmad should realize how little is known definitely about him, notwithstanding the enormous popularity which Sarmad enjoys amongst the martyrs of the early period of the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir. Much of what has been written about Sarmad is deplorably uncritical, and I do not believe I need to offer any apology for treating the subject in a scientific spirit. During and even after the reign of Aurangzeb, the entire bulk of *Tazkara* literature was produced by men whose interest did not go beyond the mere mention of a poet's name and giving a few samples of his poetry. Sarmad figures in almost all of these *Tazkaras*, but they do not in any way, improve our knowledge of Sarmad ; so much so that we cannot even find his name from these sources. Mirza Mohammad Kazim in his *Deh Salah*, the writing of which was stopped by royal order, says nothing about Sarmad ; even Mustaid Khan in his *Maasir-i Alamgiri*, which was written during the reign of Shah Alam (and which incorporated *Deh Salah*) has not made the slightest mention of Sarmad. Probably this is due to the fact that the Mughal invasion of Bihar and Assam took place in the same year in which Sarmad was beheaded for his so-called atheism (1659 A.D.).

There are only three books which have anything at all to say about him and it is on these that we must base all our knowledge of Sarmad. The first is *Mirat ul-Kheyal* by Sher Khan Lodhi, a contemporary of Aurangzeb who had no connection with the Royal Court. A manuscript copy of *Mirat ul-Kheyal* which was transcribed in 1137 A. H. has been most kindly lent to me by K. B. Maulvi Zafar Hasan of the Archæological Department. The second is *Riaz ush-Shu'ara* written by Ali Quli Khan Daghistani, a noble of the Court of Mohammad Shah and a poet and critic of no mean accomplishment and integrity. Lastly there is *Dabistan-i Mazahib*,* the authorship of

**Dabistan-i Mazahib*, Dr. Rieu ascribes the work to Mubad Shah and has given a very learned and satisfactory account of the author,

which has not yet been authentically established, though the overwhelming internal evidence from the book leads one to believe that it must be the work of a contemporary author who knew important persons and places of his time rather well. To my mind it appears that these three books clear the ground and define the limits within which a solid reconstruction of Sarmad's life can be attempted. These limits, I have to admit, are exceedingly narrow and create no occasion to speak at length and with certainty about many a point in the life of Sarmad and yet there is nothing more beyond the very meagre internal evidence which the *Ruba'iyat-i Sarmad* offer to the reader. For these reasons, in the present state of our knowledge, the personality of Sarmad must be regarded as an almost inscrutable problem.

The author of *Dabistan-i Mazahib*, in his discourse on the religion of Jews says that "the¹ author had not the chances of keeping company with the wise and the learned amongst the Jews and whatever could be found in the books of non-Jewish authors about their (Jewish) faith could not be relied upon because intolerance often paints a false picture. But in the year 1057 A.H. when I reached Hyderabad Sind, I cultivated the acquaintance of Mohamad Sa'id Sarmad who originally came of the learned of the Jews, from a sect who are known as Ribbanî and who (Sarmad) after learning the principles of Jewish faith and studying Torait became a Musalman." This quotation establishes definitely that the name of Sarmad

his life, etc. In the subscription of the British Museum copies, the work is respectively ascribed to Mulla Muhammad Amin and Mir Dhulfaqr Ali ul-Husayni, surnamed Mubad Shah. Mohsin Fani, to whom it has been generally ascribed, is only named, in some copies, as the author of a *Ruba'i*, found at the beginning of the work.

(۱) نامه نگار ربا یهودیان و دانشمندان راجیا را ایشان اتفاق
 صحبت نیفتاد و آنچه در کتب اغیار بود از عقاید ایشان بدان ملتفت
 نمی گشت - زیرا که خصم کاست و نارا ست بر دشمن بندد - اما در
 سال هزار و پنجاه و هفت چون بحیدرآباد رسید با محمد سعید
 سرمد آشنا شد - و او در اصل از نژاد دانشوران یهود است -
 از گروهیکه ایشان را ربانیون گویند - بعد از اطلاع بر عقاید ربانیون
 و قرآت توریت مسلمان شد - دبستان مذاهب .

after his conversion to Islam was Mohammad Sa'id. What his Jewish name was, no one can tell. In most anthologies, the various compilers have prefaced the sample of the poetry of Sarmad as 'Sa'ida-i Sarmad' which probably is due to the fact that these compilers used a portion of the name of Sarmad, i.e., Sa'id, as the title of a selection from Sarmad's poems.

The author of *Mirat ul-Kheyals* says that "Sarmad was originally from Faringistan (Europe) and was an Armenian."¹ Valah Daghistani, in *Riaz ush-Shu'ara*, goes a step further and adds that "his native place was Kashan."² In the absence of any other evidence we have no reason to doubt any of these statements which are not contradictory, and can accept the fact that the emigrant ancestors of Mohammad Sa'id Sarmad were European Jews and that they had migrated to Armenia : and that Sarmad became a Musalman, and that prior to his coming to India he lived in Kashan.

None of the *Tazkaras* except *Dabistan-i Mazahib* has anything to say about the education which Sarmad received, although there is unanimity on the point that Sarmad was really a learned man, thoroughly conversant with Arabic. *Dabistan-i Mazahib* says that "he studied philosophy under such learned professors of Persia as Mulla Sadra and Abul Qasim Qandraski and a host of others."³ The above quotation is a positive proof of Sarmad's learning and erudition, which adds strength to my view that a Jew who had descended from the priestly class and who had studied the sacred books of the Jews would not have changed his faith without first making a comparative study of religions, which incidentally shows that Sarmad was a really fearless person who translated his convictions into action. He certainly was born of rich parents and could afford a more expensive education than was within the reach of the average person.

(۱) امش از فرنگستان وارمنی بود - مرآة الخیال

(۲) وطنش کاشان است - ریاض الشعراء

(۳) حکایات در خدمت خردمندان ایران چون ملاصدرا و میرزا

ابوالقاسم قندرسکی و جمع دیگران خواند - دبستان مذاهب

I have just said that he came of rich parents and to the reader this might possibly appear a rather audacious assumption on comparatively little data. It would indeed be so, were I not able to substantiate it from the fact, that he came to India as a merchant. *Dabistan-i Mazahib* says that 'eventually according to the custom of merchants he came to India by the sea-route.'¹ In the palmy days of the Mughal Empire most of the rich traders with valuable merchandise used to seek the Mughal Court where their wares not only fetched high prices but where the traders themselves received rich rewards for the fine taste they exhibited in the choice of those unique and priceless samples of art and craft which comprised their merchandise. And who but a wealthy merchant could afford to do this type of business? Indeed Sarmad was one of those numerous merchants, poets, painters and learned men for whom the grandeur of the Mughal Court had a great attraction. He reached India by the sea-route and landed at Thatta—a well known place in those days. And *Dabistan-i Mazahib* says, "when he (Sarmad) reached the town of Thatta, he fell in love with Abhai Chand—a Hindu boy and withdrew his hand from all things (of the world) and went nude like the Hindu ascetics."²

The fact "that the father of that Hindu boy on finding out the purity of Sarmad's love took him into his house and the boy also got so much attached to Sarmad that he never could leave him, and studied Torait and Zaboor and other Gospels from Sarmad,"³ is an indication of that mental and spiritual phenomenon when a seemingly insignificant stimulus may bring mysterious forces into action. This incident closed a chapter in Sarmad's life—that of a trader—and opened up a new phase with which I shall concern myself henceforward.

(۱) انجام بر آئین تجار از راه دریا عازم سفر دهند شد دبستان مذاهب

(۲) چون بشهر تبتہ رسید - عاشق ابھی چند ہندو پسرے شد و دست

از ہمہ چیز ہا باز داشتہ چون سناسیان برہنہ مادر زاد بر در

معشوق الخ

(۳) پدر مطلوبش بعد از اطلاع پا کئی عشق سرمد سرمد را بخانہ

خود راہ داد و پسر نیز بہ او تعلقے ہر سنانید کہ اصلا ازوے نمی

تواند جدا شد - و توریت و زبور و صحایف دیگر ہمہ را از

سرمد خواند .

It is one of the most splendid yet sinister fascinations of life that we cannot trace to their ultimate sources all the storms of influence that play upon the frail craft of an individual's existence. Sarmad had come out to India to add to his worldly wealth, and when he did reach India, he threw away all his worldly wealth and all his worldly wisdom. As I have stated above, he took up his abode in a Hindu family, with the parents of Abhai Chand. This boy, about whom hardly anything is known, studied languages and the Scripture under Sarmad and "translated a chapter from Torait into Persian and the author (of *Dabistan-i Mazahib*) after having it reviewed by Sarmad, and after having injunctions thoroughly corrected and marked, incorporated it with this chapter."¹ The chapter referred to in the above quotation is quite a long one and as far as I can judge, its language shows that the writer had acquired a thorough grasp of Persian. In the easy and smooth flow of his style, Arabic words and phrases are so deftly blended that they impart terseness to his sentences and grace to his diction. This Hindu boy must have cultivated a great taste for Persian because, apart from this prose specimen of his, we find also a verse of his which the author of *Dabistan-i Mazahib* has given in his book. There is nothing very remarkable about the verse, but it shows the religious outlook of the Hindu boy who lived and studied under Sarmad's affectionate guidance. It is: "I obey the Quran, I am a Kashish and also an ascetic; I am a Rabbi Jew, I am an infidel and I am a Musalman."²

Sarmad stayed in Thatta for quite a long time—how long, no one can say definitely. Towards the close of Shah Jahan's reign, he had reached the Gangetic plain. I think his wanderings took the natural course of a tourist of those days and he eventually reached the great metropolis of the Mughals about the year 1654. Dara Shikoh the heir-apparent was according to the usual custom, the governor of the metropolitan province while the other brothers governed distant provinces of Deccan and Bengal. It is a pity that our historians have not yet paid proper attention to the life and work of Dara Shikoh, who

(۱) ابھی چند پارہ از توریت بفارسی ترجمہ کردہ - نامہ نگار آرا
برسرمد مقابلہ کردہ - سرا سر آیتش را تصحیح دادہ - نشان
گذاشته داخل نامہ کرد

(۲) ہم مطیع فرقانم - ہم کشیش و رہبانم - ربی یہودانم - کافر م -
مسلمانم - داستان مذاہب

from all available testimony was a Prince of very rare gifts. He was one of the most learned men of his age and his chief interest lay in the comparative study of religions. When Dara Shikoh came to know of Sarmad, he lost no time in inviting him to his court. Sher Khan Lodhi in *Mirat-ul-Khiyal* says, "As Sultan Dara Shikoh had a liking for the company of lunatics, he kept his (Sarmad's) company and enjoyed his discourses for a considerable period. Eventually time took a new turn.....".¹

It is evident that Dara Shikoh took immense interest and pleasure in the company of Sarmad who, in turn, appreciated his royal friend greatly. The circumstances which led to the imprisonment of Shah Jahan and the long and bloody struggle which ensued between his sons, do not require any comment from me. I have only to mention that this ended in the capture, imprisonment and finally the death of Dara Shikoh and Aurangzeb's accession to the throne. *Mirat ul-Khiyal* says that, with the accession of Aurangzeb, the new and foolish creeds of Akbar and Jahangir were rooted out, the customs of Murad Bakhsh and Dara Shikoh were set aside and religion once again had the sway which it deserved. In the new regime, Sarmad whose life was not led in accordance with the *Shariat* was not to be tolerated any more. He had many a crime in his charge-sheet for which sooner or later he had to stand a trial.

There is a diversity of opinion about the causes which led to the execution of Sarmad. It is said in *Tazkirat ul-Khiyal* that the Moulvis took offence at a certain quatrain of Sarmad which to them appeared to deny the bodily accession (معراج جسمانی) of the Prophet Mohammad (peace be on his soul) to the heavens. "Whoever came to know the real secrets of existence, he traversed long distances easily; the Mulla says that Ahmad ascended the heavens and Sarmad says that the heavens descended to Ahmad."²

(۱) چون خاطر سلطان دارا شکوه بجایین میل داشت - صحبت
باو می در گرفت و مدتی باتر صیقات او سرخوش بود - تا آنکه
روزگار طرح نوانداخت - مرآة الخیال .

(۲) آنکو سر حقیقتش باور شد خودپن تراز سپهرین آور شد
ملا گوید که شد احمد بفلک سرمد گوید فلک به احمد در شد
سرمد - مرآة الخیال

It is also said that Aurangzeb, who knew all about the close friendship of Sarmad and Dara Shikoh, did not like any one of Dara Shikoh's admirers to survive. He got rid of most of them on political pretexts; but for Sarmad, the subterfuge of religious disbelief was needed. It was not very hard to find one, and so Mulla Qavi, the Qazi-ul Quzzat, was sent to Sarmad, to ask him the reason of his nudity. Sarmad in reply recited the following *Ruba'i* incidentally hurting Mulla Qavi's feelings by an insulting pun on his name.¹ "The One of lovely stature has made me so low and His eyes by giving me two wine-cups have taken me out of my senses; He is by my side and I am in search of Him. This novel thief has stripped me of everything."²

Mullah Qavi took the story to Aurangzeb who had Sarmad summoned before a religious court where he was to be tried for his various religious crimes. Valah-i Daghistani writes on the authority of Khalifa Ibrahim Badakhshani who lived his pious life towards the end of the reign of Aurangzeb, that when Sarmad refused the order of the court to put on clothes, Aurangzeb argued that no one could be hanged with any justification for going undressed. At last Sarmad was asked to recite *Kalima-i Taiyaba*. He, according to his habit, recited only *La ilaha*—there is no god—and did not go any further. When he was questioned about his heretic utterance, he said that in his life he had so far met only with the negation of life and love, and as he did not actually know the positive side of it, he would not speak of it. Now the charge of heterodoxy was completely established and Sarmad stood condemned, firstly, for being a partisan of Dara Shikoh, secondly, as one who did not believe in the bodily accession of the Prophet to the heavens (*Miraj-i Jismani*); and thirdly, as one who went about nude and denied the existence of God because he had not had any personal knowledge of Him. Judgment was delivered and Sarmad was sentenced to be executed. When Sarmad was taken to the place of execution and the executioner wanted to bandage his eyes according to the custom, he asked him not to do so and looking at the executioner smiled and said:

(۱) شیطان قوی است .

(۲) خوش بالا می کرده چنین بست مرا چشم بد و جام برده از دست مرا
 اود در بغل من است و من در طلبش دزد می عجبی برهنه کرده است مرا

“Come in whatever garb you may, I recognise you well.”¹ So saying, he bravely placed his head under the sword and gave his life.

Some people believe that the place where Sarmad lies buried is not the spot where he was beheaded, but Valah Daghistani is definite on this point. He says, “At a side of Masjid Jamay they beheaded him and buried him at the same place. The writer of these words has twice had the honour of visiting his sacred tomb and in all the four seasons there is plenty of verdure on his grave. In reality it is a source of great peace to be able to visit this sacred shrine.”²

There are only two tombs on the sides of the Jâmi' Masjid ; one is on the north which is in a very uncared-for condition and is said to be the grave of an unknown saint while the other which lies on the eastern side to the right is rather well kept, and the popular belief is that this is the tomb of Sarmad. It is generally known as the grave of Haray Bharay, and is held in great reverence by the citizens of Delhi. Valah Daghistani mentions on the authority of Khalifa Ibrahim Badakhshani that although Sarmad never recited the whole of *Kalima-i Taiyaba* in his life time, yet after his execution, people heard his chopped head reciting the whole of the *Kalima*. It is strange that this story is current in Delhi even now when about three centuries have passed, and I do not doubt that it had its origin in the popular belief of Sarmad's contemporaries and the successive generations that Sarmad was a great saint to whom the shackles of convention and the rituals of religion were irksome, and that he had the courage of his convictions when he broke those fetters and paid the penalty by giving his life. Nothing is known of Abhai Chand's fate. It cannot even be said whether he was with Sarmad at the time of the execution.

- (۱) بصورتے کہ می آی ترامی شناسم - مرآة الخیال
- (۲) در جنب مسجد جامع گردن او زدند راقم الحروف
زیارت مزادوے مکرر مشرف شدہ ام - در چہار فصل سبزہ
از تربتش کم نمی شود - الحق فیض عجیبے در زیارت آن منصور ثانی
است - ریاض الشعراء .

B. A. HASHMI.

(To be continued.)

A LITTLE KNOWN PERSIAN VERSION OF THE RAMAYAN

ABOUT the time when Tulsi Das, the famous author of the *Ram Carit Manas* lay dying, a Persian rendering of Valmiki's *Ramayan* was being composed by Girdhar Das of Delhi. Dedicated to Jahangir, whom the translator praises much, this adaptation of the *Ramayan* has a special interest for students of *Ramayan* lore, of Persian literature, and of seventeenth century India. Akbar and Todar Mal had, between them, introduced Hindus to the Persian literature; a converted Hindu had helped in the Persian translation of the *Atharveda*; it was left for Girdhar Das, however, to attempt the difficult task of translating the *Ramayan* into Persian verse and thus set up a landmark in the Hindus' mastery of Persian language and literature. This is the first considerable work to be undertaken by a Hindu in Persian and should therefore possess historical if no other interest. Unfortunately, Girdhar Das's work has been the victim of neglect and has been little noticed. Beal's *Dictionary of Oriental Biography* mentions him as 'the author of the history of Rama translated from Sanskrit in 1722 A.D.' This notice is misleading as well as wrong. As we shall see, it postdates Girdhar Das by a century; but, more than that, it leaves it to the reader's own imagination to decide into what language Girdhar Das translated the story of Rama. There is a conspiracy of silence about Girdhar Das and his work in most of the Persian accounts of Indian writers of Persian.

Four copies of the MS. have so far come to my notice. There is a copy in the India Office Library written in 1723 A.D. The British Museum copy is ascribed to the year 1808 A.D. and is entered as item No. O. R. 1251 by Rieu in his catalogue. There is yet another copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris numbered 221 in Blocket's Catalogue. This was written in 1719 A.D. The fourth copy was accidentally discovered by me in a heap of old books lying in a corner of the Lal Chand Library, D. A. V. College, Lahore. I picked it up to find the scribe describing it as a translation of Tulsi's *Ramayan*. Forgetting

for the moment the fact that the scribe had transcribed the work in March, 1836, I was overjoyed at finding that Tulsi Das's famous work had acquired so much reputation in his life-time that a Persian scholar thought it worth while to translate it. A closer examination, however, revealed the fact that it was an adaptation of Valmiki's great work as Girdhar Das himself has declared in the body of the book. The mistake of the scribe, though misleading and irritating, throws a flood of light on the popularity of Tulsi Das's work in Northern India at the time. For our scribe *Ramayan* conveyed only one meaning, Tulsi Das's immortal work in Hindi. Girdhar Das was a contemporary of Tulsi Das. He does not, however, refer to his work, thus proving that his contemporaries were slow to find the worth of the great poetical genius who has thrown such a halo of grandeur round that age.

Our MS. contains 384 pages. The author tells us at the end that the total number of verses in the book—which he calls *Ram Namah*—is 5900.

شمر دم پنج الف ایات نهصد
چون مروارید نو سقم بهر فرد

The total number of verses in the MS., however, comes up to 5625 only. There are fifteen lines to a page usually. Some space, however, is left here and there, intended probably for putting in the headings and sub-headings of the story in red ink. This was never done. It seems reasonable to suppose that, poet as he was, our author was a bad arithmetician. There is no reason to believe that any verses are missing from our copy, nor does internal evidence support that hypothesis. The story reads smoothly and does not lend colour to the second alternative that some part of the book may have been left out by the present scribe in copying.

On the question of the date of the composition again there is some difficulty. Girdhar Das—or more probably our scribe—is as careless in his chronology as in his arithmetic. He gives the date of the composition first as 1036 A.H. in a verse at the end.

هنر اوسی وشش بگذشت از سال
شد آخر نامه در فروخته احوال

But, as if that was not enough, he follows it up by another verse giving the year of the Vikram era.

بنوات از بکر ما جیت گویم
هزار و شش صد و هشتاد گویم

This would give the year 1680 A.V. and the Christian year 1623 A.D., whereas 1036 A.H. corresponds to 1626 A.D. Thus the two dates clash. Now there is more chance of a scribe's mistake in the first verse than in the second. If the first line of the earlier verse is correctly copied, the second line of the latter verse should read

هزار و شش صد و هشتاد و سه

thus adding سه (three) to the line and spoiling the metre. But if هزار و شش صد و هشتاد is correct the first line giving the Hijra year would need only a slight modification. هزار و سی و شش would be replaced by هزار و سی و سه thus requiring the substitution of سه (three) for شش (six) without greatly disturbing the meter. It is reasonable therefore to prefer the emendation that would not disturb the metre to the one that would upset it. Etche in his catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the India Office mentions the year 1033 A.H. as the year of composition. Whether this is due to his copy being better than ours or to his equating the year of the Vikram era to the Hijra date we cannot say. The British Museum copy of the MS., however, is as defective as ours as Rieu gives the year 1036. A.H. as the date of the composition of the work. He overlooked the fact that the MS. gives two dates and without stopping to consider which of the two was correct he hastened to give the more usual Hijra date. Thus Beal was not the only scholar to misdate its composition, though in his case the difference is as much as a century.

Not much is known of this author. On pp. 8 and 9 of our MS. he tells us that he belonged to Delhi which, he proclaims, stands unrivalled among the cities of the world.

چنین ترتیب داد این نام را رام ز خواندن آن شود بسیار آرام
مکانش بود دهلی نادره شهر نباشد مثل آن شهرے درین دهی

This is all that we know of him or his work. Except that he expected Jahangir to patronise him, he tells us nothing more of his literary accomplishments and personal history

Our MS. of Girdhar Das at least is faulty. But the faults of prosody or language that occur seem to go back to the original rather than to be mistakes of the scribe. Of course it is but natural that certain mistakes may have crept into the MS. through the carelessness of the scribes, but most of the defects in the work are traceable to the fact that a Hindu was attempting the rather difficult task of translating Valmiki's work from Sanskrit verse into Persian verse. He is very free in his adaptation of Sanskrit words into Persian, and his attempts at Persianising certain Sanskrit ideas are on the same level. We cannot but praise the writer who attempted this Herculean task—a task which even Akbar with his staff of translators dared not undertake. Girdhar Das has reduced the story of Valmiki told in about 24000 verses to less than six-thousand verses. He has not, however, made any important omissions from the main stream of the story. The reduction has been brought about by leaving out or reducing lengthy descriptions of men and things and omitting some of the extraneous stories introduced into the body of the book. Thus the interesting stories with which Visvamisra regales Rama while they are journeying through the forest are all omitted. Similarly, dissertations on men and things that fill so many pages of Valmiki, when he is describing Rama's wanderings in the forest, find no place in Girdhar Das's version. He carefully follows Valmiki's version of the story wherever Tulsi Das and Valmiki differ, thus proving that Tulsi Das's differences from Valmiki were deliberate, and not only due to the existing state of the *Ramayana* story at that time. Girdhar Das has further attempted some daring identifications. When Bharta goes to his grandfather's, Girdhar Das makes him go to Multân. Here and there he has modernized the story. Where Valmiki describes Ayudhya and its king in the first canto, Girdhar Das sets out to describe Oudh and passes on to a description of India. Then follow the remarkable lines.

حکیمان ہند چون لقباں ثانی	به از لقباں بدانش نکته دانی
منجم راز دار و چرخ پیماے	همه چون مشتری روشن در آسا
هم افلاطون کہ نامی شد ہنرمند	ارسطو گشت استادش ازین پند
فنون از ہند پرا شد عیاں است	کہ معدن راے دانش این مکان است
از نجا تو حمہ کہ دند بردند	بیونان ہم دگر کشور سر دند

About a score more verses follow, praising the people of India, her products, and her beauties. The verses quoted above, if they reflect the contemporary opinion in India, furnish a record of India's place in the Sun as understood in the seventeenth century. Girdhar Das declares with pride :

“The philosophers of India are so many Luqmâns, only so much better for their critical faculty. They are great astronomers mapping out the skies. Great scholars like Aristotle and Plato derived their wisdom from India. Science and the Arts were obviously born here. India is the land of wisdom and experience. Her wisdom translated made Greece great and thence it travelled to other countries as well.”

Here is a glimpse of contemporary superstitions.

Dasratha is describing the evil omens that have been assailing him and that helped him in making up his mind to retire from the business of Government.

که من هر فال بد کرد ار هر روز	همی بینم درین دوران غم اندوز
تزلزل در زمین افتد بهر گاه	گرفته ماه و خور دیدم درین راه
زحل مریخ هم آمد بیک جا	که زاید حادثه امروز و فردا
ستاره نمس هر شب می بر آید	که زان آشوب فتنه چند زاید
درختان غیر موسم غنچه و بار	بر آوردند این هم زشت بشمار
درین شب هائے نافر جام بد خواب	چه می بینم ندارم زان بخود تاب
کنم چون غسل ماند خشک سینه	بر آرد مرگ بامن بخت کینه
نه بینم قطب وزیره را بشب نور	نه بینم کهکشان در میل دیجور
دگر از قابنم بو بد بر آید	دگر بے فرق سایه من نماید

Here is another set of verses describing the occupations of different castes.

برهن هائے عبادت در ملک جوئی	جها نبانان به ایشان در رضا جوئی
که چهری شیوه جوز جان سپاری	نکرد بے برنگشت از زخم کاری
که پیشه سود مزرعه یا تجارت	با ایشان بود از بیرون اشارت

Girdhar Das here mentions three castes only and does not refer to the *Sudras*. ‘The vacant annals of the poor’ have no attraction for him. But this description provides interesting material for a study of the caste system. The

third traditional caste is here called *Sud*—a usage confined to the pages of Girdhar Das alone. Further, contrary to modern beliefs, he groups the tillers of the soil along with businessmen in this caste.

I have cited these few passages from Girdhar Das's pages in order to interest the reader in his much neglected work. If this rouses the interest of some reader and leads to a more detailed examination of this *Ram-Namah* I shall be satisfied.

SRI RAM SHARMA.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

THE EMPTY QUARTER*

THIS lucid record of a great achievement follows "The Heart of Arabia" by the same author. In that work he expressed his desire to unveil the mysteries of the illimitable sands, and that he has triumphantly done; his trail crosses perhaps the largest blank on the map outside the Polar regions, weary miles won from the hungry sands with no modern aids of aeroplane and motor-car, but only the immemorial methods of locomotion of the desert traveller, and a few Arabs as guides and assistants, men steeped in desert lore but whose ideals were a plurality of wives and goods in proportion, and who regarded their leader as a stepping-stone to that end. None can blame them if they quailed. Mr. Philby's narrative takes the form of a day-to-day record and through all his dealings with these sons of the desert one admires the inflexible will yet courteous understanding.

Over all, and essential for success, is the protecting hand of King Ibn Sa'ud who had a mind to know something of the vast restless sands of his kingdom.

The Empty Quarter! The very name brought shivers even to the hardened Badawin. Its exact delimitation seemed vague. Mr. Philby writes:—

"I have no doubt whatever in my own mind that, while the Arabs in general know and use the term 'Rub 'al-Khali' to indicate the vast, vague unknown wilderness of the Great South Desert extending between Jabrin and the Hadramaut in one direction and between Oman and Najran in the other; the actual denizens of the area—the Badawin tribes—are perfectly familiar with the term and use it in two senses, the one more comprehensive and vague than the other but both definitely geographical in import and contrasting with such descriptive terms as *Madhma* (land of thirst) and *Mahmal* (bare region)." And again:—

* *The Empty Quarter* by H. St. J. B. Philby, C.I.E., Constable & Co., Ltd. London, 1938.

“I would state the final result of my researches into the matter in the following formula. The whole of the Great South Desert is Rub ‘ al-Khali in contrast with the inhabited world. A great part of it, commonly frequented by pastoral nomads and containing countless wells, is known to them and their nearer neighbours as Al-Ramla or Al-Rimal, while a part of the latter containing only briny wells is again subdivided from it under the name of Al-Khiran and another section with more palatable water is Sanam, another Tuwal and so forth. What remains after subtraction of the waterful area is Rub ‘ al-Khali *par excellence*, the waterless desert, the Empty Quarter—empty even by the reckoning of the Badawin.”

Throughout the journey, over the endless succession of valley and ridge, dune and bare gravel tract, under the scorching sun, the final stretch being 375 miles between water and water, the scant animal and plant life was carefully garnered by the traveller and is duly described by British Museum experts in appendices to the volume. That any sedentary forms of life dared to exist against such odds is a lesson in the surprising adaptability of Nature. Sand deserts are areas of destruction of vegetation, either by natural causes or the thoughtless acts of man ; it may be that in the distant future these unproductive millions of acres will be made capable of yielding food, as they undoubtedly were in the past. Quantities of shells of both marine and fresh-water origin collected by Mr. Philby show conclusively that a great river system once drained this part of Arabia. A vast period of time has elapsed since then. “I think that the conclusion is justified ” says the writer, “that the Empty Quarter in its widest sense has in all probability been unsuitable for human occupation otherwise than by nomads since a time long anterior to the beginnings of civilisation. The process of desiccation must have begun, and the great rivers must have ceased to flow, before the dawn of serious history—perhaps when the retreating ice-cap of the Pleistocene changed the climate of the earth’s middle belt—stretching from the Sahara and the Libyan desert across Arabia into the deserts of Central Asia. In the flints and shells of those times we have the memory of men inhabiting a land made fair by flowing rivers—but they were the remote ancestors of those that built the first houses of which we have any cognisance.”

The explorer's companions regarded in astonishment one who could gather fossils and shells while the ever-welcome solace of coffee awaited his parched throat :—

“Of what use are those shells ?” asked ‘Ali who had been quick to recognise their marine origin, “and what will you do with them ?”

Noah's flood provided an easily intelligible explanation of the presence of sea-shells so far inland.

“Yes, by God” he exclaimed, “that is true, for all the earth was covered by the waters and these things remained behind when they receded. By God ! it is true indeed.”

“The shells are of no use” I went on, “but it is knowledge I seek which is better than wealth. I will take them to my country, where they will put them in treasure-houses for people to see and study. You see, I too am a tracker like you. When you ride you read the sands and know what men and women have passed upon them a month ago or more or less. But when I see shells like these I understand what was happening a thousand years ago or more—back to the world's creation....”

The ancient fable—handed on by Ya'qut—of a great city destroyed by the wrath of Heaven was finally explained by Mr. Philby—as far as the Rub ' al-Khali is concerned. It was a riddle of the Great Sands he had set himself to solve, and the solution was startling indeed. Maybe the spade will yet disclose elsewhere the relics of the dwellings of the great King 'Ad, but the fabled castles in the sand proved to be no more nor less than craters of a giant meteorite shower, fortunately for us a very rare occurrence on the earth, for one of the craters alone measured 120 paces in diameter and 412 in circumference, with abundant evidence of the terrific heat that accompanied the impact. “So that was Wabar ! And on it built the story of a city destroyed by fire from Heaven for the sins of its King, who had heeded not the warnings of the prophet Hud....until the wrath came upon him with the west wind and reduced the scene of his riotous pleasures to ashes and desolation !”

“One could scarcely have imagined a more sensational solution of the riddle of the Great Sands. And it must be admitted that the two vast sand-filled craters, encircled by lofty walls of slag, did bear an absurd resemblance to the tumbled remnants of man-made castles.”

It was with some difficulty that he disillusioned his companions, who were gathering shining black pellets (fused sand) which they took to be the pearls of 'Ad's ladies blackened in the conflagration that had consumed them with their lord. "This may indeed be Wabar," I said, "of which the Badawin speak, but it is the work of God, not man. These are no castles of the ancients but like the volcanic peaks of the Harra, which you have seen doubtless on the way to Mecca, on your right hand as you go up."

The scientist's verdict on this most interesting phenomenon is given in one of the above-mentioned appendices which, with adequate maps and a full index, complete a valuable and delightful record, an achievement which fills the Empty Quarter with abundant interest.

R. C.

ISLAMIC SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT*

IN his foreword to Professor Syed Muzaffar-ud-dîn's concise and erudite account of the principal schools of thought which have arisen among Muslims, Mr. A. H. Harley, Principal of the Islamia College, Calcutta, writes :

"The author is a trained theologian, zealous for Islam, but conservatism for its own sake is not a principle with him, he is sufficiently modern to have rendered into Urdu Mugge's Life of Nietzsche. But the critical reader may be left wondering whether zeal has not taken the reins from actuality in his quest of a purely Islamic origin and growth for the themes of his first three Sections. There are facts of form and substance which need explaining. The points of contact between Arabia and the neighbouring civilisations are proving a growing number, and have their significance. The wonder of the achievement of Islam is her own glory, but Islam is not an isolated fact."

With all due respect for the learned Principal we submit that nobody ever said that Islâm was an isolated fact. The Qur'ân itself emphatically states the contrary, showing the religion which we call Islâm as the essence and the truth of all religions, especially all Semitic, i.e., monotheistic religions. In Prof. Muzaffar-ud-dîn's book we have found nothing to suggest that he has heretical ideas on this point. He contends and, we think, justly that all

* *Muslim Thought and its Source.* By Syed Muzaffar-ud-din Nadvi, M.A., Professor, Islamia College, Calcutta, Calcutta, 1933. Price Rs. 4.

the Islamic schools of thought, except the philosophical, derive their material and their motive force from the Qur'ân. Only he has failed to notice, what is, nevertheless, a fact, that it was contact with Christian theologians which first provoked the theological turn of thought from which two of these schools arose. Hence the misunderstanding.

When discussing Mu'tazalism Prof. Muzaffar-ud-dîn writes :—

“ It is generally held by European scholars that Mu'tazalism owed its origin to Hellenic culture. They contend that the frequent visits of Christians to the Omayyad Court, free religious discussion between Muslims and Christians and the influence of Greek theology over the Muslim intelligentsia of the period were the real causes of the development of rationalism in Islam.”

And he proceeds to demolish that theory in his own way. We should have said that Hellenic culture could never have been conveyed by Greek Church theologians, and that the influence of Byzantine theology, if keenly felt, was likely to produce anything rather than a development of rationalism. We should have said that the arguments with subtle Christian theologians flustered and perturbed “ the Muslim intelligentsia ” quite unnecessarily, thus causing a distinct decline of Muslim common-sense and a counter-growth of hair-splitting theology, like that of the Byzantines, which was very far removed from common-sense ; and that the said theology produced two schools of purely Muslim thought. Prof. Muzaffar-ud-dîn argues differently. He writes : “ My firm conviction is that Rationalism had begun to assert itself in Islam long before the Christians had access to the Muslim Court or religious discussions between different communities were resorted to or Muslim scholars took to the study of Greek philosophy. The movement originated in the views expressed by some Muslim divines soon after the death of the Prophet (632 A.D.).” We should have said that there were no Muslim “ divines,” in the sense of theologians, at that time. When our author proceeds to state that “ Hazrat 'Ayes Shah rejected the belief that Muhammad (may peace be upon him) had physical ascension (me'raj-i-jismani) into the heavens on the ground that it was contrary to human reason,” he is surely wrong. According to the known Hadîth, our lady 'Ayes Shah rejected the belief because she knew that the Prophet's body had been asleep in Mecca throughout the

night in question. In the early days Islâm was a religion of pure faith and conduct, as it came from God; and there was no place whatever for theology, which is the bane of ethical religion as of mystical. Thus, as our author truly says, the differences of the three early sects of Islâm, the Kharijites, the Murjites, and the Shi'ites "are rather political than religious."

The schools of thought—they are not sects—here dealt with are Mu'tazalism (which Prof. Muzaffar-ud-dîn calls Rationalism), Ash'arism (which he calls Muslim Scholasticism—the accuracy of these two renderings being questionable), Sufism (Islamic Mysticism) and *Hikmat*, a term which means "wisdom" and is here applied to humane and scientific philosophy. The author describes the history and teachings of each school, says something of its leading men and in a small space gives the reader all important facts concerning it. In support of Mr. Harley's plea for outside influence we are tempted to quote the beginning of Prof. Muzaffar-ud-dîn's description of the doctrines of Ash'arism, which, he says, "like other genuine Islamic movements, is derived from the Qur'ân and not from any foreign source." What could be more foreign to the clear and simple teaching of the Qur'ân and the Prophet, and more evidently akin to the mentality of Byzantine theologians, than the following :

"The attributes of God are eternal. They are not merely His Essence, as the Mu'tazalites hold, but in one sense included in, and in the other excluded from His Essence. God is wise, not as to His Being, and God is Merciful, not as to His Being (as the Mu'tazalites maintain), but because He has got the qualities of wisdom and mercy distinct from His Being or Essence. Essence and Attributes are two different things, and they cannot be one and the same in the case of the Supreme Being. The Ash'arite theory on the question is "La 'aina wa la ghaira" (neither internal nor external). The theory may mean that attributes are both included in, and excluded from, His Essence. So far as their conception is concerned, they are external to Godhead, and so far as their application is concerned they are inherent in the Divine Essence. Hence there is no self-contradiction in the theory."

The early Muslims would have thought such speculations futile and slightly impious, as Al-Ghazzâlî came to think them at a later day. Though the material and

motive is throughout Islamic, there can be no doubt but that the polemics of the Greek-Church theologians are responsible for turning learned Muslims toward such barren lucubrations away from their own fruitful field of faith and conduct ; and that the aberration was facilitated by the presence in the Muslim body of a number of converted Christians who had been accustomed to regard such speculations as religious.

Prof. Muzaffar-ud-dîn's chapter on Sufism is excellent and here we feel he has completely proved his case. We notice, however, that he uses the word "Pantheism," wrongly, to denote the Sufic ideal of absorption in the Deity. Pantheism, in the proper sense of the term, has no place at all in Sufism or Islâm. In his chapter on the philosophic school he shows, as Maulâna Sulcymân Nadvi showed in his "Muslims and Greek schools of Philosophy,"* that the Arabs, far from knowing only Aristotle, have covered the whole field of Greek philosophy, that they rejected more of it than they accepted, and greatly improved on what they did accept. He quotes Ibn Teymîyah (*Ar-Raddu 'ala'l-Mantiq*): "The sayings of Aristotle are extant, and those of Muslim rationalists are also at hand. Surely the views of the latter are based on arguments more convincing than those on which the former are based." In his "Conclusion" he writes: "Muslim thought owed its origin to the teachings of Islam and not any foreign source. Muslim thought split up in time into a number of schools..... The first three schools were not only born of Islam but also fostered in the cradle of that religion. The last was doubtless influenced by Hellenic culture, but here also Muslim philosophers impressed their individual stamp which the lapse of centuries could not efface up till now." One can agree with every word of this—except that one does not quite know what the author means by "fostered in the cradle"—and yet contend that, but for Christian (and perhaps Magian) provocation, Mu'tazalism and Ash'arism, as Prof. Muzaffar-ud-dîn has described them, would never have come into existence.

The book is furnished with a general index and bibliography, also a list of errata.

* *Islamic Culture*, Vol. I. No. 1. Jan. 1927.

ABU NUWAS

WHEREVER the Arabic language or the Arab tradition prevails there are two chief figures of fun—Abu Nuwâs and Johha, of whom the former only is identifiable historically in the highly cultivated poet and wit of Baghdad who graced, and occasionally by his dissipations disgraced, the circle of Hârûn ar-Rashîd. Mr. Ingrams found Abu Nuwâs a familiar figure in the folklore of Zanzibar, and in the present work he has set himself, as he explains in his Introduction, to show “the manner in which an historical personage becomes a hero of folklore,” which seemed to him “a study not without interest.” The result is both interesting and amusing, the most novel part of it to the Arabist being the stories of Abu Nuwâs as told by the Swahili of Zanzibar to whom he is known as Kibunwasi, Bunwasi, Banawasi, or Abunwasi, “more rarely and by the ‘litterati’ as Abunawasi.”

“Quick of wit and ready of repartee, it is perhaps not surprising that he has been compared with the Hare, Brer Rabbit as we know him better, and the exploits of the one are frequently attributed to the other. Another identification of Abu Nuwâs is with Mwalim Kargoss the Zanzibar Punch, and perhaps the origin of our own friend. This too is by way of the Rabbit, for the name Kargoss is derived from the Persian Khar-Gosh, a hare.” The name is derived more directly from Kara-Gyuz (Black eyes), the hero of the Turkish shadow-plays so long in vogue throughout North Africa; but that is by the way.

Mr. Ingrams has divided his attractive little book into three parts, illustrating three phases of the development above-mentioned: the actual, the apocryphal and the mythical Abu Nuwâs. The first contains translations of extracts from his known poems, many of them from Burton’s “Arabian Nights,” with facts and anecdotes which can be called historical. Abu Nuwâs was an Arabic poet of the first rank, though most of us would hotly deny the soundness of Professor Nicholson’s opinion, here quoted, that he “surpassed even Mutanabbi.” The “Oriental Howleglass or Joe Miller” is not Abu Nuwâs, but Johha, though among the ignorant there is often confusion of the two personages. Mr. Ingrams claims, as

* *Abu Nuwas in Life and Legend.* By W. H. Ingrams. Privately printed. Agents, Luza & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London, 1938.

we also have observed in our travels, that the Abu Nuwâs of folk-lore generally retains the cloak of the historical character, though he has included two or three of the most famous Johha stories, plainly recognisable, in his "mythical" section.

The Khalifah Hârûn ar-Rashîd loved Abu Nuwâs for his wit, and perhaps for other qualities which have not come down to us, but objected to, and often punished, his debauchery. When Mr. Ingrams writes, "Harun was not above drinking himself, but he disapproved of public drinking, while Abu Nuwâs was shameless," it shows he is imperfectly acquainted with the manners of the time. The drunkenness of Abu Nuwâs became notorious but his drinking was not done in public. The 'Abbâsids drank wine made from dried dates, for the lawfulness of which they could quote fetwas of the learned. "Ar-Rashîd was accustomed to drink only wine of dried dates after the manner of the people of Al-'Irâq, their fetwas concerning which are well-known," writes Ibn Khaldûn in the *Prolegomena*, and further on: "The case of Ibn Aktham and Al-Ma'mûn in this respect is on a par with that of Ar-Rashîd, and their wine was nabîdh which they considered not forbidden, but drunkenness was not for such as them." They abhorred drunkenness as much as any Muslims and Abu Nuwâs drank wine made of grapes, and drank it for the sake of drunkenness. Hence the Khalifah's wrath and his repeated punishment of the delinquent. Of Abu Nuwâs's irreligious verses and also of the verse-translations here presented, the following is a fair example.

"Accumulate as many sins as thou canst

"The Lord is ready to relax His ire.

"When the day comes, forgiveness thou wilt find

"Before a mighty king and gracious Sire

"And gnaw thy fingers, all that joy regretting

"Which thou didst leave through terror of Hell-fire."

*Ibn Khaldûn, *Prolegomena*.

في فضل علم التاريخ وتحقيق مذاهبه : وانما كان الرشيد يشرب نبيذ التمر على
مذهب اهل العراق وقتا ويهم فيها معروفة وحال ابن اكثم والمأمون في ذلك
من حال الرشيد وشرابهم انما كان النبيذ ولم يكن محظورا عندهم واما السكر
فليس من شأنهم.

In the second part of the book named "Apocryphal" are found many of the stories told of Abu Nuwâs in Syrian and Egyptian folk-lore, though some of the longest and most memorable are absent, notably that in which the wit, wishing to extract money from the Khalîfah, pretended that his wife was dead and, when the Khalîfah (happening to learn that she was still alive and well) grew furious and sent men to arrest him, himself pretended to be dead and was prepared for burial—as some say, even carried to the grave—when the Khalîfah was so grieved at his loss that he swore he would forgive him all if he came back to life again which he straightway did. (Under the "Mythical" occurs what seems to be a section of this story). One of the best known incidents will bear repetition: "The Caliph was seated in his diwan with his equerries around him intent upon an evening's amusement. Abu Nuwâs had not arrived, and the Caliph devised a clever plan for punishing him for being late. He arranged a game of forfeits, in which the rule was to be that everyone who did exactly as he did should receive a dinar—about half-a-sovereign; but any one who failed to keep to the game was to receive a dozen strokes of the bastinado. Haroun then ordered some eggs and, putting one under his own cushion, commanded his followers to do the same, and they had scarcely completed their preparations when the missing poet came in. The Caliph began the game and, having proposed to Abu Nuwâs to join, began clucking like a hen, and produced an egg. Each of the courtiers did the same and it came at last to Abu Nuwâs's turn. With all eyes fixed on him with a wicked stare, he stalked into the middle of the room, flapped his arms against his sides and crowed loudly." The following has the ring of quite authentic history: "One day Abu Nuwâs said to the Caliph: 'O Commander of the Faithful! You know that I am a Muslim!'

'Yes, I know,' said Harun al-Rashid.

'I wish to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca as is prescribed,' went on the poet.

'Well, the road is in front of you.'

'But I have no money.'

'In that case you are freed from the obligation!'

'O my lord, I am asking you for money. I am not asking you for a fetwa!''

It is probable, as many of the folk-tales concerning him suggest, that Abu Nuwâs with all his faults had a kind heart and was accessible to the poor, and that this it is which endeared him to the people in his day and has preserved his memory long after greater and better historical personages of his day have been forgotten. It is also probable that he loved, as Ibn Khalliqân declares, the reputation of iniquity more than the fact thereof, and was, as he himself pleads more than once to the Khalifah, of the number of those poets mentioned in the Qur'ân, who "say that which they do not."

Mr. Ingrams' book cannot be given to the general public, on account of three poems from *Alf Leylah wa Leylah* (Sir Richard Burton's translation). We can, however, commend it to the student of riper years. It is furnished with some serviceable notes and an index of the verse-translations.

M. P.

POETS AND POETRY OF MODERN PERSIA*

To all lovers of Persian poetry, it must be a source of great satisfaction to see someone continue the literary theme of the late and lamented Professor Edward Browne, who devoted all his labours and intellectual gifts to Persia and its literature. Mr. Ishaque's recent anthology, although in Persian and compiled on slightly different lines, may well be regarded as only an up-to-date extension of Browne's 'Press and Poetry of Modern Persia.' Almost all the prominent living poets whose poems Mr. Ishaque quotes, following their short biographies, were first made known to the outside world by Browne. It is interesting to compare even their pictures in the volume under review with those of their younger days in Browne's work. With a few exceptions, the poems which Mr. Ishaque has reproduced do not appear to mark any distinct improvement on what Browne selected 20 years ago. But this lack of brilliance in later compositions may be due to the altered political conditions of the country. The dangers to Persia's liberty from foreigners have passed; the disgusting despotism of the Qajarids has disappeared; the fervour for Republicanism and other constitutional innovations has gradually died down. Thus, little remains

* *Sukhanvaran-i-Iran* (*Dar Asr-i-Hazir*) by M. Ishaque, M.A., of the University of Calcutta. 1st volume, pp. 455.

now to provoke those passionate songs on political subjects that had become such an outstanding feature of the Persian poetry in the opening decades of this century.

Mr. Ishaque has been a little careless of history in his short introduction. He describes Nadir Shah as 'the great Indian conqueror,' which sonorous title Nadir scarcely deserves from Indian victims of his one free-booting incursion. What is more inexplicable, Mr. Ishaque, in counting the different epochs of Persian poetry, has altogether omitted the poets of the 15th and 16th centuries, who included such well-known masters of art as Naziri and Urfi—to name only two out of a number of whom perhaps every one demands better consideration than Yaghma and Sarush.

The author does not indulge in criticism of the individual poets but claims to have picked out the best pieces of the three different groups into which he classifies the thirty-three contemporary poets dealt with in his volume.

Those of the older generation who are well represented in his anthology are Bahâr, Adib, Ashraf and Arif of Qizwin. The first-named has been generally acknowledged since the days of Browne as "*Malik-ush-shu'ara*." Browne translated Bahâr's 'Critical tribute to Sir Edward Grey' and other poems, appending 15 original pieces by the same author to his 'Press and Poetry of Persia.' The late Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saqalain also brought some of Bahâr's early Ghazals to India as a literary souvenir. Perhaps a little too conventional as poets-laureate are apt to be, Bahâr is perfectly at home in every variety of Persian poetry and may well be excused for the boast of "reinspiring *Dari* verse anew":—

شعر دری گشت بمن نام جو یافت ز نو شاعر و شعر آبرو

Mr. Ishaque has added some fine quatrains of the poet in his anthology, of which the following may be quoted as a good specimen:—

برک گل

من برک گلم باغ شهبستان من است

و ان بلبل خوش لهجه غزل خوان من است

نوبادۀ شب که شبنمش می خوانند

هر صبح به نیم بوسه مہمان من است

It is sad to learn from Mr. Ishaque that another distinguished poet, viz., Syed Ashraf-ud-dîn the gifted Editor of *Nasîm-i-Shimâl*, that was so powerful and popular a journal some years ago, now leads a penurious life in a poor quarter of Tehrân. The anthology does not give dates but apparently the cynical wit of Ashraf has suffered little from the vicissitudes of fortune, for his خطاب بہ

فرنگیان really aimed against his own degenerate co-religionists—is quite as breezy a satire as ever appeared in his ‘North Breeze.’

Mr. Ishaque has chosen some sweet compositions by the talented musician ‘Arif of Qizwîn, and a few popular songs by Pur-i-Daûd, whose *Diwan* was first published at Bombay. An excellent acquisition are his selections from *Shurideh*. This blind poet of Shirâz, who received the title of *Fasih-ul-Mulk* “Orator of the nation” from Nâsir-ud-din Shâh and lived long enough to pay a tribute to the present Pahlawi king of Persia, was missed by Browne or his nationalist friends, probably because he wrote only in the old classical style and took little part in the political agitation against royalty. He was a genius all the same, possessing an originality of expression which is as pleasing as it is rare in the contemporary poetry of Persia. As was to be expected, he excelled in writing *Qasîdas* and *Ghazals*, and even in a short notice like this I cannot refrain from extracting the following two pieces of this eloquent singer of Shirâz:—

روئے بنائی و دل از من شوریدہ ربائی

تو چہ شوخی کہ دل از مردم بے دیدہ ربائی

خاطر خلق بدین روئے پری و ارستانی

طاقت جمع بدین موئے پریشیدہ ربائی

آنکہ اور انتوان دل بد و صد شیوہ ربودن

تو بدین روئے خوش و خوئے پسندیدہ ربائی

دگر از چہرہ تابان تو در دست دل من

نیست باقی کہ بدان گیسوئے تابیدہ ربائی

تو کہ خود فاش توانی دل یک شہر بودن
دل شوریدہ روانیست کہ دزدیدہ ربائی

* * *

ہر چہ کنی بکن - مکن ترک من اے نگار من
ہر چہ بری بیر - مبر سنگ دلی بکار من
ہر چہ کشی بکش - مکش بادہ بزم مدعی
ہر چہ خوری بخور - مخور خون دل فگار من
ہر چہ دہی بدہ - مدہ زلف بیاد اے صنم
ہر چہ نہی بنہ - منہ دام برہ گزار من
ہر چہ بری بیر - مبر رشتہ الفت مرا
ہر چہ کنی بکن - مکن خانہ اختیار من
ہر چہ ہلی بہل - مہل پردہ زروئے چوں پری
ہر چہ دری بدر - مدر پردہ اعتبار من
ہر چہ روی برو - مرو راہ خلاف دوستی
ہر چہ زنی زن - مزن طعنہ بروزگار من

Among poets of the younger generation, Radi has a graceful intellectual depth: Rashid Yasami possesses fine imagination; Ruhâni writes on topical subjects with effective frankness; while Parwin, the only poetess whom Mr. Ishaque has included in his anthology, can be distinguished by her restraint and purity of language among her contemporaries.

The book is well bound and neatly printed in Naskh type by the Jamia Millia Press, Delhi.

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